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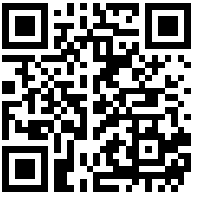

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE OPEN FORUM TO DEMOCRACY IN RELIGION

GEORGE W. COLEMAN
Boston, Mass.

ABSTRACT

The open forum is a direct result of the eagerness of the church to "reach the masses." Three of the pioneer organizations of the forum—at Cooper Union, in the Church of the Ascension, and at Ford Hall—were all inspired by the ideals of the church. The purpose of the forum is to give an opportunity for open discussion, where objections may be raised as well as positions defined. The result has been to jar church people out of their complacency, to modify unintelligent radicalism, and to stimulate thinking and reading. Dogmatism is immediately checked. No ecclesiastical or other conditions are prescribed for participation in the discussion. Those who have been alienated from the church find that religion, like other human interests, is progressing and is dealing with real issues. A wider sense of brotherhood is developed. A new community interest is aroused. Brief descriptions of typical experiments reinforce the foregoing points.

The open forum brings together all kinds of serious-minded people at stated times for the purpose of discussing the issues of life under the leadership of recognized experts who stand ready to meet the challenge of any person in the audience who wishes to cross-examine them. The open forum is utterly democratic, but never chaotic. It guarantees a freedom of discussion which neither the speaker nor the audience may monopolize or subvert.

The motto of the open forum is "Let there be light!" The forum generates more light and less heat than any other form of public discussion. Even applied science in the material realm has not yet discovered how to give us light without heat.

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Although the modern forum idea is of very recent origin, it has quickly spread throughout the United States and Canada until now forums are numbered by the hundred.

To those who are interested in religion let it be noted that this new instrument for democracy is an outgrowth of the life of the church, although it must be admitted that it has taken the church some time to recognize its own child. But the day of distrust and suspicion on the part of the church has given place to a time of eager inquiry, earnest appreciation, and active co-operation. It was the Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, D.D., of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York City, who some time ago prophesied that within a few years the forum would be as necessary an adjunct of the city church as are the Sunday-school and the prayer meeting today.

The open forum came as an aftermath of that great urge of the Protestant church in America to reach the masses. Thirty years ago and more, "How to Reach the Masses" was the great hue and cry heard on every religious convention platform with interminable repercussions from our pulpits all over the land. Just about the time, years later, when we woke up to the fact that our effort to reach the masses was a continuing failure and we had begun to grow very anxious as to what the masses would soon be doing to us, one or two bold spirits within the church proceeded to do the obvious thing: they quit talking in the church about the masses and went out to the masses and talked to them. That was the beginning of the modern forum idea.

The late Mr. Charles Sprague Smith at Cooper Union, New York City, Dr. Percy S. Grant of the Church of the Ascension on lower Fifth Avenue, New York City, and the writer in his work on Sunday evenings at Ford Hall in Boston, were the first to develop the technique and to practice the spirit of the forum as it is now conceived. At least they were the first to give a large, outstanding, and permanent exhibit of what an open forum can be and do. All three of these

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enterprises owed their existence to the life and inspiration of the church. Charles Sprague Smith was the son of a minister, Dr. Grant used his church to father and mother the infant forum, and it was the Boston Baptist Social Union that gave me my opportunity to demonstrate what could be done in Boston.

In all three of these ventures the driving force was the desperate need of finding some way to bridge the widening chasm between the well-meaning people within the churches and the good folks outside. It is doubtful if any one of us had at the start any clear vision of the open forum as it is conceived today.

As we look back over the work of fourteen seasons at Ford Hall, our success in interesting the masses is unmistakable. Not even our severest critic would gainsay that. And to tell the story of the effect of these open-forum meetings on the masses of Boston who have frequented Ford Hall would be to write a romance. Many experts in social work have pronounced this method the soundest and most successful process of Americanization that they have witnessed—a process which awakens the smug and somnolent native just as surely as it informs and molds the confused and uncouth foreigner.

But the purpose of this paper draws me away from this absorbing side of the story to another phase of the subject. What contribution does this open-forum idea make to democracy in religion? Perhaps there is even more significance in the answer that can be made to that question.

Let me say first of all with reference to this single forum at Ford Hall, after fourteen years of the most intimate acquaintance with its work and the results flowing from it, that the reaction on the life of the churches in Boston is in itself worth all these meetings have cost, if they have accomplished nothing else. Greater Boston now has twenty-five or more forums, and churches and church people are responsible for a generous

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share of them. Not only have Protestant churches taken up readily this method of discussing vital issues with the average man and woman, regardless of church connections, but the Roman Catholic church and the Jewish synagogue are also alert in taking advantage of this democratic method of discussing everything that interests the public mind.

The Common Cause Forum, conducted under the auspices of the Roman Catholic church every Sunday evening during the season in the Franklin Union Hall in the city of Boston, would be a very interesting study in itself. There you would find twelve hundred people in the most serious frame of mind, listening to the pros and cons of religion, the church, democracy, education, and every other vital topic, as set forth not only by responsible lay leaders of the church, but also as challenged, contradicted, and defied by some of the keenest young radicals this day of unrest has produced. Such an extraordinary spectacle was never witnessed before the coming of the forum idea, but it is a commonplace now at the Franklin Union after about ten years of continuous operation. This forum under Catholic auspices goes much farther in the democratic discussion of religious questions than we at Ford Hall, under Baptist auspices, think is wise and fitting.

In one Jewish synagogue in Boston some years ago the forum for the entire season was given over to the discussion of distinctly Jewish questions with a large audience of Jewish young people every Sunday night. The older men of the synagogue looked on in amazement and some of them in fear and trembling as they saw the young people gathering by the hundreds to discuss freely and frankly everything of interest to serious-minded Jews.

But the establishment of forums under religious auspices, significant and interesting as that may be, was not the only mark made upon the religious life of the city by the Sunday evening meetings at Ford Hall. Neither would I lay special stress upon the forum method of discussion introduced into

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various adult Bible classes. Undoubtedly the greatest effect produced by the forum on the religious life of Boston is to be found in a changed state of mind among church people. They have been aroused and quickened, jarred and irritated, and set to thinking and reading as to the relation of religion to the whole realm of life. Even those who have never wandered into a forum meeting have not escaped its lessons as set forth in the daily press, sometimes in startling headlines. The meeting at Ford Hall, Sunday night, is often the topic of the week in store and factory, in office and boarding-house. While only a thousand or twelve hundred people may have participated directly in the meeting, perhaps a hundred thousand, some of them scattered all over New England, have eagerly watched for the report, especially so when some ticklish subject was up for discussion or some unusually striking personality took the platform.

If true religion is to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly, as the prophet Micah had it, then the forums everywhere are democratizing the discussion of religion with remarkable success. Justice is the passionate desire of these audiences everywhere, and the note of kindness in any address always meets a quick and warm response. And while many an ardent propagandist, both conservative and radical, comes to the forum in a cock-sure spirit, he often goes away much chastened and subdued. And, oftener than not, the humbling dose he needs is administered by the audience rather than by the appointed speaker of the hour.

While it is a general forum principle to avoid all strictly sectarian and partisan discussions, one must have a very narrow conception of religion not to see that a live forum is shot through and through with a powerful religious dynamic. And the entire procedure and the dominant spirit are democratic. While no topic is sacrosanct to a well-trained forum audience, it is clearly recognized that some topics are futile.

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And as to the kinds of people who may be permitted to share in the discussion, there is no limit save one which is self-operating. The frivolous-minded person absents himself. The individual who prefers a movie, a dance, or a flirtation to the earnest, serious temper of the forum goes to his own place. But everybody else in the community is there or is represented by one or more of his kind. All classes, cliques, and creeds are present in the model forum.

Here you have a thoroughly democratic audience—Jew, Catholic, Protestant, unbeliever, native and foreigner, employer and employee, student and mechanic, radical and conservative, rich and poor, coming together for one and the same purpose, keen to listen, eager to answer back. The fundamentals of life, individual and collective, are seriously discussed in a manner that gives everyone his right to be heard and no one a privilege to monopolize the discussion. Everything that touches life is pertinent and the topic set for discussion invariably has its moral and spiritual implications. This is "democracy in religion" in action. Such a beacon light burning in any community for a period of years cannot fail to throw its beams into every nook and corner where religious-minded people gather, while its effect on the great throngs who are churchless and yet hungering and thirsting is dramatic and pathetic to a degree.

Let me give one example. Boston, like every great city, has a considerable Jewish population. Eighty per cent of the Jewish young people are unattached to the synagogue, either orthodox or liberal. They are, for the most part, born idealists and extraordinarily alert mentally. They cannot be drawn into any kind of a religious service, so-called. They will have none of it. But it would be difficult to keep them away from a real community forum run without bias and having no axes to grind. From the first night it threw open its doors, all through its fourteen seasons, the Ford Hall forum in Boston has had in its audience a large contingent of these young

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Jews. They come of course to discuss economic, social, civil, and industrial questions, but in connection with this discussion and through other topics presented in course, they find themselves facing the most serious personal questions of life. Its effect on them may be best judged by a friendly comment from Rabbi Harry Levi, of the liberal Jewish synagogue on Commonwealth Avenue, who remarked that the Ford Hall forum was a half-way house to Temple Israel for these young Jews. Thus many of these young people are saved from indifference, agnosticism, or atheism to a modern democratic interpretation of the religion of their fathers.

And other men and women of Christian antecedents, who long since have become estranged from the church in which they were brought up, find themselves influenced by the forum discussions to make a fresh evaluation of the church. They are often greatly surprised to note that the church, too, has grown and progressed like themselves since the days when they were last in touch with its activities. I well remember the head mechanic on one of our steam railroads, who had gotten entirely out of patience with churches in general, coming to me privately at the close of a forum meeting where he had been a regular attendant and asking me very earnestly where he could get a manual of the church in which he had been trained; he wanted to study afresh the up-to-date pronouncement of the creedless church on which he had turned his back ten years before.

There are still others attending forum meetings, and in large numbers, who will in all probability never find their way back into church membership. Poor substitute indeed as the forum is for a church, it seems to bring to these individuals the inspiration, guidance, and fellowship which they crave and which they will not or cannot find in any church.

It is no small contribution to democratic religion, I would judge, when innumerable earnest, serious-minded souls find in the forum, or through it, a means of encouraging and

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cultivating a sense of brotherhood based on justice, mercy, and humility. I have seen week after week in forum meetings a heterogeneous, cosmopolitan crowd, representing every prejudice and antagonism known to our American life, come to a unity of feeling, a self-forgetfulness, a high pitch of enthusiasm over a mutual discussion of some topic of the most vital concern. This is a process of forming public opinion under the power of emotion, something that Benjamin Kidd declares to be of the very first importance for these days. When that discussion deals with the relations of men to one another and with the relation of man to the universe, which is the range of forum topics, it is shot through and through with religion. And what could be more truly democratic than the forum method of discussion, which exalts the expert, hears the voice of the people, and snuffs out the irrepressible talking nuisance?

While the forum is no proper substitute for the church, even though some people outside the church have found it adequate for that purpose, it is unmistakably a most fitting and successful substitute for a worn-out, brokendown, perfunctory Sunday evening service. It is right here, doubtless, that the forum makes its most direct and manifest contribution to democracy in religion. The forum has already salvaged many a Sunday night service to the great blessing of the community and to the distinct advantage of the church undertaking such a broad and generous service for its neighborhood.

There are many downtown churches in cities all over the land where they do well if they can muster an attendance of one hundred on Sunday evenings, even though the auditorium may easily accommodate five or ten times that number. That was the case with a church I have in mind. It was in the heart of the downtown district in a city that numbered its inhabitants by the hundred thousand. Less than seventy-five people would file into the aisles of this cathedral-like auditorium on Sunday evenings, although the very same

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preacher would be heard by several hundred in that same church on the morning of the same day.

But it was entirely different when the forum got well under way, and it was directed and presided over by this same preacher. There were not seats enough in the auditorium to accommodate the people who desired to attend. They came from all over the city and from miles around. The audiences exceeded a thousand every Sunday night. Two hundred extra seats had to be brought in, and then people sat all over the pulpit stairs and stood behind the choir-loft and out in the vestibule, where they could hear but not see. And this continued for five years, the interest and attendance and support growing stronger every year.

There came to these forum meetings socialists and atheists who had not darkened a church door in twenty-five years, a multimillionaire was a frequent attendant, country folk drove in from the towns outside the city, Jews and Catholics were attracted even though the meeting was held in a Protestant church building, church members from the morning congregation, who never before had gone to meeting Sunday evenings, were there—and the program lasted two hours and a half, and then it was too short for most of them. Remember this went on for five years, every Sunday night during the winter season. And it was a weakness in the church that resulted in a change of leadership which cut the forum off at the time of its maximum strength.

The meetings of this forum were opened with prayer and closed with a benediction. Meeting in a church and led by a minister, the churchly environment was unescapable. And yet it was a meeting quite apart from the church, where no axes were ground, no propaganda declared, no overlordship exercised. Some of the most outstanding men and women of the country brought their messages to these people. Discussion proceeded in true forum fashion. Many were amazed to see men speaking from a church platform submitting

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themselves to cross-examination by the audience. Courteous but critical challenges were hurled from the floor and no one went to sleep or begged to have the time shortened, for these people were discussing the serious affairs of present-day living and they were all in dead earnest about it. They were asking what is just and they were trying hard to be merciful toward an opponent, and they often went out in a more humble frame of mind.

This recital is but an outline of what one forum did in a church in a great city. It could be duplicated again and again, going each time to a different part of the country. Such a meeting is democracy in religion, or at least one phase of it, if I have not been misled as an American citizen or bamboozled by my religious instructors. And yet I know so-called 100 per cent Americans who deprecate a popular discussion of critical questions and I am well acquainted with religious leaders who insist that our present-day troubles have nothing whatever to do with religion. Maybe that is what is the matter with things after all. But if the churches won't discuss these matters and the forums ought not to do so, how are we ever going to get the troubles and religion within sight of each other?

As I write I am thinking of an able, well-seasoned minister with a rich and powerful congregation who, not feeling that the time of his crucifixion is yet at hand, has agreed with his governing board in the church that for the next three months he will not preach on any subject later than the Victorian age. Is that what might be called plutocracy in religion? Whatever it may be, it is far removed from the democracy which the forum injects into religion.

In another city in the Middle West an almost defunct Sunday evening service was immediately transformed into a spiritual dynamo whose light is seen and power felt in every corner of the city among all classes of people. Hundreds were turned away all through a long first season. Again it was a

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downtown church that had lost touch with the people, having an evening congregation of less than seventy-five. Now the only difficulty is how wisely to direct and utilize the tremendous power which has been generated.

It isn't a vaudeville performance, nor a motion-picture melodrama, nor a band concert, no, not even a stereopticon that furnishes the lure that draws the crowd to forum meetings. It is life, as we live it today, with all its problems and heartaches, with all its lure and significance, unfolded by leading men and women who themselves have lived and thought in a large way, with all the marvelous reactions that come from hundreds of everyday men and women in the audience—it is this that attracts and holds the forum crowds. A live forum is as engaging as a vaudeville performance; something unexpected happening all the time. It is as absorbing as a motion picture, life speaking directly to you; it is as stirring as a band concert, putting your emotions athrill; and it is as true to life as the pictures from the stereopticon, for every participant in the audience gives you an instantaneous etching from real life. When doctrine, sectarianism, the life of two thousand years ago, a threadbare evangelism, a stereotyped service, a loosely thrown together address, fail to attract the multitudes, don't despair of the multitude. When the gospel fails to appeal, it might not be unreasonable to assume first that perhaps the gospel has suffered at our hands or that we have lost the ability to present it. At all events, it does not necessarily follow that some other way than our way is surely the wrong way.

Someone, doubtless, is saying to himself that the crowds often follow after strange gods. A crowd in itself is no evidence that one is on the right track. True enough, just as certainly as empty seats are hopelessly unresponsive. But there is this to be said about a forum crowd: It is not only most wary and elusive, hard to get and harder to hold, but the forum crowd is not the mass of the people at all. I wish

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with all my heart it were. No, no, a forum audience is only the cream skimmed off the top of the crowd. It includes every class and kind, but only the most thoughtful individuals, the most earnest and devoted representatives of the different groups in the city. The great body of the rank and file in almost every class is too inert to respond to the attraction of serious discussion of public matters. It would rather be amused with predigested motion-picture pap, or go on a lark, or loll through the evening, or soak up a Sunday newspaper. No, don't think for a moment that the forum will draw the dregs either from the upper or the lower classes. Just as the stated church services appeal to only a small proportion of those who count themselves in the fold, so the forum draws to itself only a small proportion of either church people or of those outside the church.

The forum method of discussion, following the message by the appointed speaker, is spreading far and wide, even where the forum name is never attached to it. Nowhere is it more often brought into use than in religious meetings. The prayer meeting, the Bible study class, the young people's meeting, the evening preaching service, and here and there even the Sunday morning service have been forumized to the extent that the people in attendance have the privilege of cross-examining the speaker by the question method. An able and successful pastor in New England, of long experience, not only introduced the full-fledged forum into his church activities, but also forumized nearly every meeting held under the auspices of the church. Where the forum discussion has followed the Sunday morning service it has generally been the custom to adjourn after the benediction to another room where those who cared to remain were free to question the pastor on the subject of his sermon.

While it must be apparent to anyone that a service for worship and inspiration might easily be spoiled by introducing an element of controversy, it must also be admitted that when

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the preacher is exercising the function of the teacher and giving instruction to his flock, questioning on the part of his hearers might follow very fittingly and profitably.

This last winter the open forum idea was planted in the midst of the activities of a church with which I have been connected all my life. It is a church made famous in the past by a great ministry. That era closed twenty-five years ago. Since then the environment of the church has completely changed. The once fashionable residential section of the city is now a boarding- and lodging-house district. There are three times as many people in the district as in the olden days, but they do not come to our church nor go to any church in large numbers, although a goodly proportion of them are white people of American or Canadian stock and Protestant in their leanings. The same gospel which used to fill our fine church auditorium has since come perilously near emptying it. Our service is almost identically what it was a quarter of a century and more ago. Our activities are precisely what they were forty years ago: two services on Sunday, Bible school, Friday night prayer meeting, young people's meeting, the Benevolent Circle and the women's missionary meeting, with the church sociable once a month—all preserved intact just as they were originally planned.

But with the present pastor there came two years ago a new spirit and energy. He has the united support of all the old-timers and the love and devotion of a constantly widening circle of folks all through our community. He wouldn't accept the call of the church until he had assured himself that it was willing to go to some lengths to reach and serve the unchurched people of that neighborhood through whatever methods might be necessary. On his own initiative, without a suggestion from me, he inaugurated an open forum every Wednesday night in the vestry. And he made it an open forum for the neighborhood, not another service of the church. It was so satisfactory that, having been begun on a monthly basis, it

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was soon made semi-monthly, and then weekly. It gripped the neighborhood as had nothing else we had done in a long time. It brought into the vestry on Wednesday nights as great a variety of human beings as we have at Ford Hall and they found there the same friendly, tolerant, helpful spirit, with no traps set to catch them, no pressure brought to bear, no smug condescension, but a virile, frank, hearty fellowship and an eager disposition to learn something from the other fellow.

Not only was this little forum with its weekly attendance of two hundred and more a pronounced success from every point of view and a joy and a blessing to those who attended without ever approaching the church at any other time, but every activity of the church itself began to take on new life. The Sunday evening service is larger than it was in the palmiest days of the old régime, and the morning attendance grows steadily. A recent sociable in the vestry had more people in attendance than the oldest member could remember having seen at any similar gathering in the church. The credit for all this is by no means due to the forum. Without our young pastor we should be lost. But I am quite sure he would say that he would now feel lost without the forum activity. This forum is injecting the spirit of democracy into this fine old church to an extent that it never dreamed of before, and it needs it quite as much as the crowd it seeks to serve may need the gospel.

A little dried-up Methodist church in an extreme southern state opened its doors to the forum with the result that the auditorium had to be enlarged three times in a few years and the church became the fifth largest of its denomination in the state. Finally it became necessary to build a big auditorium with a seating capacity of three thousand for the exclusive use of the forum and its various activities. A pastor of another denomination in the next town across the river had an evening congregation of about twenty-seven. He was afraid that the

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afternoon session of the forum would draw away a few of his attendants, perhaps five or six. When asked which he would choose to suffer, the possible loss of six auditors, Sunday evening, or the shutting up of the forum on Sunday afternoons with an attendance not less than two thousand, he promptly said he would shut up the forum. Since the establishment of that forum, the Sunday evening congregations within a radius of ten miles of the forum auditorium have been augmented by two thousand attendants. This same minister declared it was his business to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and let the world take care of itself. I wonder if he was preaching Jesus' gospel and if it wasn't the gospel of Jesus that the forum there was disseminating.

And that reminds me of what William T. Ellis, the widely known religious journalist, once said about the forum at Ford Hall. He said, "I could easily imagine the Galilean on that Ford Hall platform, answering the eager, earnest questions of the perplexed multitude."

Intelligent people cherish the most widely divergent views about both democracy and religion. With some it is always a form, while with others it is purely idealistic and mystical. Most of us are able to recognize both democracy and religion when we see them in action. The forum is a vital force and its natural field of action is in the realm of practical democracy and sound religion, and it is at its best when it finds the two fields inevitably merging one into the other.

The forum cannot flourish where the instincts of the people are not democratic. The forum will get no foothold where the passion for truth and righteousness has been smothered out. America provides the two requisites and the forum flourishes on her soil. It is not ten years yet since the forum movement may be said to have gotten under way. It would be a bold prophet who would dare say what it will accomplish in the next generation as a contributing force to the democratization of religion.

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WHAT ARE THE FUNDAMENTALS OF CHRISTIANITY?

CONRAD H. MOEHLMANN
Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N.Y.

ABSTRACT

In view of the current demand of an organized group in Christianity that a definite list of "fundamentals" be insisted upon, it is imperative to discover what such a list would be if based on actual history. A survey of twenty Christian groups is made, showing in brief compass what each regards as essential. Considerable diversity exists in these statements. The Apostles' Creed, as the most universally accepted formula, is critically examined. It is found that several items in this creed are susceptible of varied interpretation. The conclusion is that no formulation adequately interprets the whole of Christianity. The attempt to require acceptance of a fixed creed leads to unfortunate results for religion.

Of late there has been considerable interest in "fundamentals." Conferences on fundamentals have been widely convened. Questionnaires on fundamentals have been sent to thousands. The "fundamentals" of Christianity have been summarized in a few points. Superficial and easy conclusions have been reached. The general impression has been that the essence of Christianity is exceedingly easy to discover. New Testament scholarship has not reached a unanimous verdict on the teaching of Jesus; the historians of Christianity cannot fully explain the transition from primitive Christianity to nascent Catholicism or state in a few sentences the significance of the history of Christianity; the last book on Paul has by no means been written; the last primitive Christian document of the second century has not been found, to say nothing of being interpreted; the complicated history of medieval Christianity and the total importance of Protestantism have not been evaluated—but all this does not prevent some twentieth-century Christians from concluding that the final revelation has been granted unto them.

History's verdict on what is fundamental may not be overlooked. A cross-section of a few of the numerous Christian

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interpretations of what is essential in Christianity should convince the unprejudiced of the great variety of thought and practice in Christianity, and enable valid conclusions on the value of creeds to be drawn.

I. SURVEY OF CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALS

In the United States alone there are some two hundred Christian groups. Each of these maintains some peculiar attitude in faith or in practice. The following survey must be restricted to an examination of the fundamentals of merely a score of Christian groups. But the tenets of both principal and minor bodies of Christians will be considered. Hence the investigation should prove fair and sufficient. Indeed, to prolong the study would be to accentuate the variations in Christian beliefs.

1. The Orthodox Greek church accepts the interpretation of Christianity contained in the findings of the councils of Nicaea (A.D. 325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), Constantinople (553), Constantinople (680), Constantinople (691), Nicaea (787), Constantinople (879), etc.

2. Roman Catholicism, in addition to approving of the ecumenical creeds has as its basis the conclusions of the Council of Trent, those of the Vatican Council, and the papal decisions. And Roman Catholicism added the little word *filioque* to the Nicene Creed. This addition is one of the reasons for the separation of the Greek church from the Latin church. *Filioque* does not appear until the late sixth century and in the early part of the ninth century had not been inserted in the creed. Its gradual adoption by the Latin church caused its transmission to Protestantism.

3. The basis of Lutheranism is the Bible as interpreted by the Formula of Concord, 1580, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, the Augsburg Confession, the Apology for the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Larger Catechism, and the Smaller Catechism.

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4. Calvinism came to be summarized in five points: particular, or absolute predestination; limited atonement; natural inability or total depravity; irresistible or efficacious grace; perseverance of the saints.

5. Arminianism could counter with: conditional predestination; universal atonement; saving faith; resistible grace; uncertainty of perseverance.

6. Anabaptism was a radical type of Protestantism with an emphasis upon the freedom of the will, the illumination of the Spirit, the private interpretation of the Scriptures. Anabaptists insisted that the New Testament is superior to the Old Testament, that the church should be composed of believers, that the ordinances do not have sacramental significance, that the church should separate from the state, that religious liberty is the right of every man, that war is anti-Christian, that voluntary communism is required by the New Testament, and that the paying of interest is contrary to the Bible. Anabaptism was condemned by Catholic and Protestant alike.

7. The Six Principle Baptists employed Hebrews 6:1, 2 as their point of departure and insisted upon: repentance, faith, baptism, laying on of hands, resurrection of the dead, eternal judgment.

8. The Primitive Baptists are remarkable for their hyper-Calvinism, premillenialism, complete literalism, and for their opposition to missions, Sunday-schools, secret societies, and the use of musical instruments in connection with worship.

9. The Conservative Dunkers are orthodox trinitarians who demand trine forward immersion, confirmation while kneeling in the water of baptism, the evening eucharist, feet-washing, the love feast, the veiling of women, anointing with oil, non-resistance, total abstinence, abstinence from oaths, plain attire, and omission of wearing of jewelry.

10. The Old Order of Amish Mennonites believe, among other things, in the strict ban (no social contact with the

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excommunicated), washing of feet, marriage between members only, pouring, the celebration of the Lord's Supper twice a year, use of hooks and eyes instead of buttons, worship in private houses, autonomy of the local church. They allow no evening or protracted meetings, no church conferences, and no benevolent institutions. They do not associate with other Christian groups.

11. The Free Methodist church in addition to supporting the Articles of Faith of the Methodist Episcopal church emphasizes entire sanctification, a more rigid eschatology; they have general superintendents, and permit laymen in equal numbers and on the same basis as ministers in district, annual, and general conferences.

12. The Cumberland Presbyterian church has adopted a revised Westminster Confession, is against the doctrine of reprobation, is non-liturgical, and requires no subscription to a confession for church membership.

13. The Reformed church of America regards Christianity as defined in the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, the Belgic Confession, the Canons of the Synod of Dort, and the Heidelberg Catechism.

14. The Protestant Episcopal church in America uses as its basis the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the revised Thirty-nine Articles.

15. The Hicksite Friends rely on the "Light Within" and leave special doctrines and dogmas to the decisions of each individual.

16. The Polish National Catholic church of America uses the Bible and the findings of the first four ecumenical councils as basic, rejects papal infallibility and eternal punishment, regards faith as merely helpful and the hearing of the word of God in the Polish National Catholic church as a sacrament, and approves private interpretation of the Bible.

17. The Church Transcendent affirms that God is one, that humanity is God's family, that human rights are superior to

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property rights, that mind is superior to matter, that there should be one true international, interracial religion. It has a fourfold kind of membership: hereditary, adolescent, plenary, celestial.

18. The Amana Society believes in the Bible, *a new revelation to them*, a fire and spirit baptism only, confirmation at the age of fifteen, a biennial celebration of the eucharist, plain dress, omission of amusements and oaths, non-resistance, and communism.

19. The Pentecostal Holiness church holds to modern Arminianism, joyous demonstration in worship, premillenialism, divine healing, perfectionism, and the real baptism of the Holy Spirit.

20. The General Convention of the New Jerusalem believes in one God, in a trinity of essence, a Bible plenarily dictated by the Lord Himself, the literal sense of the Bible, the deeper sense of the Bible, that the one God by a virgin birth lived a human life overcoming sin, that all the enemies of the human race are in subjection in every man who co-operates with God, that man is raised up in his body in the spiritual world, that the judgment occurs immediately after death in the world of spirits and is man's coming to a real knowledge of himself.

This survey demonstrates that Christianity has never been in agreement regarding what is fundamental. Similarly, the documents of the primitive church reveal a refreshing variety of opinion. The Christology of Mark is not that of Paul or of John. The Orthodox Greek church differs from the Roman Catholic church in several dogmas. The Lutheran basis cannot be equated with either Calvinism or Arminianism, and Anabaptism was so radical as to be repudiated and caricatured by most Protestant bodies to say nothing of Roman Catholicism. Every variety of faith and practice has adherents and regards itself as 100 per cent orthodox. Laying on of hands, feet-washing, plain attire, premillenialism, omission of wearing of jewelry, wearing of hooks and eyes instead of buttons,

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veiling of women, confirmation at the age of fifteen, the biennial celebration of the eucharist, are regarded as quite as important as the Nicene Creed, the Westminster Confession, the Augsburg Confession, the Thirty-nine Articles. Indeed, the matter of the hooks and eyes may be far more divisive than the matter of the Smalcald Articles. What the past has fought for in the matter of religion is sometimes incomprehensible, to the third and fourth generations.

II. AN EXAMINATION OF THE APOSTLES' CREED

Many groups of Christians accept the Apostles' Creed as basis. But the "received" form of this summary is not at all identical with the Roman form or with the much earlier forms. On the basis of Schaff's[1] brilliant study and employing the "received" text of the Western form, we shall indicate by numerals the approximate date of the *first appearance* of each affirmation.

1. I believe in God (prior to A.D. 250 "in one God") the Father (A.D. 250) Almighty (A.D. 200) maker of heaven and earth (A.D. 650),

2. and in Jesus Christ (A.D. 300) his (A.D. 220) only (A.D. 390) begotten (A.D. 341) Son (A.D. 220) our Lord (A.D. 260),

3. who (A.D. 390) was conceived (A.D. 550) by the Holy (A.D. 390) Ghost (A.D. 220), born (A.D. 220) of the virgin Mary (A.D. 220),

4. suffered (A.D. 220) under Pontius Pilate (A.D. 200), was crucified (A.D. 220), dead (A.D. 220) and buried (A.D. 220);

5. he descended into hell (A.D. 390), the third day (A.D. 220) he rose (A.D. 390) from the dead (A.D. 220),

6. he ascended into heaven (A.D. 390) and sitteth at the right hand (A.D. 220) of God (A.D. 550) the Father (A.D. 220) Almighty (A.D. 550),

7. from thence (A.D. 390) he shall come to judge the quick and the dead (A.D. 220).

[1] *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. II, pp. 52–55.

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8. I believe in (A.D. 250) the Holy Ghost (A.D. 220),

9. the holy Catholic (A.D. 450) Church (A.D. 250), the communion of saints (A.D. 550),

10. the forgiveness of sins (A.D. 250),

11. the resurrection (A.D. 220) of the body (A.D. 1543),

12. and the life everlasting (A.D. 250).

The conclusion of such a conservative authority as Schaff is worth quoting:

> If we regard, then, the present text of the Apostles' Creed as a complete whole, we can hardly trace it beyond the sixth, certainly not beyond the close of the fifth century, and its triumph over all the other forms in the Latin church was not completed till the eighth century.

Even the Apostles' Creed was an exceedingly gradual development and required centuries to attain its present form. How a *text* not affirmed by the early church can be made obligatory for twentieth-century democratic Christians is a little difficult to understand.

But not only does the text of creeds vary from generation to generation, but the interpretation of its clauses undergoes change. To begin with, consider the Apostles' Creed. After we confess this symbol, we ask ourselves what is meant. For example, consider the affirmation, "He descended into hell." One may read "hell," "Hades," "inhabitants of the spirit world." Moreover, we recall that the Roman creed did not contain this clause until after the fifth century. Finally, the investigator is confronted with the difficulty of interpreting the expression. It has been regarded as identical with "buried," as denoting the "intensity of Christ's suffering on the cross," and as an actual descent of the slain Jesus to the realm of the dead. What is "the communion of the saints"? What is denoted by "the resurrection of the body"? Did the church appreciate Paul's *soma pneumatikon?* If so, the modern Christian were fortunate. Alas! one recalls that "body" first appeared in this creed in A.D. 1543, that "flesh" appeared in A.D. 220. The work must be done over again. This clause

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must be connected with the gnostic controversy whose history is in our day being rewritten.

The fourth-century church debated for more than half a century on *homoousios* of the Nicene Creed only to discover that its earlier significance had been modified.

The symbol of Chalcedon was a compromise formula. Actually little progress had been made since A.D. 381. It can be understood only after several thoroughgoing courses upon it. "Born of the virgin Mary the mother of God; to be acknowledged in two natures, unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably." The once underlined was directed against Nestorius; the twice underlined against the Eutychians. Immediately we wish to know who these brethren were and what they desired to affirm and why their views could not be adopted by the church. This symbol had hardly been spread on the minutes, when the monophysites made a frontal attack. The sixth century beheld the disintegration of the imperial church. The Eastern provincial churches separated from it. In succession, the Persian church, the Jacobites of Syria, the Copts of Egypt, the Ethiopian church, and the Armenian church departed from the orthodox fold. Christianity dissipated its vitality in doctrinal controversy and had no superior religion to offer to advancing Mohammedanism. In fact, during the succeeding thirteen centuries it has not been able to conquer Islam. Sometimes history exacts a heavy penalty for failure to understand the nature of Christianity.

If the Christian church has never agreed regarding the interpretation of such a simple and ancient formula as the Apostles' Creed, is it conceivable that a small group of twentieth-century Christians will be able to formulate the fundamentals of Christianity for their brethren?

Consider the Apostles' Creed from another angle, from the point of view of completeness. What information does it give us regarding the attitude Christianity should take on

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disarmament, on internationalism, on the recently adopted amendments to the Constitution of the United States, on the general labor unrest? Does it at all evaluate the Sermon on the Mount or enable us to understand the principal purpose of Jesus? We must still face the problems of today ten minutes after pledging allegiance to the Apostles' Creed. The following excerpt from an editorial in a Catholic weekly should bring conviction:

> It has become plain that we can go little farther along present lines of attempting to patch up modern industrial society by legislative plasters. In laying down the first step in a real program of reform we must proceed on the assumption that our objectives are clear: Capitalism must go, the modern State must go, and in their places must arise a society based on the mediaeval Guild State.
>
> What, then, is the first step? Existing Catholic societies and agencies must merge their efforts and undertake to educate Catholic workingmen in the new economics. We will set down this one piece of educational reform and place it alongside the entire list of any existing reconstruction program as an equivalent. Indeed we will go so far as to say that we pin our hopes solely to the education of our people, and primarily of our Catholic workingmen, in the ancient Catholic principles and methods of social ethics.

The tragic element about the fundamentalist controversy is its diversion of Christianity's attention from the realities of the present day. It is far more essential to the survival of Christianity that the church provide a proper background and atmosphere for twentieth-century civilization than that it seek to awaken interest in its ancient doctrinal fossils.

No confession of faith has ever been composed that adequately described the faith of its subscribers.

Probably the greatest fallacy of fashioners of creeds is the assumption that subscription accomplishes something. As soon as the Nicene Creed had been signed, the battle began. Had they signed *homoousios* or *homoiousios?* The tyro in church history is familiar with the general bedlam that continued for decades. Just how many times was Athanasius banished and what atrocities were not alleged against him! How many parties and minor groups came into existence

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between A.D. 325–381! But the test case must be the Apostles' Creed and the witness a conservative historian:

> It is a singular fact that in the non-episcopal churches of Great Britain and the United States, the Apostles' Creed is practically far less used but much more generally believed than in some State Churches where it is part of the regular worship, like the Lord's Prayer.

The Constitution of the United States did more for religion by its assertion of the principle of the separation of church and state than the constitutions of Europe that made religion obligatory.

Our study of the Apostles' Creed has shown that the simplest and most ancient of the church's symbols has undergone many textual modifications and transformations, that its interpretation has varied, that it does not at all summarize the faith of the primitive church, that it has not secured uniformity of belief, that its recitation by no means guarantees the acceptance of its contents, that concentration of attention on doctrine causes Christianity to lose contact with life. The same conclusions would need to be reached regarding any confession of faith. The Nicene Creed, for example, exists in three forms: the original form, the form as now received by the Eastern church, and the Latin or Western form. The *filioque* of the Latin form first appeared in A.D. 589 and is one of the reasons for the cleavage between the Greek and the Roman churches.

III. SOME CONCLUSIONS

The adoption of summaries of faith has been preceded by, accompanied by, and followed by tragic controversy. They have not fairly described the genius of any group. They have often damaged the influence of Christianity; contradicting faith and love; neglecting the "whom" in the emphasis upon the "what," destroying the freedom which is in Christ; utterly forgetting "for in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision; but faith manifesting itself in love"; reducing Christianity to a new legalism

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when it must remain an experience. They make the test of Christianity intellectual. They tend to exalt themselves over the Bible. They cannot detect error. They are productive of religious astigmatism. They result in disagreement rather than uniformity. They are readily misunderstood by the historically untutored. It is easier and more worth-while to interpret the New Testament than the creeds. "Creeds are often procrustean beds for the torture of theological thinkers." They cannot be reconciled with "soul freedom." They involve the exchange of the comfort of growth and difference for the strait-jacket of conformity. They themselves constantly undergo change in text and in interpretation. The Bible because of its variety cannot be reduced to a creed. Man's experience of God cannot be listed under five points. Summaries are either too brief and therefore superficial or too extensive and therefore subject to all the laws of interpretation. Life is more than meat, and faith is more than a summary. The church is at the parting of the way. If it gave one-tenth the attention to developing a keen edge for the conscience of the individual, to regenerating itself, to interpreting the religious significance of the industrial, economic, and social transformations of the present, to Christianizing all life which it has been bestowing upon correctness of dogmatic phraseology, the Kingdom of God should become a more thrilling experience for multitudes. But if a summary there must be, it should be biblical. Matthew 22:37–40 should suffice. "And he said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the great and first commandment. And a second like unto it is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments the whole law hangeth, and the prophets."

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THE MISSION OF REFORM JUDAISM

SAMUEL S. COHON
Chicago, Illinois

ABSTRACT

Reform Judaism represents the latest phase in the evolution of Jewish religious thought. It grew out of the post-Mendelssohnian intellectual endeavor to adapt the historic faith of Judaism to the changed conditions in Jewish life, following the French Revolution. Its pioneers, *Jacobson*, etc., were called upon to fight apostasy on the one hand and rigid orthodoxy on the other. Originating in Germany, the Reform Movement spread to other West European countries, and found an especially congenial home in democratic America. Its theology, as formulated by *Abraham Geiger* and his followers, is based on reason and on the scientific study of the Bible, Talmud, and Jewish tradition. Through its renewed emphasis on the ethical side of life, Reform Judaism has added new vigor to the age-old religion of Israel.

Jewish history since the close of the Bible has run in three main channels. The foremost tendency of Jewish life was that of unquestioned adherence to the various practices transmitted by former generations, a tendency which produced the law-books of the Bible, the Mishna, and the Shulchan Arukh. The Jewish spirit, however, was not confined within the channel of legalism. By the side of law, there was the stream of rationalism, which found expression in the philosophic works of Philo, Saadja, Gabriol, and notably of Maimonides. The emotional side of religion manifested itself in the mysticism of the Cabala. None of these is entirely devoid of at least a tinge of the other. It has been the pride of Judaism that it combines the appeal to reason and the longing of the heart with the daily *Mitzwoth* or duties. As a matter of fact these three tendencies have not often been at peace with one another. Legalism frequently waged war on mysticism and rationalism; the Cabala made little effort to conceal its impatience with law and with pure thought; and philosophy, also, looked upon Cabala as a filmy vapor which must dissolve before the sun of enlightenment, and upon legalism as a dry system which is lifeless without the stimulus of reason. The upper hand in

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Judaism belonged to the representatives of the law. Their attacks on the spirit of rationalism form the darkest pages in our history. They were no more successful in removing reason from religion than they would have been in trying to tear out the brain from the head of a living man. Despite the burning of the great work of Maimonides, the excommunication of Spinoza, and the condemnation of Mendelssohn, the spirit of rationalism reasserted itself in the Reform Movement at the early part of the nineteenth century.

The word "reform" summons varied lines of thought to the minds of different people. To conservatives, who are ever "cross at the agony of a new idea," it appears as the death-knell of the order of religion, social life, or politics to which they are chained by force of habit. Other men and women, who are temperamentally chronic radicals, delight in reform because it bears the mark of novelty. Normal persons refuse to regard reform as either a toy or a dreadful specter, but as a policy, which occasionally comes as a compelling necessity, of changing the old appearance of things for a new and more attractive one, and of substituting a living for a dying social or religious order. No sane person will pull down a building just for the sheer delight of destruction; neither will any man, in his senses, refuse to repair or rebuild his house if its roof is torn, and its walls, doors, and windows broken. In social and religious life, too, people, though clinging with all their might to inherited institutions and customs sometimes find themselves compelled to renovate them in order to save them from decay.

A condition of this nature presented itself to the Jewish people in Western Europe about a century ago, when the walls of the Ghetto began to crumble. It is well known that almost throughout the Middle Ages the Jews were forced to live in separate quarters, which came to be known later as Ghettos. While this was the case in Mohammedan Spain and Turkey, it is in Christian countries that the Ghetto became a unique institution. In Italy, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Hungary,

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Germany, and Poland, the Jews were, as a rule, quarantined like lepers in separate sections of each city. These Ghettos were organized at different times and under varied local conditions. They were maintained not only by the desire on the part of the Jews to live together, a desire which deserves the highest praise, but mainly by the intolerant and narrow church policy of treating all those out of her pale as inferior beings.

For centuries the Ghetto constituted the "fatherland" of the Jew, offering him a friendly environment in the midst of a hostile world, a veritable oasis with laughing fountains and fruit-bearing trees in the midst of the barren wilderness. Every big city had such a little Jerusalem, where the Jew led his own, distinctly Jewish, life, which appeared all the more charming because of the sickly atmosphere of the cramped surroundings. The Jews were permitted to have courts of their own with full jurisdiction in almost all save criminal cases. They maintained elementary and high schools, where their sacred literature constituted the main subject of study. Living in seclusion, they developed their own dialects. In Teutonic countries, the German vernacular was tinged with Hebrew words and phrases and grew into Yiddish-Deutsch. This language—unjustly ridiculed by philistines as a contemptible jargon, as if most languages were not jargons—was lovingly preserved among the *Ashkenazim* or German Jews even when, after their expulsion from their country, they settled in Poland. To this day Yiddish forms the medium of expression of more than seven million Jews.

The Ghetto was by no means wholly covered with somber clouds. Often the sun shone upon it in full brilliance. Light and shade mingled in its many-sided life. Despite great odds, entailing heavy sacrifices, the Jews cheerfully observed their religious regulations. Their souls were uplifted to their Maker on the Sabbaths and holidays. Young and old eagerly participated in the pleasures of the joyous seasons and occasions. There were indeed moments in the life of the Ghetto

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Jew when, in the words of Heine, he was no longer bewitched into a dog, but stood erect as Prince Israel, God beloved. The morality of the people was very high. As the eyes of the whole community were upon each individual, the incentive to right living was strong. The author of the article on the "Ghetto" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* writes that "the Bohemian chroniclers of the sixteenth century designate the Ghetto of Prague as a 'rose garden,' and add that when the gates of the Ghetto were closed at night there was not one woman inside whose reputation was in the least tarnished."

In most respects the Ghetto formed a state within a state. Only it lacked the political defenses of a state. At any time bigots could make their way into the peaceful Jewish quarter, and destroy the fruit of Jewish labor, and even expel inhabitants from their "fatherland." No wonder that the Jews regarded themselves as living in *Galuth*, in exile, and prayed for a speedy return to their historic fatherland, where they would again enjoy the blessings of peace, and worship God in freedom. It was not a mere formula which the Jew recited at the conclusion of his morning prayers: "I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah, and, though he tarry, I will wait daily for his coming." Patiently the Jew waited for the hour upon which the *Shofar* of the Messiah would resound, proclaiming to him the good tidings of liberty from persecution and from the spirit of intolerance. The eyes of great numbers of our people grew dim, straining to look into the future, and often mistook a will-o-the-wisp for a shining star, in the deep darkness that enveloped them. Many a pretender to the messiahship found ardent followers among the masses and was hailed as the long-expected Redeemer of the scattered tribes of Israel.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century the trumpet did resound, but it was not the *Shofar* of the Messiah. It was the French Revolution, sounding the message of freedom, equality, and fraternity. To the Jew no less than to the other

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members of the human family this message brought new life and new hope. In Germany as well as in France the spirit of liberalism found strong champions. Among these a place of eminence belongs to the famous dramatic poet Lessing, who exalted the Jew before the world, through his delightful comedy *Die Juden* and his masterpiece *Nathan der Weise.* Herder, too, must be singled out in the vast chorus of singers who heralded the dawn of religious toleration, which exerted a tremendous effect upon the life of the Jewish people.

The full significance of the spirit of liberalism and the directions into which it was tending may be seen in the life-story of Moses Mendelssohn (1729–86). Born under dark skies, this favorite of God went to Berlin in pursuit of knowledge. There he won the friendship of Lessing and of other men of note, and gained universal recognition as a profound writer on aesthetics and philosophy. As a master of German style and as a devout Jew, he felt the need of translating the *Torah* (the Pentateuch) into pure German. The effect of this seemingly small service upon the cultural and religious life of the Jews assumed far-reaching proportions. On the one hand it promoted the study of Hebrew grammar, a subject hitherto neglected; and on the other it opened the door of German literature to those that were confined to the Ghetto walls and to talmudic learning. While some Orthodox leaders favored Mendelssohn's translation, the majority of rabbis opposed it as a revolutionary act which would strike the heart of Jewry. They felt more keenly than their opponents that with the substitution of pure German for Yiddish-Deutsch the whole institution of the Ghetto was endangered. Having no hope of erecting a palace, they naturally defended their hovel. They placed Mendelssohn's translation under the ban, but their opposition proved futile. The friends and followers of Mendelssohn devoted themselves to the task of remodeling the Jewish school system and of enlightening the masses. Regarding all the troubles from which the Jews suffered, as the result

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of ignorance, they looked upon enlightenment as the chief remedy. They established modern schools in Berlin and in Breslau, in Seesen, in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and in Wolfenbütel, in Brody, and in Tarnopol, in Riga, in Odessa, and in Warsaw. They published periodicals for the dissemination of the new ideas, and extended the frontiers of the *Haskalah*, or enlightenment movement, as far as Russia-Poland.

Everywhere enlightenment spelled political emancipation to the enthusiastic followers of Mendelssohn. With joy they hailed the Patent of Toleration of the humane Emperor Joseph II for the Jews of Lower Austria, which, in part, established the civic equality of his Jewish subjects. In France, the home of the Revolution, Count Mirabeau, Count Clermont Tannere, and the Abbé Gregoire championed the Jewish cause. The first-born child of the French Revolution, the republican government of the United States of America, made the doctrines of equality of all men before the law without distinction of race or creed, the foundation of its constitution, thus guaranteeing also the rights of the Jews. When on September 27, 1791, the National Assembly enfranchised all the Jews of France, an Alsatian deputy significantly wrote to his constituents that Judaism in France thus became "nothing more than the name of a distinct religion." In other words, the political emancipation of Jewry demolished the whole institution of the Ghetto as far as France was concerned. The Jews no longer formed a state within the state but became the equals of their Christian neighbors in citizenship.

The example of France stimulated the Jews of other lands in their struggle for equality. There were some men like the rabbis of Pressburg who considered the desire for political equality on the part of Jews as sinful and inconsistent with Israel's messianic hopes. For the Jewish people to have followed such teaching would have necessitated turning backward the wheels of the chariot of time. The spirit of the age demanded that the Jews range themselves on the side of progress.

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The aspiration for political equality on the part of the Jews in Germany involved: (1) a change of attitude toward the *Galuth;* for as full German citizens, they could no longer consider themselves to be strangers, expecting to be delivered from bondage by a Messiah; (2) the removal of the Ghetto; for as German citizens they could no longer continue to form a special Jewish state within the larger German Empire; and (3) the abandonment of Yiddish; for the children, drawn into the cultural and political currents of Germany, neither could nor would maintain a dialect of their own, particularly in view of its close resemblance to the language of the country.

The more unyielding the older generation was to these changes the stronger the feeling grew among the younger people that an inseparable barrier separated Judaism from European culture. Furthermore, as the profession of the Jewish faith disqualified men from public office in many sections of Western Europe, Judaism became a burden and a misfortune to men who set their career above their honor. Without the strength of conviction that impelled the Jews of former ages to martyrdom for their faith, these men readily consented to be sprinkled with the waters of the baptismal font to gain admittance into society or political life. Under these conditions a veritable conversionist epidemic broke out among the German Jews.

Far-seeing leaders beheld the danger signal. They recognized that in order to save Judaism, the young generation had to be impressed with the truth that to be a German in culture and in politics was not inconsistent with being a loyal Jew, that Judaism as a living faith must be distinguished from the forms in which it is expressed, and that the spirit of Judaism was still young and vigorous, capable of producing noble souls. Their own Moses Mendelssohn served them as the best illustration of the possibility of uniting the best in European culture with Judaism. Mendelssohn also served them as an object-lesson. While in his strength of character and deep Jewish devotion, he could observe all the details of the old law, his

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children failed to reach his high standard and fell away from Judaism altogether. What alienated them from their father's religion was not its beautiful spirit, striving after truth and holiness, but rather certain unattractive, and, in some instances, outlandish forms. It, therefore, became evident to these men of vision that the only power that could stem the evil of apostasy was, as Dr. Kaufmann Kohler expressed it, "the inner reform of Judaism which would again imbue the Jew with self-respect while disclosing to him his historical mission in the world."

With this aim in view, Israel Jacobson (1768–1828) established the first Reform service in connection with his school at Seesen and later at Cassel. Impressed with the success of his attempt, he built, at his own expense, the first Reform Temple at Seesen and dedicated it on July 17, 1810. He supplied his temple with an organ, introduced prayers in German, in addition to those recited in Hebrew, also German hymns, sung by the boys. In 1811 he confirmed the first class of Jewish boys. Political conditions compelled him to remove to Berlin in 1815. There he opened his home for weekly religious services, the chief feature of which was the sermon, preached in German. Among the preachers were Zunz, Kley, and Auerbach. The Orthodox elements denounced these services to the government and succeeded in stopping all Reform activities in Berlin for some time. In the meanwhile Kley went to Hamburg, to supervise the Jewish Free School, where he organized a Reform society and erected the famous Hamburg Temple (1818). A special prayer book was prepared for use in the temple which strove "to re-establish the external conditions of devotion without clashing too much with the current views on prayer, and to remove such passages as were in conflict with the civil position of the Jew." The Orthodox Jews of Hamburg tried to repeat the work of their brethren in Berlin, but this time they failed. The temple remained open and steadily grew in influence under the leadership of Kley

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and his associate preacher Gotthold Solomon. In 1829 the Hamburg Temple established a branch at Leipsic, where services were held during the busy annual fairs, with Auerbach as preacher. The merchants from all parts of the world that visited these fairs became acquainted with the temple services and carried its spirit to their home cities. Soon Reform congregations sprang up in different parts of Germany, Austria and Hungary, France, Denmark, and England.

Though originating in Germany, it is in America, where the congregations were new and, therefore, freer from antiquated usages, that Reform took deep root and soon grew into a greater power than in the old European communities. Under the influence of its liberal spirit, the German Jewish settlers led by men like Isaac M. Wise, Max Lilienthal, Samuel Adler, Samuel Hirsch, David Einhorn, B. Felsenthal, S. K. Guttheim, K. Kohler, and others laid the foundations of a noble type of Judaism in this land of freedom. Stately synagogues were dedicated to the worship of God. Schools and charitable institutions were established. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations was launched to unite the congregations throughout the land for concerted religious effort. The Hebrew Union College was established in Cincinnati under the auspices of the Union, under the leadership of Dr. Isaac M. Wise, to train rabbis for American Jewish pulpits. Further to unite American Israel, the rabbis of the country organized themselves into a Central Conference of American Rabbis, that the counsel of all may be brought to bear upon the vexing questions that arise from year to year. The Central Conference has had as its object the removal of the tendency toward individualism in religious life, which came by way of reaction toward the severe suppression of all private judgment under Orthodoxy. This has, in a great measure, been achieved through the publication of the two volumes of the Union Prayerbook which have helped to standardize the Sabbath and holiday worship in the synagogues

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throughout the land. The Central Conference of American Rabbis together with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations have not only fostered Judaism in the hearts of our people but have endeavored to present it in the right light before the non-Jewish world and thereby to form the right basis for mutual respect and co-operation.

In the temple at Vienna the famous cantor Solomon Sulzer regenerated the old music of the synagogue. Out of the sighs and groans of long ages of martyrdom and out of the heart-throbs of countless generations, he constructed the soul-stirring songs of triumph of the new synagogue. He was followed by Naumbourg at Paris, by Lewandowski at Berlin, and by Kaiser, Stark, Schlessinger, and by hosts of others on both sides of the Atlantic, who enriched the Jewish ritual with their glorious song. In the words of Gustav Karpeles, this "band of gifted men disengaged the old harps from the willows, and once more lured the ancient melodies from their quivering strings."

The early Reformers limited their constructive work to the external side of Judaism. They firmly believed that it could be regenerated through the removal of the old abuses from the synagogues and through the modernization of its mode of worship. It was left to their successors to see that the whole structure of Judaism needed thorough renovation. Many petty regulations such as the prohibition of shaving, the requirement that women wear *Scheitels* (wigs) the institution of the *Mikvah* (ritual bath) as an adjunct of the synagogue, and customs like *Tashlikh* (propitiatory rite based on the literal interpretation of Micah 7:19 *b*) and *Kapparoth Schlagen* (substitution of a fowl for a human being as a means of atonement) lost all religious meaning and appeared ludicrous. Many laws regulating family life, particularly in regard to marriage and divorce, grew increasingly burdensome. Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto* and Judah Leon Gordon's Hebrew poems (*Kozo Sbel Yod and Shomeres Yovom*) present some of the tragic conse-

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quences of the outworn marriage and divorce laws. The regulations of Sabbath and holiday observance, too, often became irksome, turning at least for some people feasts into fasts, and days of joy into days of mourning. In Russia-Poland and in Galicia no less than in Germany a revision of the laws governing Jewish life was strenuously urged, but the leaders of Orthodoxy turned a deaf ear to all such demands. Their adamantine rigor further alienated the progressive element from Judaism. It therefore became the task of the leaders of Reform to grapple seriously with the whole problem not alone by removing the abuses from Jewish life but by finding justification for their action in Jewish tradition. Their task was a double one: to redefine Judaism and to defend it from the attacks of skeptics and agnostics as well as to ward off the assaults of their Orthodox opponents.

Extraordinary caution was needed in their work. At first the early Reformers, like Aaron Chorin, tried to justify themselves on the ground of rabbinic law, often using talmudic authority for cutting down talmudic regulations. Soon they found this method wholly inadequate. The more they were attacked on the basis of the Talmud the stronger grew the belief among some of them that Judaism to be truly revived, must be purged of Rabbinism and of the Talmud and re-established on the foundations of the Bible. A dangerous line of cleavage was thus drawn between so-called "Mosaism" and "Rabbinism." In this spirit the Frankfort Society of Friends of Reform issued the following declaration of principles (1843): "(1) We recognize the possibility of unlimited development in the Mosaic religion. (2) The collection of controversies, dissertations, and prescriptions commonly designated by the name Talmud possesses for us no authority, from either the dogmatic or the practical standpoint. (3) A Messiah who is to lead back the Israelites to the land of Palestine is neither expected nor desired by us; we know no fatherland except that to which we belong by birth or citizenship."

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Reform Judaism entered upon a more fertile phase of its development with the labors of the great systematic thinker Abraham Geiger, whose motto was: "Aus der Vergangenheit schoepfen, in der Gegenwart leben, fuer die Zukunft arbeiten." Drawing his inspiration from the past, he saw no reason for discarding the Talmud and the whole body of Rabbinic thought. He belonged to the group of distinguished Jewish scholars who set themselves to the task of rehabilitating Judaism in the eyes of the learned world by applying the scientific methods, acquired in the universities, to its history and literature.

The results of their labors led to an almost revolutionary conception of Judaism. It showed that the law of evolution which Goethe and Darwin discovered in the organic and inorganic world is operative also in the domain of religion, that instead of being the product of supernatural revelation, it is the outgrowth of man's eternal quest for God. Judaism, as a careful study of its history shows, is not a religion that was established at any one time in the past, either by Moses or by any other man or group of men, but a body of truth, a growing tree of life. Moses took the kernel of the belief in one God, which came down to him from Abraham and planted it in the hearts of the newly liberated Israelites. The prophets, priests, and sages fostered its growth. From the first commandment, declaring the unity of God, they developed the whole moral, civic, and ritual law. Their words, embodied in the Bible, were further amplified by the rabbis in the Talmud and in the Codes of Law. Naturally not everything that was evolved in the course of the ages, whether in the biblical or in the talmudic periods, was progressive. Some things were indeed retrogressive. But at no time was there any complete break between what some called "Mosaism" and "Rabbinism." The same spirit that created the Bible also created the Talmud and the Schulchan Arukh. Throughout our history the spirit of Judaism related itself to the conditions of our people's life,

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to their needs and hopes. Like the rose it drank in not only the sunshine, but also the moisture of the soil in which it grew. That accounts for the varied forms which it assumed in the course of different ages and in different lands. This law also explains the rise of the Reform Movement, the latest link in the long chain of development of historic Judaism.

Judaism, being an ever-growing body of truth, aiming in each age to help man find his place in life, not merely gives us the right but imposes upon us the duty to adapt its religious truths to the changed conditions of the present day. The flower that blossomed last year was fresh and fragrant, but today it is faded and withered. In our love for the flower, it is not enough to press it between the pages of a book or to turn it into perfume; it is necessary to plant its seeds anew that the old flower may blossom again in the new one. If Judaism is dear to us—and dear it must be to thinking men and women, because it is one of the noblest faiths of modern times and one of the finest products of the spirit—we must transplant its noble truths into the hearts of modern men and women.

The pioneers of Reform labored in the belief that Judaism is not a thing of the past, confined to the Ghetto, but a living spirit for today and tomorrow, equally as needed in and equally as applicable to the new conditions in lands of freedom. As the fires of the French Revolution devoured the structure and foundation of decayed European politics and religion, these men with Maccabean zeal rescued the sacred oil of the synagogue to feed the flames of the *Menorah*. Largely due to their labors the light of Judaism has been kept alive in Germany, France, England, and America. Isaac D'Israeli, the distinguished English author and father of the even more distinguished statesman, Benjamin D'Israeli, is reported to have said to one of the founders of the Reform synagogue in London: "Had these changes been introduced at an earlier period, neither I nor my family would have seceded from the Jewish community." To this the Rev. Isidore Harris adds that "it is

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undoubtedly true that English Reform has been the means of keeping within the fold many who otherwise must have been lost to us, as happened in the case of some of the chief families of the Bevis Marks Synagogue." What is true of England is true of all other lands, where the walls of the Ghetto fell and where the Jew was drawn into the general social, cultural, and political life around him. There Reform appeared as a beacon light to the perplexed, guiding them in the faith and in the idealism of our fathers. Many congregations that at one time repudiated Reform ideas in principle have been compelled by circumstances to adopt them in practice. Prayers and sermons in the vernacular, mixed choirs, instrumental music, family pews, confirmation of girls as well as of boys have become part of conservative congregational life. In fact New-Orthodoxy or conservative Judaism follows tardily and timidly where Reform has bravely led the way. In their "Orthodoxy," its leaders are more "Reform" then the avowed Reformers of a couple of generations ago. Reform has bridged the gap between Judaism and the new political, social, and cultural life of our people in Western Europe and in America, and has developed under the loving care of rabbis and laymen into a magnificent body of religious truth that cheers the heart, delights the mind, and crowns Israel with new glory.

Reform Judaism does not claim to be a new religion. It is in every respect a mere link in the chain of Israel's historical continuity. It does not separate itself from the body of Israel. Despite differences of religious interpretation of life, we, of the Reform wing, lay strong emphasis upon the ideal of Jewish spiritual—as distinguished from political or geographical—unity. The Children of Israel constitute a religious brotherhood. Reform Judaism as the outgrowth of long ages of religious development is bound to Jewish tradition. We celebrate the holidays that have come down to us from the past. It is only in accommodation to the new conditions, under which the Jews are now living in lands of freedom, that

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some congregations instituted a Sunday service, but none have substituted Sunday for the historical day of rest. The Second Days of the Festivals (see the *Jewish Encyclopedia* for their origin) were abrogated not only because our people found it extremely difficult to observe them, but also because they have no scriptural basis. With the exception of Rosh Hashana, they are not observed even by the strictest Orthodox Jews of Palestine. Of the old ceremonials we try to keep all those that are vital to the life of the Jew. We look with deep reverence upon our religious literature. But we do not regard it as the sole source of authority in our religion. The Bible is the foundation but not the whole structure of Judaism. The Bible did not create Judaism; but Judaism created the Bible.

For our religious knowledge we do not depend exclusively upon tradition, the Bible, the Talmud, or the philosophic writings of earlier days. With the great teachers of the past, we believe that in a limited way our reason and our conscience can help us fathom some of the mysteries of God's existence. If with all our minds and with all our hearts we truly seek Him, we shall truly find Him. Our sacred literature and traditions must guide us on our way; but we ourselves must search after God. Modern science which has disclosed the wonders of earth and sky has revealed to us in a new light the majesty of our God, of that "Mekor Chayim"—source of all existence, whose life throbs in star and flower and heart of man, through whom we live and move and have our being. He is not a mere blind force that vitalizes matter, but a self-conscious, reasoning Being, who knows the needs of the world, of nations, and of individual men. To Him we can turn in prayer and be strengthened in our weakness, comforted in our sorrow, and restored from the selfishness and filth of sin to a holy and pure life. Humanly speaking, we can find no more sacred word by which to stammer forth His great name than that of "Father." In His hands we intrust our spirit, in life and in death.

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In former ages our people made much of the resurrection of the body and of the bliss of the soul in the hereafter. Men like Maimonides long ago came to look upon the Gan Eden and Gehenna as mere desires on the part of man but not names of actualities. And the saintly man, whom the late Professor Schechter quotes in one of his essays, even exclaimed in prayer unto God: "I have no wish for thy Paradise, nor any desire for the bliss in the world to come. I want thee and thee alone." Death can have no terror for us. When we are estranged from God our very life is death; but with God even death is life to us. The righteous live even after death. Their work remains behind them; their noble spirits, their hopes, their prayers and—what is greatest of all—their examples live on as blessings. It, therefore, follows that our whole life depends upon the way we spend our energies while moving in the midst of the duties, of the heat and the struggle of the day, upon the patience with which we endure our trials and the fortitude with which we bear our burdens. We consider it insufficient to say: "God's in his heaven; all's right with the world." Our ideal should rather be this: "Because God's in his heaven, we must see that all's right with the world." We, as men and as Jews, must promote the cause of justice on earth, defend the weak, and relieve the oppressed. To teach and, through our lives, to exemplify these truths, and thus to bring mankind nearer to the spirit of God, we consider to be the holy vocation or mission of our people.

The ideals of Reform Judaism are expressed clearest in its liturgy. The following paragraphs are typical of the Union Prayerbook:

> Almighty and merciful God, Thou hast called Israel to Thy service and found him worthy to be Thy witness unto the peoples of the earth. Give us grace to fulfil this mission with zeal tempered by wisdom and guided by regard for other men's faith. May our lives prove the strength of our own belief in the truths we proclaim. May our bearing toward our neighbors, our faithfulness in every sphere of duty, our

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compassion for the suffering and our patience under trial show that He whose law we obey is indeed the God of all goodness, the Father of all men, that to serve Him is perfect freedom and to worship Him the soul's purest happiness.

O Lord, open our eyes that we may see and welcome all truth, whether shining from the annals of ancient revelations or reaching us through the seers of our own time; for Thou hidest not Thy light from any generation of Thy children that feel after Thee and seek Thy guidance.

We pray for the masters and teachers in Israel that they may dispense Thy truth with earnestness and zeal, yet not wanting in charity. May the law of love be found on their lips, and may they by precept and example lead many in the ways of righteousness.

Bless, O God, all endeavors, wherever made, to lift up the fallen, to redeem the sinful, to bring back those who wander from the right path and restore them to a worthy life. Truly, O God, we long to adore Thee in the temple of holiness, at the altar of truth and with the offerings of our love. O satisfy us early with Thy mercy, that we may rejoice and be glad all our days.

The eternal hope of Israel is expressed in the Prayer of Adoration from which we quote the second part:

May the time not be distant, O God, when Thy name shall be worshipped in all the earth, when unbelief shall disappear and error be no more. We fervently pray that the day may come when all men shall invoke Thy name, when corruption and evil shall give way to purity and goodness, when superstition shall no longer enslave the mind, nor idolatry blind the eye, when all inhabitants of the earth shall know that to Thee alone every knee must bend and every tongue give homage. O may all, created in Thine image, recognize that they are brethren, so that, one in spirit and one in fellowship, they may be forever united before Thee. Then shall Thy kingdom be established on earth and the word of Thine ancient seer be fulfilled: The Lord will reign forever and ever.

On that day the Lord shall be One and His name shall be One.

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THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MINISTRY IN INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

WILFRED CURRIER KEIRSTEAD
University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B.

ABSTRACT

The moral and social problems in modern industrial society are foremost in men's thinking. New emotional attitudes are being created. How are these to be related to religious ideals?

1. If the church exists solely to save the individual for a future life, no social leadership is engendered.

2. If it be held that the regeneration of individuals will automatically lead to social reforms, it becomes evident that mere good will is not sufficient without detailed knowledge. Moreover a person's attitudes are largely determined by the stimulus of his environment.

3. If the minister confines himself to establish general truths, avoiding controversial questions, he will inevitably become a defender of conventional ideals, and will furnish no insight into new problems.

4. The only alternative is a really accurate knowledge of facts and forces in the social struggle. The minister today should have "the best training in the social sciences our universities can provide."

There has been in recent years a growing recognition of the moral significance of the economic process. The rapid and marked changes in industrial organization, its greatly increased productivity, and its far-reaching influences upon the lives and fortunes of the people have focused public attention upon it. Under modern methods of production huge masses of capital are concentrated in a few hands, giving to its owners or directors tremendous power over others; great numbers of laborers, dependent for toil upon these owners of the productive instruments, are, by reason of their common interests, organized into unions which are developing attitudes of mind and habits of thought of profound social importance. The modern city, with its organized effort to procure water supply, fire protection, sanitary conditions, efficiency in administration, public ownership and management of its utilities, and often voluntary co-operative movements for the distribution of

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utilities, is a direct product of industrial development. The city has developed associated living, a consciousness of strength in united action, and a spirit of democracy that is finding expression in manifold ways. On the other hand, the home life has been greatly influenced by industrial changes; the home has ceased to be a center of the economic activity of the family; its educational function has been taken from it to a large extent; the status of woman has changed and the environment of the children greatly altered.

But with the great increase in wealth and the increase in the average well-being there has come also greater poverty, greater dependence upon others for employment, periods of depression and unemployment, and the growth of industrial classes with a spirit of antagonism to each other. The minister as a philanthropic worker will find misery and suffering that root in economic conditions; he will discover the unemployed and the unemployable, disease that springs from malnutrition and improper housing, extreme poverty that cripples effort and denies any equality of opportunity to the immature, and senseless luxury which promotes idleness and stifles ambition. But he will also come in touch with great movements for social betterment—some of them springing out of private enterprise itself, others organized and directed by the state, still others arising out of the united activity of workers or the sympathetic interest of philanthropic and socially minded citizens. At any rate, he will soon appreciate the fact that as a leader in morals and religion he must understand the industrial life about him and its reaction upon the emotions, ideas, attitudes, and so upon the character of his people.

There is a school of thinkers who tell us that the economic life of a people is basal and causal in all spiritual development; that out of it arise the family organization, the political institutions, the classes or castes, the religious beliefs, in fact the entire social structure; and that no great change in any part of this structure can be accomplished without some corresponding

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adjustment of the economic process. Wars are either struggles of groups for the great feeding places (tribal) or for a share in the fodder (class). Sociologists have turned their attention to the significance of the economic factor in the psychic life of the individual and in the development of social organization. The change, for example, in occupation from hunting to agriculture brought with it a new psychosis, a different mentality, gave rise to a new class of virtues, changed the whole structure of the group organization, produced a new type of family life, and developed private property. The change that is going on today from the old industrial organization to the present system is producing emotional evaluations, mental attitudes, and moral ideas not less momentous, and is modifying almost as profoundly the social structure. One does not need to accept the economic interpretation of history; it is enough to recognize the economic element as one great factor in all human progress, to understand that real leadership in religion and ethics demands earnest consideration of this phase of organized life.

If the economic order were fundamentally antagonistic to morals and religion, then some harmony would need to be established else one or the other would perish. The essential impulses of the individual life must find rational and harmonized expression if a unified personality is to be attained; and in like manner since our social institutions are the counterparts of these impulses, they too must have unity in their variety else there is disorder in the spiritual life of mankind. The religious and industrial institutions of society can no more be divorced from each other than one can sunder within the soul the moral or religious impulses from the economic. The question of this paper is what attitude should the minister take to the economic problems in his community?

Perhaps the question may be answered by asking first, what has been the attitude of ministers in the past? I think it will be admitted by every student of history that the great

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religious leaders and preachers of every age have concerned themselves profoundly with the social, political, and industrial life of their time. The great prophets of Israel gave their message to meet the social problems of the nation; Jesus expressed principles and ideas that he held to be fundamental for political and economic organization; and the great preachers of our own generation are men who interpret the moral and religious significance of every phase of organized social life.

But can we affirm that the rank and file of the ministers of our churches, either today or in the past, have undertaken any serious leadership in guiding and directing thought and action in the industrial problems of their time? What has been or what is the attitude of the church and of her ministers in this important matter?

There has always been at least one section within the church that has viewed its task as one of preparing the individual for a *future* social order which does not root in or grow out of the *present* and the coming of which is in no way conditioned upon any human effort or activity in improving existing conditions. This perfect and future society will come suddenly from above when Christ returns to reign with his faithful saints, and since it comes without human effort the true attitude of the saint would seem to be resignation to what now is and a spirit of patient but hopeful waiting for the deliverance of the Lord when he comes; but too great interest in the vain and fleeting things of the earth tends to distract attention from the eternal values of future and blessed life of the saints of God. Some such attitude as this, perchance, characterized the early church which saw itself surrounded by a mighty pagan civilization that it was impotent to change, but there is little justification for a similar view in our present civilization which is so full of moral meaning and so hopeful for the realization of a higher spiritual life.

There is moral energy in a religious faith which proclaims the infinite worth of the human soul, the spiritual kinship of

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man with man and with God, and which sees in the associated struggles and activities of men the unfolding of a divine purpose and the realization of values of eternal significance. The faith in the unfolding life of God in the developing spiritual life of mankind gives courage to earnest souls to toil like Moses in the wilderness and to die with only a vision of the promised land, but with the full assurance that others will yet enter into possession and enjoy the fruits thereof. But a religious view of life that after all the sufferings and struggles of centuries robs the attainments of the human spirit of any enduring worth; that empties the present life of all meaning only to find satisfaction in the future; that sunders the future from the present by separating the consummation of the Kingdom from all human efforts and sacrifices and attainments, is an unsocial, unethical and magical view of religion that can never find an enduring place in the realized spiritual life of mankind. In such a religious message there is no guidance to industrial toilers, nor indeed to any earnest soul who believes in the worth of his race and the enduring value of the civilization it is seeking to create. No! We must find the divine in the human; our religion must assure us of the endurance of those values whose worth has been brought home to us by toil and travail of soul; it must encourage our hearts and strengthen our weak wills with the assurance that in rearing this structure of the associated spiritual life of our race we are working together with God, and that the coming of His Kingdom is by the fruition and attainment of our own ideals.

A considerable number of ministers take the ground that the object of the church is the salvation of the *individual*, and if he can be led to regeneration of life, the social order can be left to take care of itself. If the individual man can be made honest, sober, industrious, and upright, our social problems will all be solved. They hold that the minister does not need to know the solution of economic and social problems, but that he needs to know the gospel and to preach it with all the energy

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of his soul with the assurance that when the will of God is the law of the individual, the love of God will become the law in a new social order.

Moreover, this position is often stated in the modern pulpit as an alternative, one might almost say as antagonistic, to a salvation by social reform. The minister emphasizes the imperative need of a *change of heart* or of inner life, and decries any hope of making men better by the change of mere outer conditions, as if the latter were another gospel seeking to take the place of the true gospel which alone has saving power. Do you seek to bring about social betterment? Then enter into the work of the church, preach the gospel that it proclaims, bring into the heart of the individual the saving knowledge of the grace of God, and you will see arising on earth a regenerated social order.

But is this position true either to the gospel message or to the needs of life? In the first place, is it true that if we could get the right attitude of heart on the part of the individual, we have solved thereby our economic and social problems? Undoubtedly we have gone a great way toward their solution, for good will is a most essential element, but a full solution demands, not only a willingness to do what is right, but also a *knowledge* of what the right is. The economic situation is exceedingly complicated and demands for its continued improvement the application of science, and its full solution demands greater scientific advancement and must come gradually as the race builds up greater wealth of social experience and more scientific knowledge of the social forces. Just what one ought to do in the complicated and intricate interrelations of modern economic life is not something that comes to a man intuitively with a change of heart. There are many men and women in our churches who occupy places of leadership therein who are yet engaged in economic warfare.

But what is meant by a change of heart which the gospel demands? Of what sins must one repent? What is involved

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in the way of service in the new life of discipleship to the Christ? There are personal sins and social sins; and yet all sins are social, for there is no sin against God that is not sin against others. Theft, falsehood, adultery, murder—these are personal sins and yet they are social sins because they imply a wrong relation to others. Personal morality represents habits and ways of acting that have been worked out in a long past and have won universal recognition and approval, but social morality represents values and ways of action that are in the process of creation in the novel conditions of today. What is social morality today may be the personal morality tomorrow, and both must be taken into consideration to appreciate our full responsibility to our fellows. Shall repentance for sin be confined to personal sins or shall it include the great social sins, the vital ways in which selfishness and greed wrong the lives of others? Shall the righteousness demanded by the Christ be but the habitual righteousness of personal morality or the higher righteousness of love which makes its appeal to the conscience of the social citizen? If the gospel message is to present its great moral imperative to the men and women of today, it must demand that higher righteousness which is attained in the realization of social ends, in industrial, political, and other vocations, but yet, these ends are only capable of attainment by some understanding of the forces and principles that govern the social life.

But, granted the contention that a changed individual means a changed social structure, yet the question arises, how change the individual except through some change in the social structure? The whole philosophy of modern education is based upon the principle that to bring about an inner change in the individual you must change his environment. There is no other way by which we can afford guidance or direction to the lives of others; we cannot enter the inner consciousness of an individual and get hold of his will and compel his reaction, but we can so direct and select the stimuli that reach him as to

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encourage some reactions and to discourage others. We may universalize this principle and state that the only way of producing a change of heart or moral purpose in an individual is by producing some change in the conditions under which he lives. Herein is the great moral significance of the economic process, the effect it is having upon the reactions and experiences of the lives of those engaged in it. The minister with his gospel of personal salvation for the individual reaches men through the environment; he may make use of only a small portion of that environment; his method may be simple and direct involving very little analysis and use of environmental factors, but it is none the less instrumental in that it does make use of changes in the customary environment to accomplish his purpose. For example, he persuades a man to attend his church or Bible class, or he gets a fellow-worker to persuade him and seeks to reach him through these new associations that bring into his mind new ideas. Perhaps he opens a Bible school and undertakes to reach the children for Christ and the church. His workers bring a little lad into the Bible school but they find that he cannot read; so to produce a change of heart they teach the lad to read; or perchance the little fellow stays away because he has not proper clothing in which to appear, and so the ladies make him a suit of clothes; or his brain is undernourished so that he cannot learn and he must have wholesome food; or he lives in such unsanitary conditions that his health is being undermined; or the moral teaching in the Bible school is being offset by the immoral influences under which he lives each day, and in order to bring about his change of inner life all these things must be met and remedied. Indeed, many of these conditions may arise from some economic disturbance so that the minister when he takes his work seriously is brought face to face with the need of a careful analysis of all the environmental factors to lead the individual to the right attitude of heart, to the attainment of a rich and satisfying inner life. He may not indeed undertake the education or care of

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the health of his little Bible-school pupil, but he will co-operate with the ordinary school and the health department and with other institutions that minister to his manifold needs, realizing that these institutions are also engaged with him in the mission of saving souls in providing the conditions essential for the development of a wholesome all-round personal life.

That there is no way of perfecting the individual except through a reconstruction of society is the message not only of the gospel with its Kingdom, but of Plato, of Aristotle, and of the great prophets and teachers of every race and time. Individualism and socialism are alike partial and abstract; one would produce a good individual without regard to the environment, and the other would have a good environment in general apart from the peculiar needs and reactions of individuals. Society is not a collection of individuals like shot in a bucket; the individual is social in his inmost nature; the social and the individual are aspects of one life-process. The individual is the center of all appreciation, he initiates all action. There is no salvation for him that is not a salvation *within* him, that does not come home to his consciousness in the way of appreciation, of inner reconstruction of life and purpose. All moral reform must aim to develop this individual reaction, and is a failure if it does not accomplish this result. The only real and lasting help we can bring to others is to enable them to help themselves; but to lead an individual to that place where he will make an inner reconstruction, we must get him to evaluate his life through an appreciation of the highest spiritual values of the race. The gospel message has both its individual and its social aspect, and he that neglects either is true neither to human needs nor to the spirit of the gospel.

Another view of the function of the minister with respect to economic conditions is that he should confine his ministry to *established* truths and leave alone controversial questions in which emotional reactions are strong; otherwise he will weaken the force of his message in other realms of truth and introduce

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division within his church. Undoubtedly the minister needs tact and insight; he should leave alone the political and economic questions where the ethical and religious interests are indirect and remote, but he should not refrain from leadership in morals and religion because his task demands intelligence and courage of a high order. All modern problems are complicated and more or less controversial. The family is an institution of great moral and religious import, yet its problems are exceedingly complex and involve questions that are biological, psychological, economical, ethical, and sociological in character. Unless the minister provides moral and religious guidance in such vital interests as those of the family and the industrial life of his people, his social significance is not important. It is true that he cannot be a specialist in all these subjects, but he should be a specialist in morals and religion, and he must make use of the achievements of workers in other realms as they borrow from each other. Unless he undertakes such a task, he must confine himself to the ethical values that have been universally accepted, the personal morality of today. Is religion to be concerned entirely with the conservation of past achievements but to have no part in the creation of new values? If its whole function is to be a bulwark of the established order, a support of the system that now obtains, then it must expect the liberal and striving souls of the present generation to turn away from it and to hold that its fate and future are bound up with the institutions that it conserves. Is there not danger that the minister who never introduces these living issues for fear of controversy may lose the regard and co-operation of thoughtful and noble souls who are seeking a religious interpretation of the social activities of their time?

There remains only the view that the minister should assume his leadership as the "guide and inspirer of social ends and motives" in every vocation and interest of life. It is held by some that he can perform this function with considerable

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success without any profound or expert knowledge of social conditions or of economic science. The minister can present the great moral and social truths of the Christian faith and may test all activities by these values. Does the freedom of the child of God imply therewith sufficient control over the material conditions to insure positive and real control of life? Does faith in the infinite value of the soul carry with it a subordination of material goods to the common welfare? Does the law of love demand a reorganization of industry, or how does it square with the moving impulse in economic activity? Are the goods being produced such as make for real welfare and happiness? Is the productive process reacting back into the lives of the producers to make them more intelligent and worthier persons? Are the commodities distributed in a manner to produce the greatest happiness and to promote greater efficiency in future production and greater achievements in the spiritual life? One may indeed test modern industry by these moral and religious standards and with considerable profit, for oftentimes the leaders of industry have become so absorbed in the means of production as to neglect the ends that industry should serve. An earnest presentation of these values may lead them with their full knowledge of the means and methods of production to an application that the preacher could not outline or undertake. But too much value must not be attached to an attempt to direct and interpret the moral and religious aspects of industry without a careful study of the immediate industrial conditions in the community and a mastery of the principles of economic science. For when general rules or values are presented in a detached and abstract manner, they are generally assented to, because they mean everything in general and nothing in particular and lead to no definite and positive action. It is quite true that we have analyzed the past experience of the race and have abstracted therefrom for future guidance certain aspects that we regard as values and others that we regard as means or as instrumental,

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but this is a methodological device for control and direction of activity. Ends and means are but aspects of one process of life; the moral virtues are but the habits or ways of action that were useful to achieve certain satisfactions, and the means and ends evolved together and are always relative to each other. We are living under new conditions of material production; we have a great increase and change of the material means, and we need to reconstruct our ends in the light of these material changes. Our ends must be *new* ends, not merely the old ones over again, and they can get new content only by a careful consideration of the means at hand; and these in turn are means only with reference to the proposed and projected ends. Human values are no more final than are material processes and commodities, and whatever may perchance be the view of the minister as to the direction in which the economic process is tending or should tend in order to give greater efficiency and consequently a higher morality, he will undertake the interpretation of existing conditions under which men and women live and labor and look to him for guidance. He will seek to bring to these problems and issues a wider outlook and a deeper insight that will bring greater meaning to those engaged therein and thereby enable them to live more rational and moral lives.

There is no way the minister can become an interpreter of the religious and ethical significance of the economic life in his community except through an earnest, careful, and intimate study of the economic processes about him as interpreted by a knowledge of the principles of economics and sociology. The existing system of industry is a complicated one; much production is carried on under a system of wages and profits; but production under municipal and state ownership and control is becoming an important factor, and there are great movements of voluntary co-operation. The minister of today lives in a period of experimentation, and all these processes should have his sympathetic attention and interpretation.

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"Is the system in which one works for wages and another for profits fundamentally Christian, anti-Christian, or neutral?" The wise minister will probably not deal with systems as such nor with such general terms as wages or profits, but with the actual and concrete conditions that he finds in the industrial world about him. Do profits, for example, include interest on investment, insurance for risk, high wages for exceptional ability, rent for special privileges, a purely speculative gain? The wise minister will find a different moral worth in these different kinds of profits; he will differentiate the profits that arise from marked efficiency in the application of science to production or for outstanding excellence in organization and administration from the profits that come through a corner on special privileges or knowledge, or from conditions so purely speculative as to resemble the gambler's gains.

Then, do wages include the remuneration of the university professor, the salary of the high-priced official, the fees of the professional man, the yearly payment of the hired man on the farm, and the weekly or hourly payment of the factory employee? The moral character of the wage in question will depend in large measure upon the nature of the specific wage contract. Is it a contract that affords stability of employment? Is there insurance for accident or unemployment? Does it provide that the laborer shall have a voice in the determination of the conditions under which he labors? Is his partnership and place in the industry recognized in such a manner as to call out his loyalty and best efforts? Here, again, the discreet minister may not indulge in generalities, but he will understand actual local situations, the present-day movements in industry, and the opportunities for the improvement of industrial and social conditions, and should be able to interpret the industrial situations facing employers and employees in his community with a sympathy and insight that would lead to helpful action and to increase his influence as a moral and social leader.

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The true minister will seek to inspire men in every vocation to serve their fellowmen in the spirit of the gospel, to accept their daily work as their greatest opportunity to aid in the establishment in the Kingdom of God. For such a herculean task the minister should be noble of soul, should be given the best training in the social sciences our universities can provide, and should have courage, tact, and sympathy in an unusual degree. If such might in truth become the recognized function of the ministry, what a challenge this vocation would offer to the biggest brains and noblest hearts among us. That this change of emphasis would require a vigorous reorganization of the curriculum of studies for a minister is admitted. But is such a reorganization not inherently desirable?

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LAW AND RITUAL IN THE PSALMS

J. M. POWIS SMITH
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT

The Psalter, being a hymnbook, is representative of the thought and feeling of the common people of Judaism. The legal priestly elements were the permanent features of Judaism; prophecy was transitory. The Psalter developed under strongly Babylonian influence amid a rich expression of ritualistic religion and was profoundly affected thereby. The Psalms show that the people who wrote and sang them loved the law and the temple ritual. The Psalms were written in large part for use in connection with sacrifice; they were a rhythmization of ritual. This love for ritual did not exclude genuine piety, but intensified it. It is the mystical and spiritual tone of the Psalms that commends them to modern minds. The original makers and singers of these songs cannot have had a merely materialistic or formal type of religion.

It is a common charge that the Judaism of the postexilic age was a mechanical, formal, and unspiritual type of religion. It is supposed that true religion died with the prophets and was buried with them, not to come to life again till the appearance of John the Baptist and Jesus. The picture of the Pharisees presented in the Gospels is carried back through the centuries and made to do service as a description of postexilic religion. Critical scholarship, however, has discovered the injustice of this interpretation and has sought to reinstate early Judaism in its proper place. From this point of view the present article proceeds.

The Psalter is appropriately called "The Hymn Book of the Second Temple." This covers the fact that most of the Psalms were written in exilic and postexilic times and the further fact that they were sung by the choirs of the temple for the edification of the worshiping multitudes. It is a well-known fact that hymn books are not available as instruments of publicity for new ideas. They must meet the demands of the masses who use them. We do not find in them our best poetry, our best thought, nor our purest ethics as a rule.

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The hymn book rather presents the point of view of the average man than that of the genius or the saint. The Psalter was not exempt from this requirement and as a matter of fact when compared in any one of these aspects with certain other portions of the Old Testament it must take second place. The problem of suffering is thought out far more thoroughly in Job than in the Psalter. The idea of a worthful life after death finds no sure expression in the Psalter. These spheres of thought were too new and unfamiliar to find place in this book of hymns. Consequently when we read the Psalms we are following the mind of the masses, or at least of the great middle class, and not that of the pioneers of religion and ethics.[1] The ritual of a religion is always one of its most conservative elements and law is never radical. The Psalter was a part of the ritual and makes its attitude to law indisputably clear. Hence in studying its testimony as to the religious value of law and ritual, we shall be getting close to the heart of the religion of the psalmists.

The prophets have captured the imagination and interest of modern interpreters of the Old Testament. Indeed, one of the greatest achievements of modern historical interpretation is the fact that it has brought out the significance and value of prophecy in such a way as to have made the prophet the religious hero of the Hebrew people. This is a recognition of his real worth that has been long due the prophet. But, while granting the prophet his full rights and extending to him our heart-felt gratitude for his contribution to human welfare, we must not make the mistake of minimizing the work or value of other religious agencies in Israel. After all, prophecy was only a temporary phenomenon in Hebrew life. The whole period covered by the prophetic movement was but about six hundred years, and the classical and creative portion of that period includes only about three hundred years. The priest, however, with his law and ceremonial,

[1] See chapter i of my forthcoming *Religion of the Psalms*.

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was on the stage of life from the very beginning to the very end. He preceded the prophet and he outlived him. Prophecy was a transient ebullition of the religious spirit in Israel; law and ritual were a permanent and steady current in that life. Not only so, but the appeal of the prophet found its effective response only in the hearts and minds of a comparatively small number of people, the idealists of the day; the work of the priest was familiar to and appreciated by the masses of the nation as a whole. The priest with his ritual spoke a language that was "understanded of the people." Furthermore, the preservation of the religious and ethical values wrought out in Hebrew experience, whether they were the product of priest or prophet, was due in the last resort to the preservative and solidifying labors of the priest and his law. It was in defense of the right to live according to the law that the Maccabean patriots fought and died. It was loyalty to the law and its institutions that held Judaism together and kept it from surrendering to either the blandishments or the threats of paganism.

As prophecy diminished in vitality and finally was transformed into apocalypticism, law and ritual took on new life and came into a controlling place in the religious thought and daily routine of Judaism. This expansion, intensification, and purification of the legal and ritual life began among the Babylonian exiles and to the last found its chief supporters and promoters in the Babylonian community. Ezekiel's idealistic and imaginary code (Ezekiel, chaps. 40–48) certainly was inspired by the Babylonian environment and experience of his people, and it is probable that the Holiness Code (Leviticus, chaps. 17–26, etc.) is a Babylonian revision of older legislation. The Jewish tradition itself connects the later stage of the legal development represented by Ezra's law with the Babylonian Jews. This increased activity in the realm of law and ritual was due to two main influences. On the one hand, the experiences of exile bit deeply into the soul

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of Israel. The only possible religious explanation that the exiles could understand was that Yahweh was angry with them for their sins. Hence it was inevitable that they should try to propitiate him and make their life conform to his will. The revision of the ritual and the law in such a way as to embody in them much of the teaching of the great prophets was one of these means of propitiation or atonement. The plan of it all was to guard every avenue of approach to Jewish life and the expressions of that life in such a way as to ward off the entrance of sin into the community. If the people of Yahweh could but be kept from evil, the blessing of prosperity and restoration must assuredly rest upon them. Hence the imposition upon themselves of a mass of detailed legislation that to less zealous people would have been crushing. There is no more pathetic movement in history than this effort of Judaism to commend itself to its God by its works. On the other hand, the Jews in Babylonia were in constant contact with the rituals of the various Babylonian temples. These temples had at their disposal a body of priests and a fund of wealth that was wholly beyond the reach of the poverty-stricken peasants of hilly Judah. Nevertheless, the exiles learned much from it and were inspired to greater effort by the sight of it. As suggestive of the extent of Babylonian influence upon Hebrew ritual, we may cite two facts out of the abundance. We read in Ezek. 8:14 that the women of Jerusalem in his day were in the habit of "weeping for Tammuz." This is evidence that the old Sumero-Babylonian festival of Tammuz had found recognition in Israel, at least in the religious life of the populace. Again, the Babylonian New Year's festival was closely copied by the Jews. Speaking of this feast, Professor Jastrow says,

> The festival lasted for eleven days, and on the concluding day, as it would appear, the fates decreed by the gods were definitely sealed. A special interest attaches to this New Year's festival, because it served as the pattern for both the New Year and the Day of Atonement of

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the Jews. The popular Jewish tradition represents God as sitting in judgment during the first ten days of the year, surrounded by his court of angels, who inscribe in the book of fate the names of all persons with what is to be their destiny for the coming year. To this day the New Year's greeting among Jews is, "May you be inscribed for a good year." The nine days intervening between the New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement are days of probation, but at the close of the tenth day the book of fate for the year is sealed, and the wish of this day therefore is, "May you be sealed for a good year."[1]

The Jewish Psalter was developing amidst all this Babylonian influence, not merely in the days of the Exile proper, but for long afterward. Indeed it is altogether probable that Babylonian hymnology, which was extensively developed and was not in its higher reaches wholly unworthy of comparison with the best Hebrew psalms, was not without its direct influence upon the origin and growth of the Hebrew Psalter. Under these circumstances it is clear that the Jewish interest in law and ritual was greatly stimulated and influenced by Babylonian institutions and practices. The Psalter cannot have escaped this influence and having arisen in a ritualistic and legalistic age must reflect the cultural and spiritual forces that played upon the minds and hearts of its authors.

When we turn to the reading of the Psalms in order to discover their attitude toward law and ritual, our attention is arrested by the fact that there is apparently little of that sort of thing present. By actual count, there are less than twenty psalms that concern themselves directly with those subjects, and in some of these the reference is confined to a verse or two and is little more than incidental.[2] Not only so, but in some of the psalms, ritual in particular is either directly

[1] M. Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* (1911), pp. 341 f.

[2] Of course, it will be noted that this may be due to the lyrical character of the poetry which concerns itself rather with spirit and sentiment than with concrete facts and institutions. The hymnals of the Catholic and Anglican churches are not marked by excessive reference to ritual.

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or indirectly made apparently subordinate to ethical and spiritual interests. For example, Ps. 24:3–5:

> Who shall go up into the hill of Yahweh?
> And who shall stand in His holy place?
> He that has clean hands and a pure heart;
> Who has not taken My name in vain,
> And has not sworn deceitfully.
> He shall receive a blessing from Yahweh,
> And vindication from the God of his salvation.

And again, Ps. 51:16, 17:

> For thou delightest not in sacrifice, else would I give it;
> Thou hast no pleasure in burnt-offering.
> The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit;
> A broken and a contrite heart, O God, Thou wilt not despise.

Such utterances as these show the influence upon the psalmists of the prophets' attitude toward ritual and their interpretation of religion. But the priest and the lawmaker are likewise represented in the Psalms. Some of the psalms reflect an ardent love for the law and its ritual. Hear the psalmist utter his appreciation of the temple and its worship in Ps. 122:

> I was glad when they said to me,
> "Let us go up to the house of Yahweh."
> Our feet are standing
> In thy gates, O Jerusalem,
> Jerusalem that is built like a city
> Which is compact together,
> Whither the tribes go up,
> The tribes of Yah,
> A testimony for Israel,
> To praise the name of Yahweh.
> For there are set thrones of judgment,
> The thrones of the house of David.
> Send greetings to Jerusalem.
> May they prosper that love thee.
> Peace be within thy rampart,

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And prosperity within thy palaces.
For the sake of my brethren and my friends,
I will say, Peace be unto thee!
For the sake of the house of Yahweh, our God,
I will seek thy good.

But the outstanding effort in commendation and praise of the law is the long 119th Psalm. In almost every one of its 176 verses some word connoting the law appears. One section will be sufficient to illustrate its spirit and attitude:

Oh, how I love Thy law!
It is my meditation all the day.
Thy commandment makes me wiser than my foes,
For it is forever mine.
I am wiser than all my teachers,
For Thy testimony is my meditation.
I have better understanding than the elders,
For I have kept Thy precepts.
I have restrained my feet from every wicked way,
That I might observe Thy word.
From Thy judgments I have not strayed,
For Thou hast taught me.
How sweet to my palate are Thy words,
Yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth.
From Thy precepts I get discernment;
Therefore I hate every false way [119:97–104].

If such words as these mean anything, it is that the writers of such psalms as these and the people who treasured such utterances did not find the requirements of the law and its ritual an intolerable burden. It was not to their minds a necessary means to a more desirable and important end. It was distinctly an end in itself that was of incommensurable value. These men delighted in the law of Yahweh; they sought to keep it with the whole heart; they rejoiced in the testimonies of Yahweh "as much as in all riches."

Even though princes sit and talk to me,
Thy servant doth meditate in Thy statutes.

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In view of the devotion to the law and ritual so strongly manifested in a few psalms, we are justified in entertaining an expectation that further search will discover other evidence of legalistic or ritualistic interest in the Psalter. A very illuminating type of evidence is that furnished by the vocabulary and phraseology of the Psalms. It is very significant that much of this reveals the closest familiarity with the ritualistic usage. The language of the Psalter is full of terminology derived from the law and the temple ceremony. The Psalms are saturated with consciousness of the ritual and unconsciously reflect a sincere devotion to the law and all its requirements. The mind of the psalmist is constantly turning toward Jerusalem and his longing is ever for the holy temple. The terms "Zion," "Jerusalem," "holy mountain," and "city of God" occur about sixty times in the Psalter, and references to the temple, sanctuary, house of God, and the like, appear an equal number of times. When to these allusions there are added the many occurrences of "law," "statute," "ordinances," "sacrifices," "congregation," "drink-offering," "incense," "vows," "fasting," "musical instruments," "clean," "altar," "priest," "anointing oil," and the like, it becomes certain that the writers of the Psalms lived and moved and had their being in a ritualistic environment to which they responded with their whole soul. They speak of these things not as indifferent or hostile observers, but rather as enthusiastic and devoted participants.

The relation of the Psalter to the ritual was closer even than may be inferred from the fact that the psalmists were devoted adherents and admirers of the temple and its ritual. In II Chron. 29:25 ff. we find a narrative regarding certain sacrifices offered by King Hezekiah which is, in any case, adequate testimony as to the nature of the sacrificial worship in the chronicler's own day, i.e., about the third century, B.C. That narrative is so informing regarding the use of the Psalms in the *temple* ritual that we give it in full:

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And he [i.e. Hezekiah] set the Levites in the house of Yahweh with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the King's seer, and of Nathan the prophet, for through Yahweh was the commandment through his prophets. And the Levites stood with the instruments of David, and the priests with the trumpets. And Hezekiah commanded to offer the burnt-offering upon the altar. And when the burnt-offering began, the song of Yahweh began also, and the trumpets, together with the instruments of David, King of Israel. And all the congregation worshipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded; all this until the burnt-offering was finished. And when they had made an end of offering, the King and all that were present with him bowed down and worshipped. Moreover Hezekiah the King and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praises to Yahweh with the words of David, and of Asaph the seer. And they sang praises with gladness, and they bowed their heads and worshipped.

This passage shows that the singing of the Psalms to the accompaniment of instrumental music was carried on simultaneously with the offering of the sacrifices.[1]

This was a musical rhythmization of the acts of the ritual, even as the musical parts of the mass in the Roman Catholic ritual serve to rhythmize the ritualistic acts. This intimate relation of the Psalms to the ritual is reflected in the text of some of them. In Ps. 26:6, 7 we read:

I will wash my hands in innocency,
And will encompass Thine altar, O Yahweh,
That I may publish with the voice of thanksgiving,
And recount all Thy wondrous works.

This plainly associates the singing of Yahweh's praises with the ceremonies at the altar. In Ps. 27:6 the poet associates sacrifice with music:

I will offer in His tabernacle sacrifices with trumpet sound,
I will sing, and praise Yahweh in song.

[1] The Mishna, *Tamid*, VII, 3, likewise tells us that the libation of wine at the altar was accompanied by music and the Songs of the Levites.

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The law itself calls for a musical accompaniment to the act of sacrifice. Witness Num. 10:10:

> Also in the day of your gladness, and in your appointed seasons, and in your new moons, ye shall blow with trumpets over your burnt-offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace-offerings; and they shall be to you for a memorial before your God.

Again in Ps. 43:4 the same association of ideas appears:

> Then will I go unto the altar of God,
> And praise Thee upon the harp.

Also in Ps. 107:22:

> Offer the sacrifices of thanksgiving,
> And declare His works with song.

The poet of Ps. 68:24 ff. describes the processions of singers and worshipers in the temple:

> They saw Thy goings, O God,
> The goings of my God, my King, in the sanctuary.
> Before went the singers; behind, players on stringed instruments,
> In the midst of damsels playing upon timbrels.
> Bless ye God in full assemblies,
> Even Yahweh, ye that are from the fountain of Israel.

Possibly Ps. 118:27 refers to similar processional features of the worship:

> Deck the festal procession with branches,
> Even to the horns of the altar.[1]

Such facts as these show that the original use of the Psalms was largely in the interests of ritual and that they are to be thought of as to a great extent lyrical interpretations of the acts of worship. The evidence of the superscriptions, later additions though they are, is to the effect that the Psalms were sung to musical accompaniments, and some of them are

[1] The meaning of this verse is very obscure. The English Versions render, "Bind the sacrifice with cords, etc." But this is contrary to all known practice. The rendering above follows closely that of the new Jewish translation. The verb regularly means "bind," but that seems wholly unfitting here.

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definitely assigned to ceremonial functions (e.g., Ps. 30:1; 92:1) or are ascribed to priestly authors, to-wit, the sons of Korah and Asaph. The text of the Psalms themselves makes references to the use of music and musical instruments in the worship of Yahweh (Pss. 33:2; 92:4; 144:9). The Psalter was the expression of the devotional spirit of all the people. But as we have noted the worship of the common people in Judah always was inseparably associated with forms and ceremonies. Indeed, even today a ceremonial appeals powerfully to the masses of the people and exercises an influence in the direction of inspiring an attitude of worship that the ordinary bare and cold worship of Protestant churches fails to call forth even with the aid of the most eloquent preaching. It is the priest rather than the prophet that keeps in touch with the heart of the public.

The practice of ritual is, of course, not inconsistent with nor hostile to the development of a genuinely spiritual piety. If ritual be observed with devout mind and with whole heart it stimulates and intensifies piety; but if regarded as mere form, it degenerates into mechanism and kills all true piety. The beauty of the religion of the Psalms lies in the combination of a sincere and enthusiastic attitude toward ritual with a true sense of ethical values and spiritual ideals. Such a genuinely spiritual song as Pss. 42 and 43 gives expression to the longing of the poet's soul in the familiar words:

> As the hart panteth after the water brooks,
> So panteth my soul after Thee, O God.
> My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God:
> When shall I come and see the face of God?

And yet this intensely spiritual sentiment is coupled with a longing for the temple and its ritual:

> O send out Thy light and Thy truth, let them lead me;
> Let them bring me unto Thy holy hill, and to Thy dwelling place;
> Then will I go to the altar of God, unto God, my exceeding joy;
> And praise Thee upon the harp, O God, my God.

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The beautiful Shepherd Psalm can think of no higher joy than that of dwelling "in the house of Yahweh forever." Psalm 15 demands the strictest moral purity as a prerequisite to entrance into and sojourn in the sanctuary.[1]

In most of the great spiritual leaders of mankind there has been a marked mystical strain. In relatively modern times it is noteworthy how many genuine "saints" have appeared in highly ritualistic communions. The Roman Catholic church and the Anglican church, particularly in the High Church section, have been distinguished by the number of mystics they have included. Ritual lends itself readily to mystical interpretation and easily becomes a handmaid of mystic communion. It is this mystical element in the religion of the Psalms that renders their appeal so powerful to the spiritual mind.

In estimating the significance of the Psalms for our understanding of Jewish religious life, we must remember not only that the select spirits of postexilic Israel produced most of the Psalter, but also, a fact of perhaps even more significance, the common people of that period appreciated the Psalms and preserved them from falling into innocuous desuetude. We cannot think lightly of a people who treasured such songs as Psalms 90, 91, and 103 and kept them alive by constant use. The Judaism of the Psalms was not a dull, formal, and lifeless ceremony, but an intensely vigorous and profoundly spiritual life.

[1] A Greek inscription at Epidauros likewise requires purity of heart and clean hands of all who enter the temple there. Candidates for initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries were required to be pure of heart and clean of hands before entering the assembly of novitiates. Any not so qualifying were expelled. The Emperor Nero desired admission to the Mysteries but feared to enter the Assembly lest he might be ejected. After this first test as to moral purity, a ritual purification in the sea was required.

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GLIMPSES OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF NEW JAPAN

KENNETH SAUNDERS
Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California.

ABSTRACT

The currents of new life, as Japan has become a conscious part of the larger world, are finding expression in new forces and ideals in religion.

1. There is a remarkable liberalizing of Buddhism. Some men of unquestioned scholarship regard Buddhism as superior to any other religion. The unrest due to the war and new industrial conditions has intensified the reforming spirit, and in some quarters Buddhism is urged as the inspiration of a Pan-Asiatic program which shall preserve Oriental culture from the destructive influences of Western influence.

2. Shintoism, the religion of Japanese patriotism, is undergoing a marked revival; and a religious call to Japan to be the inspired power in the reconstruction of the world is being widely propagated.

3. If Christianity is to extend its due influence, it must relate itself positively to the dominant ideals of Japan. In literary and artistic expression, as well as in liberal theology, much remains to be accomplished.

"We are hungry and have cried for bread, but they merely teach us the theory of making it"—this cry of the Japanese scholar Takayama met with a very wide response in the early years of the twentieth century. Japan was passing through a spiritual ferment and everywhere the younger men and women were seeking, dissatisfied with the official teachings. "There was discord," says the Buddhist scholar, Dr. Anesaki, "but audible therein was an *adagio* of sincerity and earnestness." This was seen in the wistful and restless turning to the study of great Buddhist prophets such as Hōnen, the pietist, and Nichiren, the reformer, in the eager reading of Tolstoy, Ibsen, and other idealistic and individualistic writers, in the starting of a Tolstoian colony, in the appearance of men and women claiming prophetic gifts, in the staging of religious plays, and in similar ways. And twenty years ago Captain Brinkley wrote in his *History of Japan* of "a sort of Buddhist revival" which he attributed to the advent of Christianity. Undoubtedly in Japan, as in India, this has had a great deal to do with reform movements in the old religions, and with the stimulating of a spiritual unrest. But there is in addition the

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obvious fact that Japan has entered into the stream of the world's life, and that the currents which are flowing through the world affect her as never before. It is therefore of peculiar interest to study these currents, first as they are affecting the Buddhists of Japan, and then as they have stirred up strange activities in the old Shinto faith.

I

In the first place Buddhism, like Christianity, is in a stage of transition from a conservative and dogmatic spirit to one of progress and liberalism; there are intelligent and learned men, Scots, Germans, and Americans, who have become Buddhists and indeed have been ordained as Buddhist monks, though forty years ago Dr. Rhys Davids said in his Hibbert lectures, "There is not the slightest danger of any European ever entering the Buddhist order!"

Amongst its own people Buddhism in this liberalized form is offering itself as more scientific than Christianity, and in the two Buddhist universities at Kyōto, where nearly a thousand young men are being trained for the priesthood, training in the Christian religion is a part of the regular curriculum, and comparison is being encouraged. We have to note, too, that each of the Buddhist sects can boast great scholars trained in our western universities such as Dr. B. Nanjio, who was thirty years ago a colleague of Max Müller at Oxford; Dr. M. Anesaki, well known in this country, especially at Harvard; and many others, and that these men, having made a lifelong study of both religions, remain active Buddhists, and would be a great credit to either religion. They would be the first to disown some of the quacks and charlatans who, under the name of "Esoteric Buddhism," are palming off a hotchpotch of spiritualism, theosophy, and strange superstitions amongst sentimental and gullible people in the West. There is a unique example in San Francisco.

A second sign of the Buddhist revival is in the active promotion of Buddhist Sunday-schools. The Western Hong-

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wanji sect, for example, which believes in salvation through faith, claims to have 150,000 children in its Sunday-schools, and has a well-organized educational bureau, while nearly three-quarters of a million children are in Buddhist Sunday-schools. A booklet recently published as a gift for the delegates to the World's Sunday-School Convention in Tokyo sets forth in attractive form the facts of this movement and of Buddhist work for young people in general. In all this Christians can sincerely rejoice, and the organizers of the Christian Sunday-school movement are to be congratulated upon this by-product of their activities; for materialism, and not Buddhism, is the chief foe of Christianity, and it is a cause for rejoicing that these attractive and brilliant children of Japan are growing up to believe in an Unseen Order controlling their destinies, and in salvation by faith in a compassionate Savior.

For the adolescent, the Young Men's Buddhist Association is beginning to do "something of the splendid work accomplished in the West by the Y.M.C.A." So says *The Mahāyānist*, a journal now defunct, but founded to investigate and interpret Mahāyāna Buddhism. It was very interesting to me to find in the Hawaiian Islands a headquarters of the Y.M.B.A., with numerous branches on the plantations; and it is working in Japan also. Here again, we can wish God-speed to this movement for building up moral manhood in the Buddhist world.

Of the activity of the Buddhist press much might be written; but I must content myself with just a few examples. Biographies of Gautama Buddha in Japanese and of the chief Buddhist patriarchs have all recently appeared, and one anthology of the scriptures has passed through over fifty editions in ten years, while a committee has been formed to translate Chinese and Sanskrit books into Japanese. All the leading sects have their monthly magazines, and some have quite a formidable list.

More obvious than these significant symptoms of the Buddhist revival are the building and repairing of temples;

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Buddhist temples are steadily increasing, and there are said to be over 70,000 of them and no less than 123,000 priests, monks, and teachers apart from the large numbers devoted to the Shinto faith.

Amongst the more recent temple buildings, is one in Kyōto which cost nearly five million dollars, and for the transport of whose timbers hundreds of thousands of women sacrificed their hair, and even the ancient shrines of Hieizan are being vigorously repaired. Amongst the giant cryptomerias which sentinel them resound the blows of hammer and chisel as I write. One is being moved bodily *à l'américain*. Even the ancient and complex Tendai sect, like the others seems to be awakening to new life, and is in process of transition.

Again, there is an undoubted attempt at moral reform about which let *The Mahāyānist* speak: "Whilst formerly the moral sickness was allowed to go on unchecked, now the coverings are cast aside, and the disease laid bare, which is the first thing to do if the patient is to be cured." One hears a good deal about misappropriation of temple funds, and moral laxity in matters of sex. It is not for a visitor to comment on these things; they are not peculiar to Japan. Personally I believe that Buddhism is on the whole a real power for good; and I am inclined to think that the beautiful courtesy and kindliness one meets everywhere largely spring from it, and are one of its many noble fruits. We in the West have made more of commercial honesty and less of courtesy and forbearance than Jesus was wont to do, and there is no more odious type than the self-righteous visitor from Western lands who comes to the East armed with a narrow and negative moral code and a critical spirit.

Certainly Buddhism is teaching "morals" to its children, and in a thousand ways its influence is felt in that very attractive character so truly described by Lafcadio Hearn as peculiar to the Japanese, of which the essence is a genuine kindness of heart that is essentially Buddhist.

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Another proof that the chief sects are now filled with vigorous life is evidenced by their missionary activities: the "Faith" sects claim that they have 540 foreign missionaries outside Japan proper. The first Buddhist missionary from Japan to China was sent out by the Eastern branch of the Hongwanji in 1876; and since then missions have been established in Honolulu, in 1897, and in North America, some eighty on the Pacific Coast. Nor is missionary work neglected in Japan; owing largely to the influence of a layman Kiyozawa Manshi, the *Shin* sect has begun to work in jails, and to arouse a sense of sin in the inmates. Nearly a million yen is spent annually by Buddhists in social service, and as an example of it I may instance a training-school in Tokyo, where I found sixty students being trained in charity organization; and a lodging-house for the poor, where homeless people are given shelter. These two belong respectively to the Western and Eastern branches of the Hongwanji sect, and this is the most active in such ways, though unfortunately the members of the two branches fight "like brothers," as one of their chief men told me with a chuckle. And so far I have not been able to discover any movement toward reunion, such as those which are filling the Christian church with a new life. On the contrary a very popular play is that depicting the debates and mutual recriminations of Nichiren and the priests of the Jodo sect, whose pietism he called "a way to hell." It looks, however, as if social service and the spirit of liberalism which inspires such lay leaders as Ito Shoshin, the editor of a weekly paper devoted to these causes, might stimulate the ecclesiastical mind in the Far East as it has in the West to work for reunion.

II

How has the Great War affected all this? It has in the first place intensified the spiritual unrest, and in the second it has given an impetus to the demand for reconstruction at home and abroad. Very significant is the letter sent by the

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Buddhists of Japan to the Peace Conference, calling it to lay the foundations of a peace which should be impartial and lasting, and showing the contribution which Buddhism may make to such a peace, and to mutual respect and good-will among the nations. How little did men at Paris heed the saying of the Buddha, "Hatred is never cured by hatred: only by love is it cast out"—and we still may learn much from this great teacher if we will.

Within Japan itself the Socialist party has grown steadily stronger and extremists are not wanting, as the authorities are well aware; chauvinists and imperialists realize that there is a steadily rising tide of liberalism, and especially amongst students and merchants is this true. Unorganized at present they are not lacking in courage and initiative, as is shown by the recent exploit of a boy of seventeen, who without a cent in his pocket walked through Korea, and then reported to the government that the people were ready to be friendly and challenged the present system of terrorization. Compare this sturdy courage with another boy who some years ago stirred the country deeply by killing himself as a protest against a world that was not worth living in; and with the feeble and decadent aestheticism of some of the students of Japan, who ape the worst of our Western decadents and show a hankering for the perverted and the bizarre, and a restless seeking after new sensations.

Of peculiar interest is the attitude of Buddhists to political questions. Their admirable letter to the Peace Conference is only one side of the story; they are also engaging in a Pan-Asiatic propaganda natural enough in the circumstances, of which the slogan "Back to Buddhism" means to many who use it "Asia for the Asiatics"—an Asia united by the ancient faith which once drew all its lands within its friendly net. Just so in India "Back to the Vedas" is the slogan of the Nationalist movement. It is a reasonable plea in either case, if it aims at resisting the exploitation of Asia by Western powers; I

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personally wonder at the amazing patience of China and at the great courtesy of Japan in face of affronts and despoliation. But the cry is not altogether sincere, and it is significant that as soon as the Buddhists of Tokyo started the movement two years ago those of Peking set on foot a counter-move! And while in Korea Buddhism has apparently made no attempt to rebuke militarism and autocracy, but is rather helping the government in its ruthless policy of assimilation, the Buddhists of China are offering their religion as the best basis for the new democracy. Christians will remember with shame that they too have sometimes taken their religion less seriously than their patriotism; Jingo was an empress of Japan, but she reappears in other lands! And I was reminded of a saying of Dr. Orchard in England during the war, that he could blaspheme God in his pulpit and no one took offence, but that if he attacked the British Navy his mailbag was full to bursting the next morning.

III

It is only great souls in any land who really know with Edith Cavell that "patriotism is not enough," and we can hardly wonder that Buddhists in Japan are conservatives. Still less can we expect Shintoists to do anything "unwise," for devoted lip-service of the Imperial House is both of their "*bene esse*" and of their "*esse*," and they are sure that Heaven is on the side of Japan. Meantime chauvinism and imperialism are linking themselves with the revival of the old Shinto cult in ways that are well-nigh incredible, and that deserve close study as symptomatic of the present spiritual unrest. The death of the great Emperor Meiji Tenno led to a wave of religious enthusiasm, and the shrine recently opened in his honor is already a rallying-center for the national sentiment. Movements like Tenri-kyō and Omoto-kyō have gathered round them an amazing multitude of adherents of all classes, "patrioteers," megalomaniacs, earnest seekers, and many of the weakminded. Especially in the ranks of retired officers of

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army and navy does Omoto-kyō recruit its most ardent supporters. "These men," says Dr. Anesaki, "whose only religion is their patriotism, could not escape the influence of the present spiritual uneasiness. They are readily attracted to any mystery, such as divination or god-possession, and find in these beliefs sanction for military enthusiasms." For these sects depict a new world with Japan at its head, they claim to work spiritual and mental cures, and they seem to pander especially to those who have much leisure and limited intelligence.

But that is by no means the whole story. Let us look more closely at Omoto-kyō which is attracting great numbers, and which has its magazines and even its daily paper—a thing which the entire Protestant Christian church is apparently unable to achieve in any part of Asia, a thing which it ought to do at once. The founder of this sect was an old lady born in 1836, uneducated, and claiming to be the incarnation of a Shinto deity, who will shortly reconstruct the world with Japan as its leader, for so only can the human race be prevented from exterminating itself in slaughter. Her *O Fudesaki*—"honorable writings"—are said to fill from five to ten thousand volumes, and to have been written in ecstasy, and are scribbled in an almost illegible hand; yet they have captured the allegiance of men of real scholarship like Mr. Asano Wasaburo, who has translated Shakespeare for the Japanese, and of many shrewd business men. Here is a specimen of them as translated in the *Kobe Chronicle:*

> The world has passed under the sway of the Country of the Gods, which is as fine as the plum-blossoms, and whose rule is strong as the pine-tree. Japan must be governed by Shinto, for it is a country which cannot do without the help of the gods. Foreign countries are under the reign of brutes, the strong have the upper hand and devils abound. Japan has also come under the sway of brutes; but this will not do, and the god has appeared in order to rebuild three thousand worlds. This world is going to be turned into a new one. Three thousand worlds are to be subjected to a great cleansing, so that the Country of the Gods may hold rule in the world in peace forever. . . . . The minds of men are now perverted, and the world turned upside down; the upper and governing class are doing nothing good.

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And there follows a prophecy that a good time is coming for the under dog, and that Japan as the Country of the Gods must cleanse herself from evil spirits, that she may be of service to a needy world.

Is there not something in it? We can get a glimpse from these few words of its appeal to world-weary folk, of its power over the retired officer, who in all countries likes to growl that the world is going to the dogs, and to criticize his own land while yet he plans her supremacy, and of its hold on young reformers, of whom Japan is full. The headquarters of Omoto-kyō are thronged too with those who desire to have their evil spirits exorcised; it is a religion that claims to work, and such are in great demand! But unfortunately it seems to encourage the belief in animal and demon-possession and has driven eccentric and weak-minded folk mad, until in the island of Formosa it has been necessary to forbid its practice of this art. Its adherents seem to dislike barbers and toothbrushes, and Japanese visitors to the headquarters at Ayabe near Kyōto are often alienated by this rather unprepossessing trait; "everything that meets your eyes and ears is unprepossessing, not to say odious. . . . . You feel yourself oppressed and menaced. This is particularly the case in the evening when . . . . amidst the semi-darkness pervading the precinct you see long-haired people going the round of the temples by twos or threes, muttering and clapping their hands, while from a distant temple you hear a dreary voice slowly recounting that the world is inhabited by nothing but demons, serpents and four-legged brutes. . . . . You feel as if you were no longer in a human world."

How different all this is from the exquisite orderliness, the splendid intoned services, the gorgeous vestments, and the dignity of a great Buddhist temple such as that at Chionji. I visited it with an experienced missionary, and she was deeply stirred by the beauty and the sincerity of it all; as Mr. Cram has said, it is worthy to rank with St. Mark's, Venice, and its worship is paid to Amitābha, a being of compassion

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and goodness far more appealing one would think than the deity incarnate in an illiterate old woman. Yet Omoto-kyō has ten thousand preachers, and its adherents are said to be increasing steadily, for like the vigorous and noisy Nichiren sect of Buddhism it panders to the chauvinist; like Christianity it aims at rebuilding a shaken world; like Christian Science it promises physical healing; and like Theosophy it is eclectic. Perhaps more significant still it is shrewd in its use of the press, and in its appeal to the mysterious. There are some things in it from which we need not be too proud to learn, above all this wise statesmanship in devoting a daily paper to its propaganda; and this leads on.

IV

What of the Christian church in Japan? So much has been written on this subject by those better qualified than I that I shall be very brief, and merely state my conviction as to the kind of Christianity that may be expected to win her allegiance. I take for granted that it must be sincere and earnest; but it must also be fearless alike in its theological thinking and in its social application of the teachings of Jesus. Already the Japanese are thinking more liberally than many of their teachers, and already the Japanese church is producing some fearless opponents of chauvinism and imperialism; it may need its martyrs yet. Next it must get alongside the Buddhists in much more cordial and sympathetic relationships, and its followers must study more closely and fair-mindedly this amazing religion which has done so much for Asia as to be a veritable *Praeparatio Evangelica*. Whilst some wise missionaries and many younger Japanese leaders accept this position, many, perhaps the majority, are too ready to condemn without study and to compare the best in their own religion with the worst in Buddhism; this is unscientific as well as grossly unfair.

Next I would emphasize the need for enabling Japanese scholars to secure the leisure and the atmosphere needed for constructive thinking; the need of Christian literature of the

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right kind—not translations of Western books—is desperate, and the nation is reading with feverish eagerness. A reactionary is spending several million dollars on propagating doctrines of Christianity in the Orient which will all have speedily to be unlearnt; are liberal Christians going to stand by and lose a unique opportunity to win this very brilliant nation?

Lastly, though much more might be said, Japan needs an artistic presentation of Christianity and she has not yet been offered it. "Art," says Dr. Anesaki, "is an international language," and he makes a strong plea for introducing his people to the great things of Christian art. They go in millions to art collections. Why not send a loan collection of Christian masterpieces to Tokyo? It would help mightily toward mutual esteem and understanding.

Missionaries again must pay much more attention to architecture; in some Japanese cities almost the only ugly thing one sees is the Christian church or the mission compound. It is a big question and can only be touched here, but it is one of great importance: why should we make good and devoted work unattractive to the eye? How great is the esteem in which Fenollosa and Lafcadio Hearn are held in Japan because of their appreciation of beauty. And how great and noble a service might a Christian Fenollosa not render at this time in Japan by interpreting his Faith through its art, and incidentally in China by saving to the Chinese their great art treasures in the name of Him who is the Lord of Beauty and of all good life? As the Eastern nations bring their rich gifts into His Kingdom it will become worthy of Him and more alluring to us all; and we cannot afford to win only those without artistic taste!

Such then must Christianity be to win Japan, broad as mankind in its enthusiasm, liberal in its spirit, artistic in its expression, and believing that the Kingdom of God will gain greatly by the accession of this brilliant people. In such a faith many missionaries are at work. Let us hold up their hands.

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CURRENT EVENTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Can Protestantism Ignore Economic Issues?—We have heard much, of late, about the church and industry. Many are discussing the question as to whether the church has a right to lift its voice in matters which affect the industrial world, but back of the question of the church's *right*, is the question of the church's *desire* to speak in this field. Assuming without argument the church's right to speak, James J. Coale in an article "Protestantism and the Masses" in the *Yale Review* for October, 1921, addresses himself to the question of the church's present reluctance to enter this field. He finds the fundamental cause for the church's willingness to isolate herself from this important area of thinking and activity in the inherited ethics of the Protestant church, an ethics based ultimately on the sanctity of private property. Worship of thrift, admiration of accumulated wealth, has caught the Protestant church in a snare. She is committed to the point of view of the possessing element; her energies have been bent to hold this group. The results of this alignment on the side of property are complacency about the *status quo* of the social order and a commitment to the gospel of "Success." The model which Mr. Coale would set before the church for its action today is the step which the church took under Paul's direction in the first century of its history.

> The New Testament brings out the fact that a drastic choice of human material for the growing church was several times forced upon the leaders of the church, and in each case, a radical course was adopted. Paul turned to the Goyim, the Gentiles, as the alternative to a narrow exclusive policy for which his colleagues contended. History affords few more stirring, more dramatic climaxes than this surrendering of individual prestige, social advantage and racial pride, for the sake of the great, unnamed, undistinguished masses. . . . . Is this the spirit of the Protestant church today? . . . . The cost of such a spirit is terrific, not in money merely but in the surrender of pride and prejudice. When the Protestant church is willing to pay the price, it will become an efficient instrument for social righteousness.

The question is not one of right but of will.

The Death of Two Veterans in the Field of Theology.—Professor G. Frederick Wright, of Oberlin College, died on April 20, 1921, at the age of eighty-four and Dr. Augustus H. Strong, formerly president of

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Rochester Theological Seminary, died on November 29, 1921, at the age of eighty-five.

Professor Wright was appointed in 1892 to the chair of the harmony of science and religion at Oberlin. Educated for the ministry, he turned his attention during his early pastorates to the field of geology, and made some valuable researches into the glacial evidences of the extent of the ice age in North America. He was editor of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* from 1884 until his death, and was an indefatigable defender of conservative theological views.

Dr. Strong was for forty years (1872–1912) president of Rochester Theological Seminary, and the widely influential professor of systematic theology in that institution. He early published a textbook on theology which received constant revisions and enlargements, embodying an astonishingly wide range of reading. The orthodox theological position expressed in the first edition was never abandoned, though at one time the lure of a monistic philosophy seemed to be leading in the direction of certain significant reconstructions. Dr. Strong was a lover of literature and published several studies of the theology of outstanding poets.

Dr. Griffith Thomas on Missions in China.—A year ago at the Moody Institute, Dr. Griffith Thomas gave a vivid picture of alleged evangelical disintegration in the mission field in China. One of his statements was: "There are 248 missionaries in Shanghai and only 4 of these are doing evangelistic work."

The editor of the *Chinese Recorder* in the August issue of 1921 answers Dr. Thomas' criticism with the following facts: (1) that in 1917 there were actually 450 missionaries in Shanghai; (2) that the large number of missionaries in Shanghai is due to the fact that Shanghai is the center of missionary administrative and literary work in China; (3) that the survey of the executive committee of the Shanghai Missionary Association reports that there are at present 34 missionaries giving their whole time to preaching and teaching the Bible—in accordance with the narrowest definition of "evangelist"; (4) that in addition there are Bible Society workers, a translator of the Bible into Phonetic, Sunday-school lesson workers, and writers of purely evangelistic tracts; (5) that there are also many missionaries working in hospitals and schools.

In an article entitled "Modernism in China," in the *Princeton Theological Review* for October, 1921, Dr. Thomas furnishes a stirring account of what he found on his recent visit to China. He cites instance after instance of the teaching of liberal and critical views in mission

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schools. It is self-evident to him that such views represent a perversion of Christianity, and he suggests three imperative duties which conservatives must assume: (1) People at home must be informed as to what is going on in China; (2) Mission Boards must be influenced "to send out only the right men"; (3) Missionaries should be provided with "the best books on the conservative side."

The fundamental difference between the liberals and the conservatives is declared by Dr. Thomas to be found in the attitude toward the authority of Scripture. Doubtless this is true. But the analysis of the situation seems to indicate another difference which deserves consideration. Those who sympathize with Dr. Thomas demand the exclusion of all missionaries who do not agree with their conception of the Bible. The liberals make no such exclusive demands. They recognize honest differences of opinion, but believe that there should be a practical co-operation in Christian service. The conservative apparently attributes to the liberal his own exclusive attitude and then accuses the liberal of promoting divisions in the missionary enterprise. There is need for a closer examination of this point.

Can the Problem of Miracles Be Solved?—Without recourse to any new forms of argument, or the assembling of any new data, Mr. W. H. Bass, in the *Pilgrim* for October, 1921, has stated concisely and clearly what he believes to be the prime factor in the modern approach to the problem of miracle, namely, the recognition of the subjective element in the Gospel records. In brief, he contends that a twentieth-century man, if confronted with the events which the first-century man reported in terms of miracle, would undoubtedly give some interpretation suggested by modern views of cause and effect. The modern Christian is not obligated to accept an ancient interpretation, but may raise for himself the question as to what probably occurred. Mr. Bass's article, because of its brevity and directness, will commend itself to the many thoughtful people, for whom as Mr. Bass says, the presence of the miraculous element in the gospel narratives makes the character of Jesus unintelligible today.

The Ancient Faith and the Modern Churchman.—In an article under this title, in the *Contemporary Review* for November, the Right Rev. Bishop J. E. C. Welldon, D.D., discusses the Conference of Modern Churchmen, held at Girton College, Cambridge, England, last August. The speeches and sermons delivered at the conference have all been published in the September number of the *Modern Churchman*, the organ of the Churchmen's Union, and it is to the consideration of these

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addresses that Bishop Welldon invites the attention of the reader. The view presented in the article is that of a conservative, who deprecates the formulation of new creeds as an indication of departure from the old faith, and whose examination of the attitude of the conference toward the personality of Jesus leads him to express the fear that the modern churchman "is prepared to surrender the essential power of Christianity." The article is of interest, however, to the liberal as well as to the conservative, in its clear statement of the issues under discussion between the liberal and conservative parties in the Church of England today. An interesting new formulation of faith, proposed at the conference by Dr. Douglas White, is quoted in the article:

> I believe in God, the Father of all;
> And in Jesus Christ, Revealer of God, and Saviour of men:
> And in the Spirit of Holiness, which is the Spirit of God and of Jesus:
> By which Spirit, man is made divine:
> I acknowledge the communion of all faithful people,
> In beauty, goodness, and truth;
> I believe in the forgiveness of sins, the glory of righteousness,
> The victory of love, and the life eternal.

Three Essentials of New Testament Interpretation.—Professor H. L. Goudge's Inaugural Lecture at King's College, London, in March, 1921, is printed in the *Church Quarterly Review* for October, 1921. Entering upon his work as professor of New Testament exegesis, Dr. Goudge has formulated the principles by which he wishes his interpretation of the New Testament to be regulated: (1) the recognition of the unity and continuity of the Church's life; (2) the understanding of the unity of the canonical scriptures; and (3) the appreciation of the gift of the Holy Spirit. Failure to realize the corporate character of all biblical religion, and the growth of Christianity, as a social organism from Judaism means misunderstanding of the message of Jesus. An understanding of the progressive character of the revelation in the Old and New Testaments, must precede any real appreciation of the work of Jesus—especially his choice from all the Old Testament pictures of the Messiah of the gentlest one for his model. Of the gift of the Holy Spirit, Professor Goudge says, "It is the gift of the Holy Spirit which alone explains the New Testament, and we cannot understand it, unless in some measure, we share the writer's experience." Finally he says, "We come to the New Testament not primarily that we may judge it, but that it may judge us: and the more that this is what we desire, the better will our understanding be."

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Accepting the Universe.—"Gad, she'd better," was Carlyle's grim answer when he was told that Margaret Fuller, the American transcendentalist, had accepted the universe. That was, in essence, the doctrine of the stoics of Paul's day—acquiesence and loyalty to the cosmic scheme as the only means to peace and freedom. In distinction from these philosophers, the devotees of the Hellenistic mystery religions sought escape from the tyranny of the cosmic order through alliance with some deity who was superior to it. Ecstasy, asceticism, sacramental feasts brought to them this freedom. That Paul was coping with the same problem when he wrote to his followers about being in "bondage under the elements of the world" (Gal. 4:3 and Col. 2:8–10) is the contention of Professor Moffatt in his article, "The Festival of Christianity" in the *Expositor* for November, 1921. Beside these passages, which deal with the Christian's relation to the cosmic order, Professor Moffatt places I Cor. 5:8—"Wherefore let us celebrate our festival"—Paul's symbol of the relationship that Christianity involved. The religious notion of life as a festival meant the guardianship of God as a source of confidence. Dr. Moffatt shows that Paul's belief in this relationship implied for Christians a position of superiority over cosmic forces, lordship over the world, and freedom which enabled them to face external things without fear or hesitation. "As Christians," says Professor Moffatt, "we are the guests of God, set to live our life before him in a world-order over which He has control, and in which he has a place for those whom he has redeemed from sin and death." Every student of Paul will welcome this discussion of the puzzling phrase: *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου.*

The Religious-social Movement in Germany.—In the *World Tomorrow* (September, 1921) Mr. Hans Hartmann gives a survey of this new religious movement in Germany. There has been a growing conviction since the revolution of 1918 that religion must have a closer connection with life. At present there are two active movements in this direction.

1. The "theoretical group" tries to find out the Divine will for the present time and to furnish to mankind the fruits of their best thinking. This group believes that only by their modesty and humility can God work through them. They avoid close connection with the masses of workers in order to keep unsullied their own point of view.

2. The "practical group" consist of radicals and well-balanced leaders. The latter are cautious in making any direct contact with the masses but are trying to bring men together in small circles, awakening them so that they will purify the public life slowly but surely. *The*

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New Work, which is an enthusiastic exponent of a strong will to prepare the way for peace, justice, faith and love, is a popular magazine among the youth.

Can There Be Self-Determination on the Mission Field?—Almost everywhere non-Christian peoples are restive under the domination of foreigners, whether in religion or politics. In the words of Rev. Masahisa Uemura, of Japan:

> To depend upon the pocket of foreigners for money to pay the bills is not a situation which ought to satisfy the moral sense of Japanese Christians. Likewise in the realm of religious thought, is it not shameful to accept opinions ready-made, relying on the experience of others instead of one's own? . . . . Is it not a great duty which we owe to God and to mankind to develop the religious talent of our people, and to contribute our share to the religious ideas of the world?

Dr. Brown, the secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian church, has an article in the *International Review of Missions* (October, 1921) pointing out that there are two possible methods of solving the difficulty. The first proposal is to keep the mission with its present powers and make a few of the best-qualified native Christians members of the mission. The second is to transfer a large part of the power to the native church. The latter is the wiser course because the ultimate object of the missionary is not to establish an American or English church in any mission field but a native church that will and should govern itself. The sphere of a mission in any field is temporary but that of a native church is permanent.

Related to the problem of self-government is that of the creed and the polity of the native church. If the rising churches in the mission field determine their own creeds and polity, who is to be the judge of their soundness? Dr. Brown believes that as Christianity in the course of two thousand years has taken on the characteristics of the white race, it is very natural for an autonomous body of Christians in the mission field to shape it in accordance with their own racial characteristics. No missionary should lay too much stress upon occidental terminology and theology as essentials of Christianity.

The Golden Rule as a Business Asset.—In the *American Magazine* (October, 1921) Arthur Nash tells of a business miracle in his Golden Rule Factory. After the war, conditions were so bad that he decided to sell out his "tailor-to-trade concern" and buy a farm. While getting ready to liquidate, he made up his mind to try a final experiment.

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1. He raised the wage of all his employees so that everyone was to be paid at least $20 a week. But the unexpected result was that under this application of the Golden Rule his people turned out nearly three times as much work as ever before, and the manufacturing cost of a suit of clothes was less than before the wage increase went into effect. During a period of strikes and general unrest, he had no strike. His business grew from a one-floor shop to a big six-story building.

2. He announced that he would divide profits with his employees in the form of a semi-annual bonus on the basis of salaries earned. But soon he received a petition from his employees asking him to distribute the workers' share of profits on the basis of time worked instead of on the basis of wages earned. This meant that skilled labor making from $75 to $90 a week voluntarily asked that the poorest paid help in the shop should receive just as much dividend as the more highly paid. The practice of the Golden Rule was contagious.

3. When the problem of unemployment became acute in Cincinnati, his employees voluntarily and unanimously offered to give up their jobs for one month in January or February and let their places be taken by needy garment workers of the city who were out of employment regardless of their creed, nationality, union, or non-union affiliation.

The Unspiritual Tone of Spiritualism.—A very pertinent criticism on spiritualism is expressed in the *Personalist* for October. Here G. R. S. Mead points out that in the demonstrations of spiritualism "psychical capacity is notoriously unaccompanied with intellectual ability." "From the point of view of the student of spiritual literature," writes Evelyn Underhill, "one of the most remarkable and distressing characteristics of spiritualism is the thoroughly unspiritual tone of its revelations. It fails to respond to the higher cravings of the soul and never approaches the nobility and beauty of that conception of Eternal Life which has been developed by the Mystics."

Is God Knowable?—In the *Expositor* for November, Professor H. R. Macintosh discusses the question of the knowability of God. After an examination of the symbolic and abstract methods of thinking in religion, the author concludes that we can get a true and satisfying knowledge of God through a pictorial and imaginative presentation. It may be inexact from a critical point of view, yet it will suffice for the meeting of our religious needs. Thus a world with Jesus in it is a world with a great and loving God over it. Hence the name of God, though set in pictorial forms is trans-subjectively

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true. This means that the business of theology is to criticize religious symbols. In discharging this task theology must (1) eliminate every figure which represents God as unlike Jesus Christ; (2) the new symbolism must be vitally continuous with the old. There must remain a "meaning" which does not change but preserves the historic self-identity of Christian faith.

It is quite evident that a conception of God as a personal being involves the use of such terms as are generally applied to personal beings. But personality implies certain specifications and qualifications. These imply certain limitations. Thus, says Professor Bertling in *Der Geisteskampf*, Heft 10, "Man's will is a limit to God's will." It is a limit to God's omnipotence. Must this fact not be conceded if God is to be thought of in pictorial and personal terms?

The Pragmatic Method in Christianity.—The application of the pragmatic method to some of the elements of Christian doctrine is attempted by George W. Roesch in an article entitled, "The Pragmatism of James and the Christian System." The article appears in the *Personalist* for October. The writer presents a number of interesting parallels between pragmatism and various doctrines of the Christian system. He defines pragmatism (1) as a method, (2) as a genetic theory of what is meant by truth. Since Christianity is a practical system interested in the affairs of life, it is in hearty accord with pragmatism in its attitude toward the achievement of truth by a progressive unfolding. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but you cannot hear them now," are the words of Jesus which indicate that the achieving of truth was conditioned upon the proper attitude in life to practical issues. Moreover, as an attitude toward a becoming and developing universe, pragmatism supports the Christian endeavor to establish the Kingdom of God in loyalty, truth, and righteousness.

Is Modernism Bankrupt?—An article under the foregoing caption in the October number of the *Modern Churchman* definitely denies such an accusation. A casual perusal of the program of this movement in England should convince any fair-minded person that it ministers to a tremendous present-day need. The modernist is convinced that sound education is impossible without religion, but religion in its traditional form is showing itself less and less capable of grasping the whole-hearted loyalty of young men and young women. The modern presentation of the Christian religion is trying to meet this difficulty. What has it accomplished? It has kept in the church a number of the thoughtful, modern-minded men and women who might otherwise have given it up

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as hopelessly obscurantist. Moreover it hopes to turn back those opponents of the church who feel that the church is opposed to scientific and historic truth.

A movement with such a program is only another evidence of the progressiveness of real religion. Unless Christianity is adapted and reinterpreted according to the needs of each successive age it will have little effect on the people who bear its name. That it can be so adapted suggests in no uncertain terms that it is still significant for the thinking mind of the present day.

Philosophical Religion *vs.* a Religious Philosophy.—Are the masses hampered today by a religious philosophy which comes to conclusions not on grounds of reason but on those of utility? This is the conviction of Professor Radhakrishnan, of Calcutta University. In the *Hibbert Journal* for October, the writer in an article on "Religion and Philosophy" expresses the opinion that utility as a basis for religion is too often an indication of a temper which is too lazy to think out philosophical problems and is too ready to accept traditional answers to ultimate questions. Instead of such a religious philosophy the writer advocates a philosophical religion. Its characteristics include: (1) *Tradition or dogma:* Tradition is the stepping-stone to truth. It conveys to us the intense spiritual experience of others. However to lean only on other people's experience brings a religion that is only second hand. It is the religion of the spinal column and not of the brain. (2) *Mystic feeling:* This is a consciousness of God. But it must be accompanied by reflection. For if philosophy does not establish the reality of the object of the mystic consciousness, the experience loses its value. (3) *Ethical implications:* This is the dynamic force of religion which stirs the very depths of the soul to a sense of morality and righteousness. (4) *Rational factor:* The function of the rational aspect of religion is to give a reason for the hope that is in us. In all genuine religion these four elements are found together and to exaggerate any one of them out of proportion endangers religion.

The Mystic's Experience of God.—The three most constantly reiterated questions that moderns are asking about mysticism are these: What is it? Is it normal or abnormal? Does it actually furnish us with knowledge? To these three questions Professor Rufus Jones, one of America's foremost mystics, addresses himself in an article called "The Mystic's Experience of God" in the *Atlantic Monthly* for November. To the first of the three questions, Professor Jones replies that mystical experience "is consciousness of direct and immediate

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relationship with some transcendent reality which, in the moment of experience, is believed to be God." To the second, he replies by distinguishing between criticism of mystical experience which is abstract, and that which is concrete. Denying the possibility of judgment in the abstract, Dr. Jones makes his own test of the normality of the experience a pragmatic one. Granting that there are extreme types, and calmer and more restrained types as well, Dr. Jones affirms that we should not class as abnormal experiences which bring "spaciousness of mind, new interior dimensions, ability to stand the universe—and the people in it—and capacity to work at human tasks with patience, endurance, and wisdom." It is to the third question that Dr. Jones devotes the major part of discussion, centering his thought, in the main, upon the problem as to whether the mind has any way of approach, except by way of the senses, to any kind of reality. Since the answer to this question must lie in the realm of experience, the mystic's own experience is his ultimate answer. That there is a world of spiritual reality of which we know, not through the senses, but through the channels of spiritual activity. That he himself has found that world, the mystic is as sure as he is that Columbus found San Salvador. After all, the ultimate answer to the reality of the knowledge, is phrased in Dr. Jones's succinct sentence about mystical experience, "It makes God sure to the person who has had the experience."

Providing Spiritual Opportunities for Our Fellow-Countrymen.—That a tremendously large field in need of educational facilities and moral uplift lies within a few hours' ride from Washington is urged by Sara A. Brown in the *American Child* (August, 1921). She makes a moving appeal in behalf of the mountaineers of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. A study of the conditions of rural child life in Appalachia resulted in a compilation of schedules for 1,005 dependent and neglected children of whom 482 were visited in 172 homes.

There is no excuse for our government and the religious organizations of our land to allow such conditions to continue long in the future. It is to be noted that the church has done more than any other institution for the well-being of the southern mountaineers; but it has hardly made a beginning.

Some Social Consequences of Divorce.—A study of children in institutions of Los Angeles by Mrs. E. K. Foster and Carrie M. Burlingame revealed some disturbing facts which they have presented in the *Journal of Delinquency* (July, 1921). Two hundred and twenty-three children were studied and the following facts discovered: Over half had both

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parents living. Nearly half were in institutions because parents were separated or divorced. Less than one-fourth were over ten years of age. Three-fourths of the parents living were not over forty years of age. Three-fourths of the parents were American born.

Investigations in other cities bring equally severe indictments against divorces. It no doubt would be interesting and stimulating if these studies also revealed how many of the divorced parents were professing Christians and regular church attendants.

Armaments and Missions.—The bearing which disarmament may have upon foreign missionary work is a subject which should command the interest of Christian people. Discussing this subject in *Missions* (November, 1921) Professor Henry B. Robins, of Rochester Theological Seminary, makes the following statements:

First of all, no people which faces the uncertainties of a world under arms and still arming can throw itself with a whole heart into sacrificial preparation for the early establishment of a kingdom of righteousness, peace, and love. Nobody can measure the moral enthusiasm and active good will which will be generated through a general movement for disarmament.

And again, the effect upon the non-Christian world of such a concerted act of the nations or any great group of them would be arresting. . . . . When the new situation has become an accepted fact, the representative of the Christian gospel might find its claim to represent a heavenly order, a new society of peace and good will, more readily and completely credited by the heathen mind. Away out in western China I saw the armed employees of a great American corporation patrolling the Yangtze River, "shooting the fear of God," as they said, into the natives with modern machine guns. That is one way of doing it; but I am thinking that only the propulsion of a mighty new affection will ever project the love of God into the heart of the pagan world. What a difference it would make if our claim to be a Christian nation would be somewhat supported by the facts.

Lyman Abbott on the Fundamentals.—In an article, "The Fundamentals of Christianity" in the *Outlook* for November 23, 1921, Dr. Abbott concludes with the following words:

If Christianity is a system of philosophy, then certain doctrines might be regarded as fundamental in that system. But if Christianity is a life, the fundamentals are not understandings by the intellect as to the nature of the Bible, Christ, and of Sacrifice, but acts of the will, as repentance, love, and loyalty. And if so, the condition of admission to the Church of Christ should not be acceptance of a creed, ancient or modern simple or complex, but the conservation of the life to the service of God in the service of his children under the leadership of Jesus Christ.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A NEO-REALIST'S CONCEPTION OF GOD[1]

Simon Alexander, professor of philosophy in the University of Manchester, has been recognized for some years as a leading exponent of the "new realism" in England. His articles, which have been appearing from time to time in *Mind* and in the *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* have attracted a good deal of attention in philosophical circles, so that when it became known that he had worked out a new metaphysical system along realistic lines, the publication of these Gifford lectures was awaited with interest.

In the introduction to his metaphysical treatise Professor Alexander indicates briefly his position with reference to the problem of knowledge. Although bred, as he tells us, in the school of Bradley and Bosanquet, he has reacted emphatically against even the revised version of absolute idealism which these thinkers present. What he objects to, fundamentally, in absolutism is its assertion that the parts of the world are not ultimately real or true, that only the whole is true. Alexander's own view is that minds and external things are co-ordinate members of the real world, the act of mind and the object of the mind's awareness being distinct existences united by the relation of "compresence," or togetherness, in the experience. The mind's direct awareness of its own mental state is denoted by the term "enjoyment," while "contemplation" is the term reserved for the mind's awareness of objects. Every object is, as an existence, independent of mind; it is selected for contemplation from the world of independent being. The object owes to mind neither its qualities as known nor its existence, but only its being known.

Philosophy for Alexander is essentially metaphysics, defined as the empirical study of the non-empirical, or in other words the science of the *a priori* features of the actual world. It is the study of the pervasive as opposed to the variable characters of experienced things. With this conception of his task, he presents his material in four books: I, *Space-Time;* II, *The Categories;* III, *The Order and Problems of Empirical Existence; and* IV, *Deity.*

In its general features the system reminds one of Spinoza's, except that instead of Space and *Thought* as the fundamental attributes of

[1] *Space, Time and Deity* (The Gifford Lectures at Glasgow, 1916–1918). S. Alexander. London: Macmillan and Co., 1920. 2 vols. xvi+347 and xiii+437 pages.

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Being, all existences, mental as well as physical, are viewed as modifications of Space and *Time*. Space and Time, according to Alexander, are in reality one; they are the same reality considered under different attributes. In reply to the question, What do you mean by Space and Time? Do you mean by it physical Space and Time, extension and duration, or do you mean mental space and time, that which you experience in your mind? The answer is that in the end both are one and the same; what is contemplated as Space-Time is enjoyed as mental space-time.

The categories, or pervasive characters of existent things, are "the grey or neutral-colored canvas on which the bright colors of the universe are embroidered." They are common to mind and to physical things, but this does not mean that as present in the physical they are due to mind; rather is it that they are fundamental properties of Space-Time, of which both minds and physical things are modifications. The categories examined are Identity, Diversity, and Existence; Universal, Particular, and Individual; Relation; Order; Substance, Causality, Reciprocity, Quantity and Intensity; Whole and Parts, and Number; Motion; the One and the Many. Quality and Change are not regarded as categories, inasmuch as quality is simply a collective name for the various specific and variable characters of things, while change is transition from one quality or variable empirical character to another.

In the third book interest centers in the discussion of mind and its relations. The main levels of existence are motion, matter as mechanical, matter with secondary qualities, life, and mind. When matter, which is itself a complex of motions, attains to a certain degree of complexity, colors, sounds, and other secondary qualities emerge. Life is an emergent quality taken on by a certain complex of physico-chemical processes belonging to the material level. Similarly mind, the last empirical quality of finites that we know, is an emergent from the level of living existence when it reaches a certain new complexity.

The doctrine of a parallel relation between the mental and the neural is rejected on the ground that in reality they are not two, but one. That which, as experienced from the inside, or enjoyed, is a conscious process, is, as experienced from the outside, or contemplated, a neural one. The mental process *is* physiological, and it would seem that it is simply its locality which makes it mental instead of merely neural, although its being mental means that a new feature, that of mind, has emerged. However, while mental process is something new, a fresh creation, the mind is itself identical with the totality of certain neural processes, only not as contemplated, but as *enjoyed*. Different processes of consciousness

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can belong to one mind simply because all the parts of the neural structure are physically connected. Thus the entire weight of the system before us is against belief in the continued existence of mind after physical death. "Should the extension of mind beyond the limits of the bodily life be verified," the author admits, "the larger part of the present speculation will have to be seriously modified or abandoned."

Unlike the empirical qualities of external things, values, or tertiary qualities, as Alexander calls them, imply the amalgamation of the object with the human appreciation of it. What is true, good, or beautiful, is not true or good or beautiful except as many minds through conflict and co-operation have produced standards of approval or disapproval. Values are the creation of mind, but they are real characters which real objects possess by virtue of their relations to minds, which they satisfy. Pragmatism is criticized in these words:

> All science is the unification of propositions of experience, and a proposition is true if it works with other propositions. Were the doctrine of pragmatism nothing but an assertion of this fact it could hardly claim to be a novelty. Its significance is that it maintains that there is nothing more to be said of truth. So apprehensive is it of the doctrine that reality is a closed system, fixed and eternal, into which all finites are absorbed and lose their finite character in the supposed Absolute, that it dispenses with all inquiry into the ultimate nature of reality. Reality is indeed no fixed thing, but being temporal is evolving fresh types of existence. But truth which is not guided by reality is not truth at all.

Appended to the discussion of values in general there is a protest against the philosophical method which adopts value as the clue to the nature of reality; to proceed thus, it is claimed, is to discolor the truth with our affections. Now, while our general criticisms of the book are reserved until the end of this review, a critical remark may be interjected at this point. Illegitimate as it may be to assume that reality as a whole, or fundamentally, is like what we appreciate, it does seem permissible to ask what logically must be believed about reality if we are to maintain without inconsistency that our critically examined and still assured evaluations are valid. This method is not to be used to contradict verified scientific results, but to supplement the necessary deficiencies of scientific information. For example, if the consciousness of moral obligation is to be regarded as at all valid, man must be to some extent a creative determiner of his own conduct. Absolute determinism, which scientific observation never has demonstrated and, we may be sure, never will demonstrate, can be contradicted with moral certainty. It is because he scorns to make use of such considerations in philosophy

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that Alexander can subscribe to the unverified and unverifiable dogma of strict determinism and assert that human freedom involves no feature save enjoyment which distinguishes it from natural or physical action.

The fourth book begins with the question, In a universe consisting of things which have developed within one matrix of Space-Time, what room is there for God? The answer given to this question is novel, even startling. While mind or consciousness is the highest empirical quality which we know, deity, it is maintained, is the next higher empirical quality to the highest we know. Thus deity *is* not as yet; the universe is engaged in bringing it to birth. Since knowledge depends on experience we cannot tell what is the nature of deity, but we can be certain that it is not mind. God, the being which possesses deity, must be spiritual in the same way as he must be living and material and spatio-temporal, but his deity is not spirit. Deity is to spirit as spirit is to life, or as life to materiality. God is directly experienced in the religious emotion of worship as something higher than ourselves; but religious emotion cannot prove the *existence* of God. Only metaphysics could do that, but as a matter of fact metaphysics does not do that. God is, or rather would be, the whole world as possessing the quality of deity. But as the quality of deity has not yet made its appearance, the best we can say is that as an actual existent, God is the infinite world with its *striving toward* deity. This is the God of the religious consciousness. The world as *possessing* deity is not actual but ideal. And so what is felt in religious experience is not the actual presence of God, but simply the vague future quality of deity.

All this to religious common sense is bizarre enough, but a further most disconcerting qualification remains to be mentioned. Not only does the individual sketched as the infinite God not exist; it is only in this sense of straining toward deity that there ever can be an infinite actual God. If the quality of deity were actually attained, we should have not one infinite being possessing deity, but many (at least potentially many) finite ones. And beyond these finite gods which are to make up the next order of finite existence there will be in turn a new empirical quality looming into view, which will be for the gods what deity is for us spirits. Whether or not there are finite gods somewhere in the universe, we may not know. If they do exist they must have material bodies and life and mind as well as deity, and such beings are not recognizable by us in any form of material existence known to us. Moreover, instead of man's existence depending upon God, it may be surmised that the future existence of deity and the gods depends very largely upon the efforts

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of man. And finally, while deity must be supposed to be on the side of goodness, since that which survives is good, God as the whole world possessing (in the future) the quality of deity *is* neither good nor evil. It *includes* both good and evil in the human minds which make up its body.

So much space and time have been devoted to an exposition of Alexander's metaphysical system that little of either is left for evaluation. A few brief comments only may be appended. First, a word of appreciation. Even one who differs widely from many of Professor Alexander's conclusions can view with sympathy and some degree of satisfaction the attempt to construct on an empirical foundation a comprehensive theory of reality—particularly in these days when so many who bear the name of philosophers would deny, in the name of a rather superficial instrumentalism, that there are any such problems as those with which the theory of knowledge and the theory of reality deal. Nevertheless it must be admitted that it is the metaphysical attempt without the satisfactory completion of the task, as in the instance before us, that confounds the philosopher. What Alexander has given us, viewed as a whole, is little more than a singularly methodical and complete presentation of an original and interesting but highly fantastic world-view. Reasonably sober and scientific in the interpretation of experienced nature, when he undertakes to anticipate the future course of evolution he makes progress only through dogmatic assertion on the basis of arguments from analogy which are more than doubtful. His weird speculations are the resultant of perhaps three main factors: first, his rather wilful adherence to a very extreme form of realistic monism, according to which mind is not to be regarded as originating anything in the real world beyond the peculiar relation of awareness which is its own inherent quality. Second, his comparative indifference to certain spiritual values, making him willing to give up any idea of an existent God or creative human freedom or personal immortality; and finally, his passion for a neat and finished system. This last characteristic may be good or bad according to circumstances. If the philosophy is fundamentally sound, attention to systematic unity will make it better. But if the philosophy is fundamentally unsound, consistency and system may lead the thinker to conclusions ever further from the strait and narrow path of truth. Like many another system-maker the author of *Space, Time and Deity* seems much more eager to exhibit the curiosities of his really brilliant speculative imagination than to seek that true and sober wisdom of which the philosopher above all others is supposed to be the lover. While metaphysical truth may indeed be discolored by the mistaken appreciation of false values, is it not equally true that it may also be

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discolored by a failure to appreciate sufficiently certain values which, after every fair critical test, still seem to be genuine and real?

DOUGLAS C. MACINTOSH

YALE DIVINITY SCHOOL

A NEW EXPOSITION OF JOB[1]

The original plan for the Book of Job in the "International Critical Commentary" contemplated its being prepared by the late Professor Driver. But death took him from the task February 26, 1914. In accordance with his wishes, the completion was intrusted to Professor Gray, of Mansfield College, Oxford. Professor Gray's fitness had already been attested by his excellent commentaries on Numbers and on Isaiah, chapters 1–27, in the same series. In this commentary on Job, the work of each contributor is clearly indicated; the bulk of the grammatical, linguistic, and textual notes is the work of Driver, as is also a large part of the new translation. The main commentary, the translation of sixteen chapters, and the introduction are from Gray. Gray's hand is seen also throughout the commentary and particularly in the philological notes in the addition of bracketed material of great value. It may safely be said that the unity of the work thus coming from two authors is remarkable. Its value lies chiefly in its sound scholarship and its splendidly balanced judgment. No strikingly new points of view are revealed in either the textual criticism, the metrical form, or the literary analysis. But we are given the reaction of two level-headed scholars to most of the propositions regarding the interpretation of Job that time has produced. This reaction is, on the whole, conservative, as is fitting in a standard work like this. Whatsoever of the newer and more radical views has found recognition by acceptance here, may be regarded as having fairly earned its place. This commentary is a record of the ground thus far possessed.

The origin of the Book of Job is placed in the fifth century B.C., with allowance for the margin of a century either way. The main additions to the original book are: (1) the Elihu speeches (chaps. 32–37); (2) the poem on Wisdom (chap. 28), and a section of Yahweh's speech (chaps. 40:6—41:34), not to speak of glosses and minor additions scattered all along. The unity of the Elihu speeches is unchallenged; and Dr. Gray declares

[1] *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job, Together with a New Translation* [International Critical Commentary]. S. R. Driver and G. Buchanan Gray.. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921. 2 vols. xxviii+376 and 360 pages. $7.50.

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himself more firmly convinced of the originality of the Yahweh speech than when he wrote his *Critical Introduction* in which he was very hesitating in his acceptance of this portion of the book. The function of the Yahweh speech is more clearly understood and stated than in any other commentary that has yet appeared. In brief, it may be stated as (1) justifying Job in his contention that his sufferings are no measure of his guilt, for it nowhere declares Job to have been a great sinner as his friends had insisted; (2) condemning Job for his charges against God, on the ground that no mortal man is in a position to pass judgment upon the ways of God, since they transcend the limits of his intelligence; and (3) condemning the friends of Job because on the one hand, they have been blinded by their theological theories to the recognition of plain facts; and on the other, like Job, they have assumed to know fully the mind of God. The author of the book thus is thoroughly convinced of the failure of the orthodox theory of suffering to explain the facts, but he has no other theory to put in its place. He can only consider suffering an insoluble mystery and leave it in the care of the divine wisdom and justice.

In a new commentary on Job we always turn to the treatment of 19:25 ff. to learn the latest word. Both translation and general comments here are the work of Dr. Gray.

What is perfectly clear from the passage itself and its context is that Job passionately desires vindication at the hands of God and that in 25 ff. he arrives at the conviction that he will receive it and will himself see it. The uncertainty that remains is as to the time of this event. Is it to be *ante mortem* or *post mortem?* The history of interpretation shows the great leaders of the scholarship of the church almost equally divided upon this question both as to numbers and as to learning. The same situation prevails today. Dr. Gray aligns himself with those who postpone the day of vindication to the period after Job's death. But at this point Gray modifies the commonly accepted form of this view in the following manner: "there is still no belief here in a *continued* life of blessedness after death in which compensation in kind will be made for the inequalities of this life; the movement in the direction of a belief in a future which is here found is rather in response to the conviction that communion with God is real; in a moment after death it will be given to Job to know that he was not deluded in maintaining his integrity, and that he had not really forfeited the confidence of God" (p. 172). It must be said, however, that this element of transitoriness is nowhere suggested by the passage, but is purely imaginary. One other fact is rarely reckoned with, viz., the difficulty of accounting for this episode

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in the experience of Job. The passage indisputably represents Job as arriving at a conviction of vindication either here or hereafter. Yet his thought and feeling suffer no appreciable change from that point on. The problem of suffering is just as difficult and just as personal as before and his reaction to it is just as violent. Such an experience ought to have brought an attitude of patient and confident waiting for the assured outcome. The inevitable conclusion seems to be that this passage as it now stands is from some orthodox believer in a blessed future life who either modified the original text to make it express his own view or furnished a substitute for it. Though every scholar will find points like this to challenge, as is unavoidable in so difficult a book as Job, all will unite in the judgment that this commentary will remain the standard work of this generation on Job.

J. M. Powis Smith

University of Chicago

THE INFLUENCE OF THE APOSTLE PAUL ON EARLY CHRISTIANITY[1]

This book, despite its modest size and appearance, is of quite unusual importance. Professor Bacon is admittedly one of the most original and penetrating of living New Testament scholars, and for many years past has written books and innumerable articles, in every one of which he has made some distinct contribution. In the present work, based on a series of lectures delivered at Oxford in 1920, he has sought to bring to a focus his many-sided studies of the New Testament literature. The title *Jesus and Paul*—appropriated as it has been to the discussion of one definite question—is somewhat misleading. Dr. Bacon's aim is rather to offer a connected account of the whole development of Christian thought in the New Testament period, in such a way as to bring out the inner relation of the Pauline gospel to that of Jesus himself.

The book is clearly and admirably written, free from technicalities, and rising not infrequently into fine imaginative passages. At the same time—and this is the chief general criticism we would make—its argument is often difficult and elusive. In his previous writings Dr. Bacon has worked his way to positions which sometimes differ widely from those generally held, and he is too apt to start from them without adequate explanation. Again and again he lays on his readers the double task of following an intricate argument and seizing a point of view. We

[1] *Jesus and Paul.* Benjamin W. Bacon, D.D. New York: Macmillan, 1921. 251 pages. $2.50.

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cannot but think that he would have done well to state his presuppositions in a preliminary chapter, instead of leaving them to be gradually inferred.

It is the signal merit of the book that it seeks to present the early Christian movement as a whole, and to ascertain the common principles that were at work in all the varying phases. Dr. Bacon finds the spring of Christianity in that desire for reconciliation with God which underlay the religion of Israel, and which inspired John the Baptist's proclamation of the Kingdom. Jesus took up this proclamation, and declared as John had done that the Kingdom would be attained through faith and repentance, but a development can be traced in his teaching in the closing period of his life. He realized that his earlier methods had failed, and now sought to bring about the Kingdom in which God would be reconciled to His people by an act of self-dedication. From the beginning, therefore, Christianity was a gospel of grace, of the renewed favor of God, obtained by the martyrdom and intercession of Christ. At the outset it took the form not of a doctrine but of the two ordinances of Baptism and the Supper, which symbolized forgiveness for the sake of Christ and new life in his Spirit. All the later theology was an effort to expound in intelligible language the meanings conveyed in these two rites. First came Paul, who interpreted Christianity in the light of Hellenistic mysticism, and with the aid of a series of ideas which have their roots in Isaiah's prophecy of the Suffering Servant. Paul's gospel is complicated by his apologetic, which in reality has little to do with it. His Atonement doctrine, for instance, is secondary, forced on him by controversial issues and in some ways obscuring his real message. The vital things in Paulinism are the doctrines of Justification by Faith and Sanctification through the Spirit, which correspond to the two ordinances, and by individualizing the message of Jesus make it universal. While Paul was working among the Gentiles a parallel movement had been in process in Palestine, and found expression in writings which were composed in Aramaic, though in the generation subsequent to Paul they were reproduced in Greek, by members of the gentile church. Mark's Gospel goes back to the preaching of Peter, but in its present form bears constant signs of the infiltration of Pauline into Petrine ideas. The Second Source employed by Matthew and Luke contained little or nothing of the apocalyptic which is so prominent in other Aramaic works like Jude and Revelation. Its Christology was based on the conception of Jesus as the supreme manifestation of the Wisdom of God. The Aramaic writings center, like the Epistles of Paul, on the idea of reconciliation to God through the martyr-death of Jesus, although they present this

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idea in Jewish categories and in close relation to the history. The main body of the church was finally driven, by dangers within and without, to a type of doctrine in which the Pauline and Petrine gospels were harmonized. The first great eirenicon of this kind is I Peter, and the process has its final outcome in the Fourth Gospel, which is essentially Pauline, though thrown into the Aramaic form of a life of Jesus.

This hurried outline does scant justice to Dr. Bacon's book, which is emphatically the work of a rich mind, continually raising new questions and throwing out fresh ideas. These incidental suggestions, which Dr. Bacon scatters in such profusion, are perhaps the most valuable part of the book. The main thesis lies open to many serious criticisms (e.g., the fundamental significance of the two Sacraments, the interpretation of the death of Jesus, the neglect of some cardinal elements in the thought of Paul, the Pauline character of Mark, the exaggerated emphasis on the Paulinism of the Fourth Gospel). It is impossible in a short notice even to touch on the many debatable questions which are started by the book, and which will doubtless occupy New Testament scholars for a long time to come. But the book is all the more valuable because it is so provocative. Whether Dr. Bacon's positions will finally be accepted or not he has certainly put New Testament inquiry on a number of fresh tracks and made old problems more living.

E. F. Scott

Union Theological Seminary

WHAT SHALL PROTESTANTISM DO WITH MODERNISM?

When Pope Pius X in 1907 published his famous encyclical letter condemning modernism, a battle royal was on in the field of theology. In Catholicism, however, the battle was brief and decisive. The church officially laid down the rules by which a victory must be judged. No one could claim the right to represent Catholicism who did not accept and defend the faith once delivered to the saints and conserved in the official doctrines of the church. On this basis, there could be only one outcome. Modernism was outlawed.

The same theological issue is now acute in Protestantism. But Protestantism, having repudiated the jurisdiction of an official church, and having staked its cause on the free consent of every individual to the faith which saves, is unable to employ the short and easy course open to the Church of Rome. In the last analysis public opinion must decide the issue. Hence the battle in Protestantism inevitably takes the form of propaganda to influence public opinion among church members. This means that we are face to face with a lively period of

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controversial religious literature. If the controversy is carried on with an intelligent definition of issues so that genuine debate is possible it ought to result in great good to the cause of religion. But there is grave danger that, owing to misstatements, heat rather than light may be engendered. Two books recently from the press dealing with modernism are here reviewed in the hope of making clear some aspects of the real issue and thus aiding toward a fruitful rather than a fruitless debate.[1]

Dr. Horsch's book is an excellent Protestant counterpart of the papal encyclical. At the outset he makes a definition of the true Christianity by which all must be judged. He defends it as true because he is sure it is revealed in the Bible, and thus has divine sanction. He then proceeds to show by copious citations that the "liberalistic" theologians reject or deny the important items in his system. That these same liberals after the mask is thus stripped off should have the effrontery to persist in claiming the privilege of exercising religious leadership in Christian churches is intolerable. The book is marked by an earnest spirit, and the author has evidently endeavored to pile up the evidence in scholarly and dignified form. As he presents it, it is well calculated to make a profound impression, even if it does not persuade all readers that "the new theology discredits and destroys the foundations of Christianity as Christianity has been known in all ages from the time of its origin."

Impressive as is the apparent mass of evidence furnished in this book, the modernist who reads it will feel that he has not had his case really presented at all. Isolated sentences may be skilfully used so as to create an impression which would never be suggested by the same words in their context. Indeed, such quotation with intent to prove a preconceived point easily leads an author into misquotation. For example, Horsch cites President McGiffert as saying: "Christ is essentially no more divine than we are or than nature is." In the original from which this is taken, McGiffert is simply setting forth historically the position of Schleiermacher. The entire passage reads: "The deity of Christ [according to Schleiermacher] resides in the completeness of his consciousness of God. . . . . Essentially Christ is no more divine than we are or than nature is. But he knows his oneness with God: he is fully awake to his own divinity; and his life is completely controlled by his realization of it. *He is therefore divine in a sense which nature*

[1] *Modern Religious Liberalism: The Destructiveness and Irrationality of the New Theology.* By John Horsch. Scottdale, Pa.: Fundamental Truth Depot, 1921. 331 pages.

Modernism and the Christian Faith. By John Alfred Faulkner. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1921. 306 pages. $2.75.

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cannot be and in a sense which we are not yet but hope eventually to become." [Italics mine.] One or two instances have been noted by the reviewer where Dr. Horsch apparently substituted his own notes for exact quotation. And this in spite of an evident intention on his part to be scrupulously objective in his citations. It only shows how impossible it is for one with a polemic purpose to give a fair picture of his opponent's real position. Little phrases and interpretative comments turn the original statement into the damaging kind of evidence which the author is looking for. The consequence is that the actual ideas of the opponent do not come to light in their original setting. All that the reader of this book will learn concerning modernism is that it consists of denials either direct or implied of what the author considers fundamentals. That the modernist also has his positive faith which is dear to him and which is the expression of an uplifting religious life never appears. Dr. Horsch quotes repeatedly from liberals who generously, sometimes even wistfully, recognize the strength of orthodox loyalty, and engage in earnest soul-searching of themselves. But he is himself so sure of his own position that he never dreams of the possibility that it may be open to criticism. He sits in judgment on the modernists and is painfully oblivious of the reasons why his system fails to satisfy numbers of Christian men as devoted and as earnest as he is. It is this which makes the modernist feel the futility of even attempting to answer his arguments. Like the Roman church he has so defined the test of truth that no one can be right unless he agrees with the system authoritatively laid down.

Professor Faulkner adopts a very different attitude. He recognizes that if men are unable to accept the traditional doctrines it must be because those doctrines have been so presented as to fail to carry conviction. He is not so naïve as to suppose that doctrines can be reinstated in one's confidence by telling the doubter that the authority of the church or of the Bible requires him to assent. The only way in which to secure real belief is to show that a doctrine is inherently believable. His book consists of a series of discussions dealing with the crucial doctrines in debate between conservatives and radicals. In every case he simply attempts in straightforward fashion to show why the conservative position seems to him more reasonable and more defensible than the alternate. The discussions are stimulating and are calculated to challenge real thinking and criticism. This is precisely the kind of debate which is needed, and the volume is to be welcomed as a wholesome contribution. A large portion of the book is devoted to a detailed amassing of historical testimony as to the nature of Jesus Christ. Here are objective data for a profitable discussion.

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The shrewd modernist, however, will wish some points to be cleared up a little further. For example, Dr. Faulkner defends the conception of authority. But what is the content of the authority which he so persuasively expounds? The child's confidence in his parents; the inexorable rule of the order of nature over our life; the restrictions of civil law; the inhibitions and sanctions of social custom; and in the religious realm analogous forms of control. The real question, however, is as to how far the individual may criticize and modify the inherited social sanctions. In no case can he ignore or utterly defy them. Dr. Faulkner opens the way for fruitful discussion here, but he does not really further it because he has cleverly retained a word—*authority*—while giving it a content which might readily disconcert many a conservative. As a matter of fact he is just as eager as any modernist to commend his doctrine on its own merits rather than on the basis of any extraneous authority. In the process, however, some familiar terms are so defined as to make one wonder if a genuine conservative will not feel that the cause has been betrayed. An instance or two will illustrate. "What is meant by the infallibility of the Scripture, then, is that when discovered by scientific exegesis its teachings on faith and morals in its general drift and spiritual implications and essence, are truth and not error." It would be hard to find anyone who really knows the Bible who would deny this. But is it what is ordinarily meant by infallibility? "A miracle is any deed in an order which is impossible to the forces ordinarily working in that order. Crystallization—at least perfect crystallization—is not a miracle in quartz; but it is a miracle in sandstone. . . . . It is a question whether genius is not another name for miracle. . . . . In other words the special literary and intellectual powers behind *Hamlet* were such as God has never embodied and never will embody in another human soul. That is, to ordinary mortals, Shakespeare was a miracle." Again, who will object to this? But is it what is ordinarily meant by miracle? There is more modernism concealed under the familiar labels than one would expect from an avowed opponent of radical liberalism. All this only shows that when in a spirit of sweet reasonableness men debate issues, it is possible for each side to retain the vocabulary which seems most appropriate to arouse religious devotion, and yet to center attention on convincing content rather than on charges of heresy and demands for resignations. It is to be hoped, for the sake of the spiritual welfare of the church, that the method and attitude of Dr. Faulkner rather than that of Dr. Horsch may prevail.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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BOOKS RECEIVED

[The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length.]

COMPARATIVE RELIGION

FIEBIG, PAUL. *Religionsgeschichte und Religionsphilosophie.* Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1921. iii+64 pages. M. 1.50.

An elementary textbook, giving in brief, succinct paragraphs statements which may serve as a basis for exposition by the instructor. It gives the barest skeleton description of the great religions and the main questions of religious thought. Well-selected bibliographies (almost exclusively German works) are given with each section.

PATON, LEWIS BAYLES. *Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity.* New York: Macmillan, 1921. vii+309 pages.

A general survey of the practices of the ancient world having to do with death and the belief in the survival of spirits. Little new material is offered, but known facts are hereby made accessible.

PATTERSON, L. *Mithraism and Christianity.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1921. ix+102 pages. 6.

The author views Christianity as the absolute religion, of which certain adumbrations appeared in Mithraism. The possibility of a mutual influence between these two contemporary religions is recognized, but the author concludes that there is in fact "no direct connection between them."

REID, GILBERT, D.D. *A Christian's Appreciation of Other Faiths.* Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1921. 305 pages. $2.50.

The Billings Lectures delivered on a Unitarian foundation in China. It is a kindly effort of a fairly conservative Christian to appreciate the religious faith of adherents of other religions and of other Christian sects: a contribution to interclass and interracial understanding as a basis for world-friendship and peace.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

CONYBEARE, FREDERICK C. *Russian Dissenters.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921. v+363 pages. $4.00.

A careful study of the rise and principles of the Old Believers of Great Russia, the Rationalistic Sects of South Russia, and of the Mystic Sects. The writer, disclaiming original research, has given to the English-speaking world the content of outstanding Russian histories. It is a valuable source book for English-speaking students.

DOSKER, HENRY ELIAS. *The Dutch Anabaptists.* Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1921. 310 pages. $2.00.

A series of lectures delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary, 1918–19, based upon material gathered (1903–14) in the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, setting forth the origin, theology, parties, views of life, and later history of the Anabaptists.

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DUDON, PAUL. *Le Quietiste Espagnol Michel Molinos*. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1921. v+313 pages.

An extended biography of Molinos with an appreciation of his work. A bibliography is given with a supplement containing important documents relating to his condemnation.

FISHER, LEWIS B. *Which Way?* A study of Universalists and Universalism. Boston: Universalist Publishing House, 1921. 123 pages.

A brief exposition of the principles of the Universalists, with reference to important phases in the historical development of this religious body.

FOAKES JACKSON, F. J. *An Introduction to the History of Christianity*. New York: Macmillan, 1921. vii+390 pages. $4.00.

Covering the period 590–1314 in chapters that are essays rather than chronicles, this work seeks to arouse interest in the history of the Middle Ages. Among other topics it discusses the development of the papacy, the dark ages, the church empire of the west, the crusades, learning and heresy, the friars, the schoolmen, the universities, Dante, and the decay of medievalism. Authorities are cited for each chapter, and a table of important popes is added. The writer believes that the Middle Ages have much to teach the present, while he combats the idea that society in the 14th century reached a height not since attained.

KOCH, HEINRICH A. *Quellenuntersuchungen zu Nemesios von Emesa*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1921. 52 pages. M. 3.

A penetrating inquiry into the origins of the philosophical conceptions set forth in Nemesios' treatise on the nature of man.

MACHEN, J. GRESHAM. *The Origin of Paul's Religion*. New York: Macmillan, 1921. 319 pages. $3.00.

The author contends for Paul's complete independence from his hellenistic environment as affecting particularly Paul's conception of the new birth, the meaning of the sacraments and the lordship of Christ.

MODE, PETER G. *Sourcebook and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History*. Menasha, Wis.: The Collegiate Press, 1921. xxiv+735 pages. $4.50.

A compilation of significant documents providing a bibliography for the study of American religious life. Here, for the first time, are collected materials previously to be found only by research in various scattered libraries. The extensive and carefully selected bibliographies for detailed study of specific subjects furnish a guide not to be found even by reference to dozens of books. There is an amazing amount of research behind this volume. There is keen discrimination in the inclusion and exclusion of materials. No student pretending an interest in American church history can get along without continued reference to this book.

ROBINSON, J. ARMITAGE. *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester*. London: Oxford University Press, 1921. 51 pages. 3*s*. 6*d*.

A scholarly study of various charters in their relation to St. Oswald and the church of Worcester.

SCHÜTZ, ROLAND. *Apostel und Junger*. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1921. 118 pages. M. 20.

An attempt to recover the pure gospel of Jesus by the processes of literary and historical criticism which distinguishes between the religion of the apostles, the religion of the disciples, and the original religion of Jesus.

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TOWNSEND, W. J. *The Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages.* New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1920. xiii+361 pages. $4.00.

A reprint of the work published several years ago, containing an account of the lives of the Schoolmen, some quotations from their writings, and an estimate of their services to the world.

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

GOGUEL, MAURICE, and MONNIER, HENRI. *La Sainte Bible.* Paris: Société Biblique, 1921. 256 pages.

A continuation of this noteworthy new French translation of the Bible. This *livraison* contains John, Acts, and Romans.

HUGHES, JASPER SEATON. *The King's Trumpet.* Holland: Jasper Seaton Hughes, 1921. 175 pages.

An interpretation of the Book of Revelation as oracular announcements of the "King's Trumpet" speaking through John.

OXTOBY, FREDERIC BREADING. *Making the Bible Real.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1921. 90 pages. $1.00.

A bird's-eye view of the Bible, giving a brief objective description of the land, a summary of the history of the people, a glimpse of the prophets, a glance at the New Testament, and a condensed story of the rise of the English Bible.

SMITH, CHARLES EDWARD. *The World Lighted.* Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1921. 210 pages. $1.00.

A third edition of an exposition of the Book of Revelation, the first edition of which appeared in 1889. It translates the symbolism of the book into wholesome principles of religious leadership and progress, applicable to almost any period of Christian history.

SMITH, ROBINSON. *Moot-Points in the New Testament.* London: Research Papers, 1921.

Mere supplementary notes to the same author's unusual views on the synoptic problem, which were critically examined in the issue of the *Journal of Religion*, November, 1921.

STEVENS, JAMES S. *The English Bible.* New York: The Abingdon Press, 1921. 225 pages. $1.25.

A textbook for the use of classes in the literary study of the Bible. Much stress is laid upon references to the Bible by the great masters of English literature. A better knowledge of the contents of the Bible will result from the use of this book, but very little light is thrown upon its significance and value.

DOCTRINAL

CADOUX, CECIL JOHN. *The Guidance of Jesus for Today.* New York: Doran, 1921. 175 pages. $2.00.

A very readable and suggestive study of the teachings of Jesus so as to show how the application of these teachings is possible in modern life. The ethical conclusions are conservative, and often conventional, but serve to indicate how far men are from realizing even these conventional standards.

D'HERBIGNY, MICHAELE. *De Deo Catholicam Ecclesiam Organice Vivificante.* Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1921. 359 pages. Fr. 18.

The second portion of an elaborate and scholarly work defining the nature, organization, and functions of the church, and defending the authority and authenticity

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of the Roman Catholic church in opposition to opposing theories. With its copious references to historical authorities in the church and its criticism of current opinions, it is a remarkably complete compendium of information on the subject.

DONAT, JOSEPH. *Ethica Generalis.* Innsbruck: Rauch, 1921. vi+228 pages. M. 20. *Ethica Specialis.* Innsbruck: Rauch, 1921. iv+302 pages. M. 48.

The seventh and eighth volumes of a comprehensive *Summa Philosophiae Christianae*, the six previous volumes of which covered theological doctrine. The present two treatises set forth the general principles of ethics and the consideration of specific problems of individual and social ethics. The author's standing as a Catholic scholar guarantees a valuable discussion.

JOHNSTON, ALLEN W. *The Roman Catholic Bible and the Roman Catholic Church.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1921. 134 pages. $1.25.

A polemic against Romanist claims written by a Protestant business man and consisting of an array of proof-texts, doctrinally interpreted, and quoted from the Douay Version to refute Catholics out of their own Scriptures.

KELMAN, JOHN. *The Foundations of Faith.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1921. 206 pages. $1.50.

The Cole Lectures at Vanderbilt University for 1921. Dr. Kelman discusses the nature of religious authority, the meaning of faith in God, the significance of the incarnation, and some very suggestive discriminations between problems of origin or process and the immediate facts with which experience deals. The lectures express and interpret a virile and reasonable religious faith which draws its inspiration from a mystical appreciation of the usually accepted conceptions of conservative Christianity.

MICKLEM, NATHANIEL. *The Open Light, An Enquiry into Faith and Reality.* New York: George H. Doran Company, 1921. 165 pages. $2.00.

A refreshingly vigorous and attractively written popular book to show the reasonableness of the fundamentals of Christian faith. The considerations and positions brought forward are in the the main the familiar arguments derived from an idealistic philosophy, and do not come to close grips with more recent psychological and historical problems. For the ordinary layman it is a wholesome and heartening book.

NOLDIN, H., and SCHÖNEGGER, A. *De Poenis Ecclesiaticis.* Innsbruck: Rauch, 1921. 119 pages.

A detailed exposition of the Catholic system of discipline, showing the form and the regulation of penalties imposed by the church. These are related explicitly to canon law as well as to the general teachings of the church.

RAPICAVOLI, CARMELO. *Liberalismo e Protestantesimo.* Rome: Casa Ed. "La Speranza," 1921. 96 pages.

A study of liberal thinking in Italian life today, and an evaluation of Protestantism in relation to the issues with which liberalism is concerned.

SPERRY, WILLARD L. *The Disciplines of Liberty.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921. 164 pages. $2.00.

A series of brilliantly written essays, dealing with various crucial questions of modern life. They illustrate both in content and in spirit that freedom which characterizes critical thinking, and they embody the forward-looking, flexible devotion which comes from this type of Christian faith.

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TELCH, CHARLES. *Epitome Theologiae Moralis.* Innsbruck: Rauch, 1921. vi+602 pages. M. 40.

A Latin manual for the use of Catholic priests and father confessors, setting forth with admirable clearness and detail precisely what should be taught concerning morals, and elucidating both doctrine and administration of the sacraments. Appendices and a copious index together with the well-organized text make this an exceptionally full and accurate guide for the Catholic priest.

VON HÜGEL, FRIEDRICH, BARON. *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion.* London: J. M. Dent & Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1921. vii+308 pages. $6.00.

Essays collected and arranged by the author to set forth his positions concerning (1) the nature of religion, (2) certain problems connected with the teaching of Jesus and the nature of Christianity, and (3) concerning institutional Christianity. The author's profound mysticism and his freedom in criticism make his messages challenging and suggestive.

WASS, P. VIRGIL. *Repetitorium Theologiae Fundamentalis.* Innsbruck: Rauch, 1921. 328 pages. M. 30.

A compact and well-arranged Latin compendium, by means of which students can quickly review the entire system of Catholic doctrine.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

BAKER, CLARA BELLE, and BAKER, EDNA DEAN. *The Bible in Graded Story.* New York: The Abingdon Press, 1921. 135 pages. $1.00.

The fascinating stories hidden in the Bible put in usable form for use in the elementary grades of the public school, church school, or the home. The stories are prepared for six- to eight-year olds. Biblical phrasing is retained thus maintaining the literary values. The ethical and religious values arise from the stories in a natural way. The book itself is beautiful, with excellent paper, type, binding, and artistic illustrations.

BETTS, GEORGE HERBERT. *The New Program of Religious Education.* New York: The Abingdon Press, 1921. 105 pages. $0.75.

A clear statement of the distorted emphasis in the programs of the Protestant church which places religious education at the bottom of the list of church functions when in reality it should head the list. Reasons for this are given together with an analysis of current education and a sketch of the program and method the church will adopt when it appreciates its real task. An excellent discussion on one of the most pressing problems of Protestantism.

COPE, HENRY F. *Principles of Christian Service.* Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1921. 141 pages. $0.60.

One of four textbooks for the adult department in the "Standard Course in Teacher Training" outlined and approved by the Sunday-School Council of Evangelical Denominations. This volume presents the reasons for and necessity of service on the part of the church and church members; analyzes the church program in terms of service and evaluates the possibilities of service in the home, community, world, and the church itself.

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DANIELSON, FRANCES WELD. *Methods with Beginners.* Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1921. 162 pages. $0.60.

Two years ago the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations prepared an outline of a "Standard Course of Teacher Training" for all the churches in the United States and Canada. The author was selected to write the section on methods for the beginners' department. She is recognized as an authority in this field and presents a readable analysis of beginners' methods.

HANSON, HELEN PATTEN. *A Travel Book for Juniors.* New York: The Abingdon Press, 1921. 252 pages. $1.25.

Thirty-two stories for juniors giving experiences of a trip from the United States to and through the Bible lands. Bible references and historical incidents which refer to the various places visited are woven into the story in an interesting way.

HARTLEY, GERTRUDE. *The Use of Projects in Religious Education.* Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1921. 91 pages. $1.00.

One in a series of texts in religious education known as the "Judson Training Manuals for the Church School of the Church." The author, by gathering schemes that have actually proved successful, shows how the average teacher anywhere can use all sorts of projects right at hand to stimulate interest.

POTEAT, EDWIN McNEILL. *The Withered Fig Tree.* Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1921. $1.00.

A discussion of stewardship prepared for use in stewardship training classes. It is rather formal in method and content.

SMITH, ROY L. *Moving Pictures in the Church.* New York: The Abingdon Press, 1921. 37 pages. $0.35.

A little pamphlet by one who has pioneered, blundered, and finally developed ripened judgments regarding the wisdom and methods of using moving pictures in church work. He believes that the church should use moving pictures. He tells why, answers the many objections, and points out the pitfalls to avoid.

PREACHING AND CHURCH ORGANIZATION

AGAR, FREDERICK A. *Modern Money Methods for the Church.* Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1921. 144 pages. $1.00.

The author is a successful adviser of churches in the organization and promotion of the church enterprise. In this little volume he presents the principles, methods, and detailed program of financing a church. The author knows from experience what is wise and effective.

BROWN, CHARLES REYNOLDS. *Social Rebuilders.* New York: The Abingdon Press, 1921. 147 pages. $1.25.

Studies of Moses, Elijah, Amos, Isaiah, and Nehemiah as constructive leaders of the national life in periods not unlike our own. It is written in the pungent style and marked by the clear insight which have made Dean Brown a leader in modern thought and life.

BURNEY, C. F. *The Gospel in the Old Testament.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921. 256 pages. $3.50.

Twenty sermons by the Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford. The historical method and point of view so admirably represented in the

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author's commentary on Judges are here sicklied o'er with the pale cast of homiletic thought; and the sermons are not good enough to atone for the damage done to the scholarship.

DALRYMPLE, DAMON. *The Mantle of Elijah.* New York: George H. Doran Co., 1921. 124 pages. $1.50.

The writer boldly uses the device of the parting words of Elijah to Elisha to set forth the modern charge to the Christian minister who would continue the prophetic succession; as full of anachronisms as a Dutch Holy Family representing the burgomaster's houshold, in which Elijah quotes Tennyson and blends the language of Zion with a racy vernacular; but interesting because of its audacity and timely in its counsel.

SHANNON, FREDERICK F. *The Economic Eden.* New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1921. 160 pages. $1.25.

Another volume from the fertile pulpit of Dr. Shannon. Fresh titles; interesting use of poetry and quotation; clear sermonic divisions; truth fitted to the times; occasional paragraphs of real eloquence; never the cheap or flippant note; less sustained in quality than *The Enchanted Universe;* not "great" preaching, but worthy of publication and wide reading.

WILLIAMS, CHARLES D. *The Prophetic Ministry for Today.* New York: Macmillan, 1921. 157 pages. $1.75.

A volume worthy of the Lyman Beecher Lectures by the Bishop of Michigan; pulsing with the social passion of a brave man and fearless preacher; rich in suggestion; clear and energetic in style; true to the prophetic conception of the ministry while not rejecting the priestly.

MISCELLANEOUS

GAMBLE, SIDNEY D., assisted by BURGESS, JOHN STEWART. *Peking, A Social Survey.* New York: George H. Doran Company, 1921. vii+538 pages. $5.00.

A commendable example of the scientifically organized kind of investigation indispensable to the wise planning of remedial work. This admirably complete survey was conducted under the auspices of the Princeton University Center in China, and the Peking Y.M.C.A.

HAYNE, COE. *By-Paths to Forgotten Folks.* Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1921. 203 pages. $1.25.

Popular sketches depicting aspects of missionary work among the American Indians.

HOBHOUSE, L. T. *The Rational Good.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1921. 237 pages. $2.00.

An unusually suggestive and closely analyzed study of human impulses and the ways in which they are controlled and directed. The rational good is defined in terms of a harmonizing of all interests and facts which experience must meet. A rational self-control and a rational organization of society constitute the ends of an evolutionary process. The moral consciousness of man gives to him a creative share in the shaping of things in the interest of harmony.

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LANGDALE, JOHN W. *Citizenship and Moral Reform.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1921. 141 pages. $1.25.

An appeal to Christian people to express their Christianity in good citizenship. The various chapters set forth certain fundamental facts, cite instances in which actual improvement has been secured, and show how the Christian spirit may find active expression.

MATHEWS, SHAILER, and SMITH, GERALD BIRNEY. *A Dictionary of Religion and Ethics.* New York: Macmillan, 1921. iii+513 pages. $8.00.

A one-volume work, planned to furnish reliable information on religious and ethical matters. More than one hundred scholars contribute, and the historical point of view is maintained throughout. Particular attention has been given to the leading features of ethnic religions, as well as to the historical, doctrinal, and practical aspects of Christianity.

PARK, ROBERT E., and BURGESS, ERNEST W. *Introduction to the Science of Sociology.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1921. v+1,040 pages. $4.50.

A textbook consisting of readings selected from a remarkably wide range of sources, and unified by the organization of topics and the interpretative sections supplied by the authors. With its copious bibliographies it constitutes an excellent guide and source book for acquaintance with the scientific method of studying social behavior and social groups.

WILKINS, ERNEST HATCH. *Dante: Poet and Apostle.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1921. vii+87 pages. $1.25.

A brochure containing the early life story of Dante, his philosophy of life as revealed in the *Divine Comedy*, the *Convivio*, and the *Monarchia;* and some comments upon the poetic qualities of the *Divine Comedy.*

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THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION

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RELIGION'S PLACE IN SECURING A BETTER WORLD-ORDER

JAMES H. TUFTS
The University of Chicago

This article contains the substance of an address given to the students in the University of Chicago.

After considering briefly ritual, mysticism, and the individualistic experience of redemption as aspects of religion without large influence on social reconstruction, the writer sets the function of faith as a stirring challenge to easy acquiescence, and indicates the moral power given by a belief that moral effort has a cosmic reinforcement. Such faith is an important factor in heartening men for social and economic reconstruction.

Religion is also an expression of the deeper unity and spirit of a community. It seeks a juster society. As the group enlarges, ideals of justice grow broader. In spite of much provincialism there are in modern religion forces making for a more just and harmonious social order.

The hour calls clearly for the statesman, the engineer, and the economist. Is it a time for priest or prophet? The demand for science and skill gains in assurance as the war crisis recedes, and questions of trade, industry, finance, and lowered vitality of peoples press upon us. The need of religion in the task of securing a better world-order is not proclaimed with the same assurance, at least among the intellectual classes. There is, indeed, a serious question which sometimes finds expression: Has religion met its responsibilities? Has it done what, in view of its claims upon human allegiance, it might reasonably have been expected to do toward preventing the catastrophe which has come upon the world?

For religion is no newcomer; it was perhaps here in some degree in the Old Stone Age. Dolmens and pyramids testify

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to the power of ancient beliefs. For more than two thousand years the visions and warnings of the prophets of Israel have summoned man to a better social order, and the teachings of Gautama have called to ways of righteousness and peace. For sixteen centuries Christianity has been at least the nominally accepted creed of Europe. Why then have these faiths, and in particular why has Christianity, as the prevalent creed of Europe, no better credentials to present before the world's bar of public opinion today?

Some answer, "Christianity has not as yet been tried, or if Christianity has been tried, it is not the original, simple religion of love to God and man which the carpenter of Nazareth taught and lived; it is not the religion of mystic faith and of membership in a community of true believers which the tent-maker of Tarsus brought from Asia into Europe when he announced the advent of a social order in which there should be neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, but all members one of another." The Christianity that has dominated Europe, these defenders of religion would say, has been rather the heir of imperial Rome than of that kingdom of God which Isaiah saw and Jesus proclaimed. Its dogmas have spoken the language of Greek metaphysics more often than that of the humble and contrite heart.

Another defender of religion points out that it would be poor psychology to expect from religion a complete control over human life, even though the religion were itself ever so pure in the breasts of its sincere followers. For religion is not the only power at work in human life. It is fundamentally contrary to certain other strong and ever active tendencies and interests of mankind. Religion bids man reverence a law and power above him, but the gods have given to man not only the sense of justice and reverence, as Plato tells us, but also self-assertion and the lust for power. The forces developed and selected in the struggle for existence have indeed touched man's heart with sympathy, but they have also made

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him keen to grasp and to hold. The extraordinary range of communication, of credit, of resources in earth, ocean, and sky, which modern science and invention have brought into man's ken have but intensified the zeal as they have enlarged the field of these primeval passions. The voice of religion, even when it has sounded clear and true, has fallen on ears in which the voices of this world are calling in ever louder tones and richer harmonies. Small wonder that, whatever the nominal adherence of men to outward forms, few listen to the voice of a Master who bids the faithful leave all and follow him. And especially today, when the cathedral no longer dominates the city, when in fact office buildings, banks, shops, and factories have practically banished the church spire from the centers of power, when the church feels itself fortunate if, instead of the two days or one day in the week which it once controlled, it can now claim an hour from golf or business interests or studies, when the wheels of many industries and of transportation stay not even for this one hour, it is surely asking much of religion to expect it to prevent a war. If it can scarcely interfere with a golf game, can it be expected to halt a battleship or an army?

Without attempting to estimate how much of truth there may be in these two answers, I shall assume for the present purpose that there is still in the world such a thing as religion, and shall ask whether there is work for it to do. I do not propose to consider at all its truth or error; I simply assume it as one of the present facts and forces in the world, along with certain other facts and forces of human nature. As such, we may consider what it fundamentally signifies, and what part it has to play in securing a better world-order.

In view of certain types of religious appeal, it seems necessary to notice two or three aspects or types of religion—widespread, significant for certain purposes or at certain times—which do not appear to offer great promise for the matter in hand.

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First, ritual. Ritual is perhaps the oldest aspect of religion; certainly it is very early. It was a force in the New Stone Age. It is no less effective in Buddhism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. It impresses upon the young the traditions of the past; it brings a sense of mystery and solemnity; it enhances and elevates emotion. But ritual as such, and the piety which finds chief expression in ritual, has little to say when the great need is of reconstructing society. Of ritual, certainly there was no lack in 1914. The orthodox Greek of Russia and the Balkan states was unsurpassed in his devotion to ritual. The Mohammedan's call to prayer sounded daily. Catholic and Lutheran showed no intermission of mass, sacrament, or prayer. These might then symbolize, as they have symbolized through the ages, the deeper significance of certain great experiences of human life. They console the dying and the sorrowful. They do not seem to meet the particular need which we now contemplate.

Nor is it the mystical type of personal religion which offers promise. The essence of this mystical type is its withdrawal from the clashing antagonisms and fierce passions of this world to find calm and peace in the eternal. To individuals it may bring relief. But society cannot withdraw into the mystic experience.

Nor is what is frequently called the "old-fashioned gospel" the kind of religion to which the world may look for any important contribution toward society's present need. Some persons who are perhaps fearful lest religion should interfere with their methods of conducting business and industry and take an uncomfortably active part in the world of affairs are frequently heard to clamor for a return to this type of religion. It does not meddle; it takes no stand on social, political, or economic questions; its concern is with saving the soul. The old-fashioned gospel is usually assumed to emphasize three things: first, a story of certain historic events of nineteen centuries ago; second, certain dogmas interpreting these events

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in terms of metaphysical conceptions; third, certain emotional experiences undergone by the individual under the influence of these events and dogmas. I do not wish to speak slightingly of what this type of religion may have done for individuals. It has, no doubt, played its part in the making of individual character. My grandfather preached it. I have read numbers of his sermons. I do not think anyone could discover from them whether they were prepared and preached in Vermont or Judea, in the seventeenth century or the nineteenth. They dealt with the timeless and placeless themes of sin, atonement, conversion, and the future life, with no reference to any social, political, or economic fact. The personal religion which interpreted its experience in those terms had little direct bearing on behavior in public life. In the days before and during our Civil War, men of equal piety and of equally sincere and devout personal religion were on opposite sides of the question of slavery. In this last Great War, the same was doubtless true. The man who was very generally charged with being more than any other one man responsible for the final decision was rather notably faithful in his religious observance. It is then something more than the so-called old-fashioned religion, or personal religion, that is needed.

But religion has had another side. It has not only appealed to the individual soul; it has sought to transform society. It was nothing less than a new social, political, and economic order which the prophets of Israel heralded; it was a social revolution which Jesus proclaimed in his Sermon on the Mount. It is this social aspect of religion which must assert itself at the present time if it is to contribute to a better world-order.

There is, however, one great attitude of individual and social religion alike which has a fundamental place. That is the bold assertion of faith. The equilibrium between faith and knowledge is difficult to preserve. The Middle Ages, we say, were ages of faith. There was then too little of knowledge, too little regard for science. At present we have a vast

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increase in scientific knowledge. We know more of human nature through our psychology and biology, we know more of history, more of economic, political, and social facts; and no one can say that we know too much. But there is such a thing as being so overwhelmed by the multitude of facts as to be blind to their profounder implications and timid in our dealings with them. We are assured, for example, that man has always been pugnacious and violent in the assertion of his interests; therefore wars can never cease. We are told that races are different and therefore that there can be no common ground except on the assumption of fixed superiority and inferiority. We are told that the economic tendency of capitalism is to produce in far greater measure than civilized countries can consume, and therefore that the irresistible and inevitable result is and must be the exploitation of backward peoples and the oppression of the weak. We are told that the will to power is so fundamental a part of human nature that when it is organized into political states or economic corporations nothing can successfully restrain or oppose it. The race for power is bound to go on, even though it crush civilization and all that humanity holds dear in its progress. We are told that the struggle for existence is so fundamental a process that we neither can nor ought to interfere with its course.

These conclusions would indeed tend to paralyze action if unrelieved by any other considerations. They remind us of the logic by which slavery was proved essential to civilization, aristocracy essential to secure government, child labor necessary in order to make industry profitable. But aside from the question as to whether the logic is rigorous, there is a fundamental challenge to the premises which religion has always dared. Over against facts which can be demonstrated and measured, it has asserted possibilities in man and in the universe which cannot be completely demonstrated. It has believed in soul and God. Granted that science as such can recognize no soul and find no God; consider even, if you

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please, that soul and God are audacious fictions, or at least that they are unprovable postulates; religion maintains, nevertheless, that there is such a reality as moral freedom, moral responsibility, moral courage, and moral worth in man, and that the universe is not merely and exclusively mechanism. In other words, religion maintains that there is, in the moral meaning of that word, a soul in man, and that the universe is in some sense kin to spirit. Staking itself upon this belief, religion has moved forward to great enterprises. It has attempted to lift individuals, races, and peoples from degradation and barbarism, in the faith that they have souls. It has joined hands with democracy in bold defiance to plain hard "fact." It has asserted that before the bar of God, that is to say in their claims to fair treatment and fair opportunity, all souls are equal. There, says Plato, men are stripped of all distinctions of wealth and rank, and stand face to face, naked soul with naked soul. More audacious still, in its doctrine of immortality, religion has ascribed to the soul a worth transcending the bounds of time.

At the present time, is anything more needed than faith in the moral possibilities and worth of human nature? Not that we are to shut our eyes to what biology, psychology, and social science have taught and are still to teach. But all these teachings are simply tools with which we build our house. For themselves they build no houses; they found no families; they save no souls; neither do they save societies. Granted that no fundamental and permanent reform in our economic conditions or our international relations can take place in neglect or defiance of the forces of human nature, nevertheless we shall woefully fail to meet the crucial situation of the present moment, if we ignore the power of spirit to achieve, to create, to build more stately mansions, to take wider and more generous interests.

Religion has also asserted faith in God. What does this mean in moral terms? Is it not essentially the same thing as

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applied to the universe which belief in the soul means as applied to man? Certain it is that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to *demonstrate* any power not ourselves that makes for righteousness. Some minds are indeed so repelled by what they find in the universe about them that they can see in it no encouragement to look for more than a transient day for man and all his values. Man is the outcome, says Russell, of "an alien and an inhuman world," alone amid hostile forces,

> powerless before the blind hurry of the universe from vanity to vanity. . . . . That man is the product of causes which have no prevision of the end they were achieving; that his origin, his growth, his hopes and fears, his loves and his beliefs, are but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms; that no fire, no heroism, no intensity of thought and feeling, can preserve an individual life beyond the grave; that all the labors of the ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration, all the noonday brightness of human genius, are destined to extinction in the vast death of the solar system, and that the whole temple of man's achievement must inevitably be buried beneath the débris of a universe in ruins—all these things if not quite beyond dispute, are yet so nearly certain, that no philosophy which rejects them can hope to stand. Only within the scaffolding of these truths, only on the firm foundation of unyielding despair, can the soul's habitation henceforth be safely built.

Like Job, who holds fast to his integrity in the face of a seemingly immoral, or at least unmoral, power; like Prometheus, who defies the Zeus that has fastened him to the rock for bringing the divine fire to mortals, Mr. Russell finds the object of the free man's worship, not in the cosmos without, but in the ideal of goodness which man may set up from within.

Now, whether rightly or wrongly, religion has never acquiesced in the doctrine that the universe is absolutely unmoral, naked power. The protest to the Everlasting No has not limited its range to man's own soul. It has asserted a confidence that somehow there are moral forces in the universe. If we distinguish as Huxley has done so keenly between cosmic process and ethical process, religion has nevertheless believed

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that man's moral nature, his soul if you please, no less than his body with its passions and appetites, is rooted in the nature of things. Sometimes in its story of beginnings, according to which God created man in his own image; sometimes by carrying over into the Unseen the attributes of fatherhood, of love, of justice; sometimes in the subtler interpretations of nature with which an Emerson surveys the laws of compensation or a Wordsworth finds duty in the most ancient heavens—in all these the fundamental religious aspiration and faith are uttered that there are possibilities not yet completely observed and demonstrated, which are, did we but know them, on the side of good; that there are resources not yet exploited upon which we may count for the completion of the house we have begun to build.

A faith of this sort may have a very vital and important part in a better world-order. We are told that one of the greatest obstacles to the resumption of normal production and trade in many regions of Europe is despair of the future. There is indeed enough to justify despair if we consider, not merely what has been, but the resources which we are told science can bring to bear in the next war. What use in accumulating treasures to be destroyed? What use in bearing and rearing children to be food for cannon, to be drowned under the sea, to be dashed headlong from the clouds, to be choked and poisoned by gases? There is ground enough for suspicions and jealousies, for fears and discouragement. If the world is not to yield to these suspicions and fears two things seem to be equally necessary. One is the determination to take all practical means to avoid these threatening evils; the other is a willingness to take some risks in the great adventure of a better world-order. The good faith of France or Germany or Russia or Japan is not a matter of demonstration any more than Heaven or a better moral order has ever been a

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matter of demonstration. It has always been largely an adventure of faith.

In the third place, religion has meant a faith in the possibility of change, of regeneration, of new birth, for men and society. In the past, this has often, though not always, been conceived as a miraculous event. By some of philosophic temper it has been conceived as due to a larger perspective, a vision of the great values which quenches the fiercer divisive passions. No one has expressed this latter conception more profoundly than Spinoza. Men are jealous and envious and hostile because they have such limited and partial views of what is good. Each sees but a little way, and conceives that his own gain is his neighbor's loss, and that his neighbor's gain is his loss. A larger vision would enlighten us. If we but looked at the world and at life, not with the narrow vision of the present moment, but from the point of view of eternity, we should see these divisions between us fall away. All are but parts of a larger whole. In the presence of this vision of ourselves as parts of a moral universe that we call God, our passions grow calm.

What Spinoza attributed to knowledge, others have assigned to love. Lusts of the flesh master us, and the law proves weak to deliver us. But the love of God has power to subdue human passions. In the presence of this supreme reality, this supreme worth of pure, unselfish love, the harder, fiercer appetites and interests soften. Various works of kindness and helpfulness which practically all religions have made a part of their program have been an expression of this conception. No doubt charity has often been mixed with feelings of class or with conceptions of merit. No doubt it has sometimes been used as a veil to cover up the deeper-seated diseases of society which call for justice. None the less, he was a great philosopher of values, as well as apostle of religion, who set love above knowledge, above visions, above all else in its enduring worth—"but the greatest of these is love."

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Faith in the possibility of regenerating society, not by miracle, but by the great and profound agencies of larger vision of life's true values and of love to mankind, has a place in a better world-order. Without this our inventions, our statistics, our economic science, and even our world-conferences for limitation of armaments will fall short of their objectives. When the nations have calmed their passions, General Diaz told us in public address, arms will drop from their hands. I do not think we need to wait until they drop entirely of themselves; by mutual consent we may agree to lay aside at least a percentage of our guns and warships, and this very act will in itself help to calm the passions. Nevertheless, it will make a great difference whether we believe that as things have been, so they must always continue to be, or whether we have faith that human nature can improve, that nations as well as individuals may have a change of heart.

We have frequently been reminded of the great step taken by our fathers when they made the agreement of 1817 for the limitation of ships of war on the Great Lakes. The men who made this agreement were, in one sense of the word, not visionaries; they were sagacious and in the best sense practical. None the less, they were making a bold experiment. If they had believed that human nature could not change for the better, they might well have distrusted the safety of such a step. They had in many ways more grounds than we for fear; but they took counsel of hope, and not of fear; they staked something on the possibilities of regenerating human society and building a better house than that in which the world till then had lived. It was a profoundly religious attitude—religious in its vision, religious in its faith, religious in its purpose. If the world today could combine with its science and sagacity a larger measure of faith like theirs, who can deny that it would at least be a magnificent venture. In such a cause, it is better to venture much than to lose all by too great distrust.

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Coming at last to the more definitely social aspect of religion, we find this expressed in some sort of community. In early days this religious community was limited to the kinship group. Family or tribe or nation had its god; other families or tribes or nations had theirs. The bond which united the "we-group" was at the same time the means of dividing the "we-group" all the more sharply from the "others-group." Between followers of Jehovah and followers of Baal there must be war to extermination. "Accept Allah and Mohammed his Prophet, or perish by the sword." And when Europe portioned out its religious boundaries on the basis of *cuius regio eius religio* the religious community was subservient to political power. Wars of religion, as well as wars for glory and wars for gain, have vexed the world.

But despite all these separatist and nationalistic limitations of religion, a deeper and more unifying tendency has emerged. It has found expression in religious communities not identical with political, racial, or economic groups. Communities of believers united by devotion to some cause, by sympathy under some oppression, by loyalty to some leader, have embodied a larger unity. Such was the little community of believers in Jerusalem. And underneath all divisions of today, the sympathy that is felt with the suffering of all lands, the deep desire to realize in some degree that brotherhood of man, of which religion has so often spoken, are the basis of a genuine, if as yet unorganized, spiritual kinship.

Religion in its social aspect has stood not only for a community, but for a just society. More than four thousand years ago, in ancient Egypt, justice found its place in the divine attributes and in the conception of a social order. The prophets of Israel, in their indignation at the wrongs they saw about them, found assurance for their moral consciousness in the justice of the coming king of the new age. In Greece the just society was for Plato the city whose pattern is laid up in Heaven. *Justitia* had her place in the Roman

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Pantheon. Two root ideas seem to have combined in religious conceptions of justice: one, springing from ancient blood and religious kinship, and reinforced by conceptions of the worth of all souls, has insisted upon protection to the orphan and the widow, to the poor and him that hath no helper. This idea appears in what today we call social justice. The other root springs from the soil of a supposed divine order. As the stars keep their appointed courses, as every part of this universe which the Greeks fittingly called the cosmos has its place in a system, so should order obtain in human affairs. "Nothing too much" was the motto of the Delphic temple. Arrogant pride and anarchy were alike abhorrent to the gods of Greece and of Israel. Rather, says religion, let all recognize the majesty of law, whose "seat is the bosom of God, whose voice is the harmony of the world, to whom all things do homage, the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her power."

These noble conceptions were indeed twisted and perverted by influences derived from certain vindictive elements of human justice. It is, perhaps, significant that Israel's God, when he proclaims himself as "visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation, styles himself the "jealous God," not the just God. Vengeance upon enemies was a natural attitude in early days. But Rhadamanthus, though inexorable and stern, would show no partiality, and it is notable that Christianity in its conception of redemption and atonement tried to mitigate the more rigorous conception of imperial authority and impersonal order by the old personal and humane conception of the next-of-kin who would represent and protect his brethren. Justice and love were somehow to unite.

In the task that lies before the builders of the better world, only large and generous conceptions of justice will serve the day. No adjustments of boundaries or balances that will not in the long run commend themselves to the conscience of

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the future, which is perhaps the nearest we can come to a criterion of religious justice, will accomplish the largest results. To establish a world-order—call it a league if you like one word, call it an association if you like another—in which law, not power, shall rule, in which each people shall be enabled to contribute as members to the welfare of all, in which weaker classes and backward peoples shall be protected from greed and aggression—this is a task in which the religious conception of justice should be the spirit within the wheels.

As we look upon the actual situation in the organized religions of today, it is undoubtedly with mixed feelings of hope and depression. Churches, synagogues, mosques, and temples seem helpless in many things; they do not exercise the influence upon statesmen, or men of affairs, or upon the ranks of labor which we might expect if they were less divided. Their hold upon the intellect of the day seems tenuous. Their very beliefs, as embodied in the symbols now in use, seem no longer charged with the fulness of fervor and conviction that once led men gladly to die in their behalf. The great realities of present experience do not seem to find their most vital expression in the language of the pulpit, the altar, or the hymn. And it is not completely satisfactory to charge religious indifference to the superior attractions of golf, or the automobile, or the movies, or to the native unresponsiveness of men to higher and finer things. I fear that religious teachers must bear their share of the blame, if blame there be. It is no doubt an era of transition between the imagery, doctrines, and conceptions which served to interpret man's deeper life in days past, and those as yet unframed symbols and conceptions which shall both interpret and inform the deeper life of the future:

> But now the old is out of date;
> The new is not yet born.

Yet, while we await the new, we may, if we are sensitive to the deeper life of our time, find religion in many a type of expression

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which is not tagged with an ecclesiastical label. The beloved community has other language than that of creeds, and other organs than church or synagogue.

One of these institutions of religious spirit and influence should be the institution of education. In a notable address, the late President Harper spoke of the university as representing in present-day democracy the threefold function of the religious organization of ancient Israel. The university, he suggested, is today serving democracy as prophet, priest, and king. Similarly, are not college and university called to serve a genuine religious function both in our domestic economic and industrial order, and in the international world-order toward which we are being irresistibly driven? In war time colleges and universities in all lands contributed to the resources of their governments. But all college and university men, I am confident, would feel it a far greater privilege to contribute to the constructing and unifying forces of a better day. In ways somewhat inarticulate, they are indeed so contributing. The world of ideas is not, like the world of material interests, in its nature exclusive. Our sick are healed through the researches of a Pasteur and a Behrens, a Lister, an Ehrlich, a Noguchi. Generous rivalry in the promotion of truth unites. The presence of students from all parts of the world sitting side by side as they now sit in all our larger universities is a significant and hopeful sign of the unifying function of education.

And besides the organized agencies there is a third agency, in some respects the broadest channel of unifying feeling—the world of art and letters. Art has many functions—to give joy, to make us forget grim reality, or to enable us to apprehend it more profoundly and so to appreciate its pathos, its tragedy, and its humor. But, as Tolstoy so forcefully insisted, it has for one of its functions the task of uniting men through common sympathies. The opportunities of the present day for sharing the great creations of literature which stir

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in us the common and uniting emotions are greater than ever before. It may not be in the near future that we shall experience

> One common wave of thought and joy,
> Lifting mankind again,

but as we are learning, through their art and literature, to understand the peoples of the earth better, and to sympathize more fully with all sorts and conditions of men everywhere through realistic portrayal of their daily life, or through imaginative symbols of their aspirations, we surely have the media for a broader community of feeling, the materials for what may ultimately be a wider religious community than has yet been organized under any creed or found its unity in any ecclesiastical assembly.

The Kingdom of God, we have to remind ourselves, cometh not with observation. The filaments that bind together men and peoples into a freer, juster, more harmonious and helpful order, are subtle and often invisible. They are spun from many materials. Many were torn apart in the Great War. But the needs of men are at work in bringing divided peoples together. From exchanges of goods and services, from intercommunication of knowledge and ideas, from aid to suffering children or famine-stricken provinces, from the world of art and letters, new filaments are being spun. The conference at Washington, so far as it brings men together and attempts a method of reason rather than of force, is one such uniting bond. If the conference had taken place in Judea, it would belong to sacred history. It is a test of our own religious insight that we recognize the significance of all these many expressions of the religious motive. It is a test of our own religious faith if we find opportunities for its expression, not only in the recognized channels of older language and older activities, but also in the language and activities of our own day. And despite cynicism, if we are genuinely religious, we shall make our own the faith of Lincoln—the faith that right makes might.

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THE STAKE OF PROTESTANTISM IN THE CHRISTIAN UNION MOVEMENT

GEORGE CROSS
Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N.Y.

The religious divisions in Protestantism are an expression of its inherent spirit of spontaneity and creative freedom. The movement toward Christian Union in Protestantism is due to the free sentiment of Protestant bodies rather than to the promulgation of an ecclesiastical program. Its chief expression is in practical co-operation in missionary enterprise rather than in uniformity of doctrine or ritual. It goes hand in hand with the increasing laicizing of Protestantism. It is compatible with the historical as contrasted with the dogmatic conception of the authority of the Bible and creeds.

This characteristic Protestant movement is now confronted with the movement for the reunion of Christendom, which seeks the bond of unity in a universal acceptance of certain prescribed creeds and rituals. Canon Headlam's recent book on *Christian Reunion* when critically examined really proposes the authority of a church which shall command obedience and shall exclude from fellowship all who do not submit to the ecclesiastical program. This ideal and that of Protestantism are so contradictory that one or the other must give way. "Protestantism is not repentant of its departure from Catholicism." It has a mission for the future which it cannot abandon.

The idea of Christian unity is in the air. With some people it is a matter of inner spirit, with others it is a matter of ecclesiastical organization and with still others it is a matter of both spirit and organization. Again, with those whose hearts are set on the dominance of a form of organization dating from the past the ecclesiastical problem lies in the task of *reunion*. But with those whose hearts are set on an order of things yet to be established the practical issue lies in the task of *union*—not of reunion. To the latter pertain almost entirely the members of the bodies calling themselves Protestants.

Protestant Christians are trying to come together, and they are meeting with some success. Of several of the larger bodies it is true that they are actually coming together. For about four hundred years Protestant Christianity has been divided into sections, some of the divisions dating from the days of the Reformation but most of them arising within the last

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hundred and fifty years. The new bodies have appeared principally among English-speaking Christians through successive revolts against the formalism, oppression, and spiritual dearth of the state churches and through a new emphasis appearing among bodies having no state connection. It is noteworthy that the recent multiplication of Protestant denominations has occurred contemporaneously with the spread of Protestant Christianity as a living force of personal conviction among the masses of the people in the home lands and with the extension of their faith into many foreign lands. It is also noteworthy that the non-state churches have led in this foreign missionary enterprise. And naturally so, since the extension of a state church into foreign lands is interpretable as an act of political aggression.

The multiplication of sects or denominations of Protestants, whatever faults or errors may have occasioned them and whatever peculiarities or extravagances may have been exhibited in their character and structure, is a mark of the spontaneity, freedom, and aggressiveness of the Protestant type of Christianity. People have not been content to move along in fixed grooves—even "holy" grooves are felt to be artificial restrictions upon the spiritual life—but they persistently turn to those practices, forms of teaching and associations that best suit their general way of looking at things, whatever may have been done in the past and whatever other people would fain direct them to do now. Without doubt, there is much good in all this. Better a multitude of divisions among live Christians than the loss of enterprise and the stagnation and death that so often come with uniformity.

But a change has been coming in the relation of various Protestant bodies to one another. The older and the larger denominations are co-operating increasingly. Peace, good will and harmony as between Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and some of the more liberal sections of Episcopalians and Lutherans, have come to reign instead of

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the old controversies and acrimonies. Old lines of cleavage are being obliterated. If new lines of cleavage are appearing they are cutting across the denominational lines. The hearts of the people in the different bodies are set upon one another as never before. These unions of heart are certain to be followed by denominational unions.

If we are duly to appreciate this movement there are some facts to be carefully noted. In the first place, it has not come about of set purpose or by the prevision, calculation, or regular guidance on the part of the ecclesiastical leaders, but it has come by the attraction of spiritual affinity and the pursuit of spiritual aims in common on the part of the multitudes of earnest, whole-souled, and active members of the churches. Some denominational interests to which they formerly gave themselves have been superseded by interests which they feel to be higher, with the result that the former seem an obstacle to the achievement of the latter. Thus the traditional divisions are becoming unnatural. The people are discarding them increasingly in their social relations and their moral and religious enterprises, and when the people do this the "leaders" must follow. When this occurs a danger-point in the movement is reached. But more of this later.

In the second place, the origin of a type of spirituality common to multitudes in the different denominations has been accompanied by the recognition of the greatness of the task that falls to them in common. The definite commitment to the task of evangelizing the whole world of men and, with it, the growing recognition of the imperativeness of thoroughly permeating the whole of the organized activities, as well as the unorganized activities of men, with the spirit of the gospel have aroused an uneasiness of conscience at the spectacle of the confusion and waste through the overlapping of effort in territories occupied by them. This results in an undesirable and unnecessary limitation of effort in territories where the need is greater. Thus the control of the activities of individ-

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uals by their respective denominational organizations interferes with the pursuit of the higher ideals now before them—ideals that received no clear recognition or emphasis in the older creeds, liturgies, and orders. The people are not crying for greater official control but for the relaxing of it because it impedes their progress. Whatever organizations arise in obedience to the new movement must not be imposed upon it by authority or from without but must arise from within and be naturally organic to the higher aims that have come to the birth in the people's minds.

In the third place, associated with the foregoing there has been going on before our eyes what we may call the swiftly growing laicizing of Protestantism. Protestantism is by its inmost character a layman's faith and has no place for priests. The growing sense of immediate personal responsibility and personal fellowship Godward has brought about, especially in recent years, a multiplication of organizations and agencies in the churches that were not created by the formal action of the regular ministry and have never been under their control. They are mainly officered by laymen, non-professional leaders, and men of the formally recognized ministry mingle freely with them in their activities and as equals. These new organizations have spread through all the great Protestant bodies and in some cases represent the major part of churchly activities. Ordination cuts no figure there. It would bring no increment of power and it would give to no one who might have received it a recognizable advantage in this wider spiritual ministry. "Ordination" is now a mode of recognizing one's personal fitness for spiritual leadership and in no sense a means of conferring upon its subjects peculiar gifts.

In the fourth place, thoroughly in keeping with the aforementioned movements, is that mighty current of influence proceeding from the modern literary, historical, and philosophical reinterpretation of the Christian faith. Much alarm has been aroused in some quarters because these studies have

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brought into question the adequacy and correctness of those interpretations of the Christian faith which have been formally sanctioned by the official action of the heads of great ecclesiastical systems in the past. It is to be carefully noted that this newer attitude coincides in time and place with the rapid and wide extension of learning among the multitudes and the adoption of modern methods of education. As a consequence, the Christian Scriptures, the ecclesiastical traditions, the regular forms of ritual, and the accepted doctrines of the faith have been subjected to the test of the methods of inquiry which are followed in so-called secular learning or science. To some people it has seemed a process of putting the sacred and the profane on a common level and a dereligionizing of our humanity. But it is the reverse. That which may seem, from one point of view, a secularizing of the holy appears, from another point of view, as the sanctification of the common —and, therewith, the purification of the common. This great movement, conducted mainly through the leadership of the schools, is a part of the same democratizing of authority already referred to. Faith, wherever it may appear, whether in the Scriptures or anywhere else, is allowed to make its appeal directly to the human consciousness, the mental, moral, and religious judgment. The "authority" of priests, creeds, councils, and churches departs, like Kipling's "captains and kings,"and every man is urged to make a direct approach to the truth, to find help wherever he may, and to make his decisions on his own responsibility. The men of today are far better equipped than their ancestors to discover the genius and the worth of the Christian faith.

It will be seen, I think, that the concurrent movements I have roughly sketched exhibit, in the final analysis, a single unitary character. Their combined force is having an impact upon the spiritual life of our time far beyond anything in the past. This it is, and not a regretful longing to return to conditions that were outlived ling ago, that has called forth the

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effort to bring forth a greater degree of unity in the activities of Protestant Christians at the present time.

That we have now reached the danger-point referred to earlier in this article is evident from the number of books appearing from the pens of representatives of various church systems in the attempt to make their particular system normative. One of these,[1] the Bampton Lectures for the year 1920, by Professor Arthur C. Headlam, of Oxford University, proceeds from the standpoint of a theologian of the Church of England. These lectures constitute an essay in ecclesiastical politics. By a historical review of the doctrine and order of "the church" from apostolic times to the present, the lecturer —who seems to address himself particularly to the people of his own church—seeks to lay down a basis of union that will be adequate to the convictions and needs of the different divisions of a disunited Catholicism. He thinks also that it might be accepted by the old eastern churches, the churches of Scandinavia, the Reformed churches of the continent, and the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists throughout the world. The premises of the historical argument are to be found in the proposals of the closing lecture, entitled, "Reunion."

The lecturer looks backward rather than forward. His ideals and standards are in the past rather than in the future. The church of the Nicene fathers is his model. Their discarded authority is to be reinstated, the Nicene creedal, ecclesiastical, and sacramental forms are to be re-established, the successive schisms and separations are to be annulled, and, instead of union on a new basis, there is to be reunion. We are to begin over again at the point where we left the "undivided church," acknowledge the formation of modern and ancient denominations of Christians to have been a mistake, and again make the boundaries of Christianity and churchianity coter-

[1] Arthur C. Headlam, *The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, Being the Bampton Lectures for the Year 1920.* New York: Longmans, pp. x+326.

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minous. It scarcely needs to be said that the Roman Catholic church would reject[1] these proposals forthwith. It rightly holds that the claims made for the Nicene Council are equally valid for the Council of Trent and the Vatican Council of 1870, that the logical place for the Anglican Episcopacy that calls itself "Catholic" is in the Roman church and that the only logical alternative is a radical Protestantism. The situation ought to be equally plain to the churches that stand on the basis of an immediate personal faith in God revealed in Christ.

The lecturer's argument rests on a fiction. It is the fiction of an actually existent undivided church, that is, using the term *church* in the sense of an organization with definitely recognized officers, rites, and doctrines. From the days of the Apostles down to the present the Christian faith has lived in and through the formation of many and various communities of Christians more or less in disagreement and more or less complementary to one another. It is likely to be so in the future. The Nicene bishops made good their claim to unity and universality by pronouncing all who dissented from their stand to be outside the church and unChristian. Canon Headlam has nothing better to offer in the end. One will search his book in vain for an admission that the unbaptized are Christian, that baptism is not a sacrament of the church or that salvation is found outside the visible church.

When it comes to the matter of concrete proposals they are summarized in three divisions,[2] namely, "unity of doctrine, unity of organization, unity of sacraments." These, he says, characterize the true church everywhere.

As respects the first: While it is affirmed that "the Holy Scriptures and the Creed are the doctrinal basis of Christian unity," we find that the church makes the canon by virtue of

[1] See, e.g., J. W. Poynter, *Contemporary Review*, December, 1921; Lester J. Walker, S.J., *The Problem of Reunion*.

[2] Headlam, *op. cit.*, pp. 228 ff.

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the authority resident in her, that she writes the creed which alone has "undoubted ecumenical authority,"[1] and that it is the Scriptures only as interpreted in the creed that become our guide into the truth. So also says, of course, the Roman Catholic—only he carries the claim to its logical, present-day conclusion. Plainly, Headlam's unity of doctrine depends on the unity of organization and his concern is really with the church rather than with the doctrine.

As respects the second: While the lecturer recedes from the claims of an unbroken apostolic succession[2] in the sense of an order of officials proceeding without a break in their ordination of one another from apostles who transmitted to them by tactful succession the gifts of the Spirit, he holds to the necessity of an unbroken church order[3] from the original church to the present. A few quotations are here given. The position of Cyprian is supported:

> That the work of the Church is the work of God; that He, in answer to the prayers of the Church, gives his Spirit. Ordination was sacramental . . . . that the essential of ordination always has been prayer with the laying on of hands. God answers the prayers of His Church. The Church orders the proper method of approaching Him.
>
> Christ . . . . created the church as a visible society. He instituted ministry and sacraments. He gave authority for legislation and discipline. . . . . Catholicism is a development, but a development of Gospel elements. The church was potentially Catholic from the beginning; it has not yet attained a full or complete Catholicity.
>
> Whether we look at the process of development or the source of its spiritual ministrations, it is the Church which is supreme. A baptism is valid because it is the baptism of the Church, whether administered within or outside; the authority of a bishop comes to him because it is conferred by the Church and even if he cease to be within the Church he can still perform Episcopal functions because he does not lose what the Church has given him. It is to the Catholic Church that the Spirit has been given, and therefore within the Church alone are all the gifts and blessings, sacramental and other, that the Spirit gives.[4]

[1] Headlam, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 264 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, Lecture VII.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 133 ff.

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As to the third of the essentials: The sacraments obtain after all the chief emphasis. The ultimate question is always the question of salvation. With Headlam, as with all Catholics, salvation is, in the final analysis, sacramental. The church is sacramentally constituted.[1] "It consists of the whole body of the faithful baptized." "The Church consists of all baptized Christians." "All baptized Christians are members of Christ's Holy Catholic Church." What about the Quakers, the hosts of other unbaptized believers, and unbaptized infants? As to the sacraments of the Nonconformists: "They have valid sacraments because they obey Christ's command and intend to do what Christ bade them."[2] The "intention" is the significant and determinative factor in all the sacraments, according to the Catholic view. But who can possibly guarantee the intention of any administrator in the performance of any sacrament? Nobody, in any case. The whole superstructure of Dr. Headlam and of Catholicism rests on this insecure basis. They can give no assurance of salvation to a single soul. Their case becomes all the more evidently deplorable when we find the lecturer finally turning away from definitions of the meaning of the creed which he advocates and centering his interest on the obedient performance of the sacraments.

Professor Headlam has rendered the great service of making it quite clear that the cleavage between the Catholicism which he and others who regard themselves as moderates represent, on the one side, and the free spiritual movement which was sketched in the beginning of this article, on the other, is so vast and deep that one side or the other must give way.

Protestantism is not repentant of its departure from Catholicism. The story of its career is not the recital of a growing mental darkness, or moral confusion, or religious doubt, but of an expanding, ever-deepening intellectual, moral, religious—in a word—human life. Protestantism is becoming less and less inclined to retraverse or renew the course of the old contro-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 224 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 265; cf. p. 258.

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versies by which it sought in its early days to justify the separation, because it is no longer on the defensive but has become a confidently aggressive enterprise with a world-conquering will. It is also becoming less and less minded to recall the ancient disputes between the different Protestant denominations because these disputes grew mainly out of their various retentions of specifically Catholic views. *These old controversies are being forgotten in obedience to the vision of an enlarging task.*

The Protestant conception of the meaning and worth of our common human life far outstretches the Catholic conception of that life. It has no derogatory estimate of the physical and spiritual universe in which we live and offers no apology for our being denizens of it. Its heroes are not the recluses who flee the world to escape its taint but the men of affairs who plunge into the world to bring to fulfilment in it the Kingdom of God. Its saints are not the begowned and beaded ascetics who bear on their exterior and in their minds the marks of an exclusive "holiness," but its ideal life is that lived by the housewife and mother, by the husband and father whose hands are hard because of the daily struggle to make material reality a servant to human good, by the economist, the statesman and the teacher, whose minds endure the constant strain of "worldly" care—by all, indeed, who seek by means of the common duties of the common earthly life to fulfil the purpose of that life divine which is revealed in Christ Jesus.

Accordingly, the means of salvation for mankind are not found in a legal system of doctrines to be accepted by the obeisance of intellect to authority, or in a system of ecclesiastical institutions or orders supposedly containing in themselves the sole deposit of divine grace, or in a system of rites to be observed; but they are to be found in all the natural contacts of men with one another. These are the channels along which the sanctifying divine Spirit moves from heart to heart and which bring men into a saving communion with one another

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and with God. After giving all due credit to the famous preachers and teachers who have stood in the forefront of the public gaze in the progress of the Christian gospel, the chief evangelists have ever been its non-professional saints who have carried it along the highways of human travel and commerce; who have established its power in the home, the social circle, and the state; who in the infinitely varied play of human affection and thought and will have seasoned all with the spirit of the gentleness, and purity, and goodness, and vicarious love of Jesus Christ. If there are to be sacraments of any kind, these are the divinely ordained means of grace ministered by all the members of that true church whose names are written in the book of life.

The Christian churches of the future must be increasingly of the Protestant type. If they formulate their doctrines—as assuredly they will—these will be temporary records of their ever-growing interpretation of the faith which comes by the experience which men have of its power and by the new insight into its meaning which is furthered by the advance of science and philosophy. If they form ecclesiastical institutions, these will not be fixed by the dictates of formal legislation but they will be the modes of fellowship in faith and activity which are found to be most fruitful in promoting the faith. And if they observe the practice of regular and orderly public worship, be their liturgies simple or elaborate, they will do so knowing that these are only partially suited to express and to further the inward faith that is in them all and must be subject to alteration or disuse in accordance with the demands of a purer faith and a growing life.

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CHRISTIAN DIVISION—A PRIOR CLAIM

PAUL HUTCHINSON
Shanghai, China

The subject of church union is just now being discussed as a primary problem of Christianity. But does the matter of organic unity really touch any profound interest of ordinary men? If church union is to be worth anything it must represent a vital passion, and not a nice balancing of subtle distinctions. As a matter of fact the great issue of today is the valuation of human life. Industrial and international problems really involve the question whether men can manage to organize in a fellowship which recognizes human rights. The fundamental test which Christianity must apply is whether the Kingdom of Heaven is actually to come on earth by human consecration and co-operation, or whether we shall despair of and depreciate ideals of social evolution. Here is a fundamental cleavage in modern Christianity which cannot be ignored.

What a dust of words the church has stirred up as it has ploughed its slow way down the centuries! Even in this day, when so much good time is being wasted wondering why Smith does not go to church, the publishers continue to bring out religious books in quantity almost equal to the ubiquitous novels.

No will one deny that some of this verbal flood has influenced mightily the course of history, despite Mr. Wells's ability to tell the story of our race without mentioning John Calvin. Yet there comes at times a suspicion, when one views the massed rows of apologetics and homiletics and apocalyptics and hermeneutics and all the rest (and remembers how much larger an array of the same it is now impossible to view) that we churchmen, if we have managed to obey the apostolic injunction against thinking of ourselves and our words more highly than we ought, have committed another sin in taking ourselves and our words more seriously than we have any business to.

Just now we are gushing forth on church union. Our contributions range all the way from the suggestions of the Anglican bishops at Lambeth, the Council on Faith and

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Order, and the ill-fated "tendencies" of the Interchurch World Movement, to the pronouncement of the Sage of Emporia, Walt Mason, who finds in church division the root of all our troubles, and in church union their solution. One who makes an effort to keep abreast of Christian thought finds it necessary to read a seemingly endless array of words, all presumably contributing toward a union of the Christian churches.

To what good?

Read it all, if you have the patience. Then place yourselves as far outside the influence of professional ecclesiastical interests as it is possible for you to do, and ask this question: What is there in all this that touches the spiritual problems in which ordinary men are actually interested? What is there here to which a man who cares little about churchly traditions, but greatly about spiritual power, may run and grip and shout, "See, here is something upon which we may plant a church that will challenge mankind!"?

As it was in the beginning, so is it now (and one fears will be)—polite preachers piously proposing improbable performances, as they would say in the type catalogues. Schemes evolved in committee rooms; discussions that have had their birth in musty studies—parson talk, all of it, even when spoken by laymen, and useless because it has so little connection with the vital issues of life.

The tragedy of our preoccupation with this illusion stands the more starkly in the presence of our failure to deal with issues that *are* vital, and have their direct application to the same questions of church division and union. For while we palaver of orders and ordinations and the acts of legates long dead—and better so!—we are blind to true divisions that spell weal or woe for humanity, establishment or loss for the Kingdom of Heaven.

Sometimes I have heard my clerical friends, especially from among the Anglicans, say that we must have a church

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so broad that it can include the symbolism of the high churchman at the same time with the exuberance of the Salvation Army evangelist. But this is not something to be attained by a nice balancing of tradition. If it ever comes it will come spontaneously. If those who work for a union of the churches would think deeper they would see that before we can have a vital church union we must have a vital church division. Today we are mixed up about standards that mean little; at times nothing at all. But let us dare to admit our real lines of division, and we shall perforce find ourselves regrouping in units that will cut across and transcend our present herdings. We shall then have a unity with meaning.

Christian division is an actuality of immense importance to the world. Unfortunately, the church so far has refused to admit this actuality and so, in its very presuppositions, serves notice that it is not a servant of reality, and therefore is unable to play a great part in the problems of our time. If you doubt this, regard our attitude toward two fundamental matters.

We are divided in our conception of the value of the individual and in our attitude toward the Kingdom of Heaven. These are not "the flaccid tissues of long dead issues," but vitalities that cut to the heart of the world's hope. Yet here we are divided, and refuse to face the division.

Always, theoretically, the individual has held supreme value in the Christian church. It is this that has made the Bible such a dangerous book. The depiction of man standing only "a little lower than God" has inspired many a lofty flight of pulpit eloquence.

We are past the day when eloquence will save us. Reality is the demand. We face the test of our *action* as to whether the welfare of every human being is the supremely important matter, be its effect what it may upon the stocks and bonds of our material civilization.

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This goes deep. It goes clear down to the fundamental upon which all such conceptions as a League of Nations, and the like, must rest. For, as that brilliant Englishman, Edward Shillito, said not long ago, "Nations must live together; but how can they live in the same house in peace unless they are agreed upon the meaning of human life, and upon its true values and its destiny?" What is true for nations, controlling life politically, is as true for those who control it in any of its other relationships.

Let us admit that it will be hard to force most of the churches to face this demand. It is too easy to sidestep it with words, social creeds, the reports of commissions, and other means of testifying to our verbal impeccability. But this is just the issue. If there is reality in the mission of the church just now, it dare not confine its passion to words. We face the same demand that St. James voiced in the first century of the church's life: "Show me thy faith by thy works." It will be recalled that much of the Epistle of St. James deals with the relative importance of individuals.

What actuality have we faced when we talk about the supreme value of every human soul? We have various tests for membership within our communions. Have any of us yet dared place a test just here? Have any of us announced that we will sternly exclude from our ranks any who, by personal act or the pressure of securities owned, or in any other manner, direct or indirect, lower by one atom the dignity of a single life, or cause one of the world's little ones to stumble?

The experience of the Interchurch World Movement with its report on the steel industry, and of the Young Women's Christian Association with its outline for a Christian order in industry, shows that no such test as this can be made without producing a real division. The moment the church acts upon the implications of a belief in the supremacy of the welfare of every man, that moment it will lose the support and

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arouse the antagonism of all the "practical" elements in its ranks. Many, fearing this, will cry out against any such test. It is only the Christian-minded who will welcome it. For they will see that a church practical is a church damned, and that there are modern applications of the experiences of Gideon.

Moreover, they will see that this is not a question to be answered on the basis of expediency, no matter how many denominational colleges and benevolent boards may be hunting endowment. It is a question that tests the church's sense of reality. Here is a division demanded by the condition of the world at this hour. If the church avoids it she will show great adroitness, astuteness, adaptability. And she will, in the act, convince most men that she has no call to a task of world rebuilding.

Inextricably bound up with this issue of the value of the individual goes the question as to whether the Kingdom of Heaven, as portrayed by Jesus, is actually to come on earth, as we have for centuries been praying that it may come. If this is to happen all individual, social, political life is due to be transformed, and our race carried onward to a goal as glorious as the present reality is disheartening.

A large part of Protestantism, and a vigorous part, denies this expectation. An indication of the way in which the church goes dallying along sidetracks is found in its attitude toward these thoroughly consecrated, thoroughly conscientious, and thoroughly calamitous members. Occasionally it condescends to discuss with them subjects such as the theory of scriptural inspiration or the probability of a thousand years of messianic glory just before or after the bodily return of Jesus to earth. But for the most part the church says, "They're mistaken, but what of it?", blind to that vaster heresy which these indorse, that denial of the supreme hope Jesus planted when he taught of the Kingdom that is to be.

Here is a vital division.

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One man says, "The Kingdom of Heaven is to be established on earth by the gradual and unceasing upbuilding of the rule of Christ." Another replies, "The Kingdom will only be realized in some future state, when, by a sudden miracle, the Lord will descend with a shout from the sky to sit for a limited period upon a throne in Jerusalem."

One man says, "The race is progressing toward a far-off, divine event, when evil will be overthrown and good completely established." Another replies, "The race is getting worse and worse. Church, state, society, everything, must go on until all is utterly bad, and then the smash-up."

One man says, "I will give my life for the building of the Kingdom." Another replies, "It is unscriptural for you to express such a thought. The Kingdom is not to be built or established, or anything else that implies any place for your puny efforts in its securing. It is to be disclosed by an omnipotent fiat in the hour when God, his patience at an end, wipes out the last vestige of our sorry strivings."

One man says, "We must not rest until every last man has been won to loving allegiance to the Kingdom and its King." Another replies, "It is not the purpose of God to bring more than a select remnant into his Kingdon. He has ordained destruction for the rest."

One man knows Jesus as a savior; another awaits him as a despot. Indeed, it is significant that one of the leaders of the latter group should have written of him as "Kaiser Jesus."

This is a division. Either the church is concerned with building the Kingdom in the world or it is not, and it is meaningless to talk about a church unity which would harbor both ideas within the same fold. The reality of such a division serves to show the more clearly the unreality of the divisions by which the denominations now group themselves.

Two men were looking out of the windows of the Missionary Home in Shanghai last winter, watching the Chinese crowds shifting past through the gathering dusk. One watched

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until the lines of pain were etched deep in his face, and when he turned away his voice was scarcely under control.

"Doesn't it almost drive you mad," he cried, "to realize that after all our work we have scarcely begun to affect the edges of that multitude out there?"

His companion replied without a moment of hesitation, and with a complacency complete:

"It might, if you did not know that God has never planned to have us reach those people anyway."

Both those men are casually grouped by their acquaintances as Presbyterians. Yet it is folly to say that they belong to the same church; that they are Christians of the same sort; that they follow the same Christ; that they worship the same God.

In these two illustrations of the demand for clean division there is nothing new. That fact renders the illustrations the more illuminating! In every aspect of the life of the church we are constantly showing an ability to ignore such questions of real moment, the while we concern ourselves with artificial schemes that revolve about shibboleths that are "old, far-off, forgotten." Before vital Christian unity can ever come there must be sharp cleavage where divisions truly exist, after which we can, and will, rally about great facts and hopes that outrange the artificial lines of our present demarcations.

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CHURCH UNION IN CANADA—FROM A PRESBYTERIAN STANDPOINT

S. W. DYDE
Queen's Theological College, Kingston, Ontario

The successful union of four Presbyterian bodies into one church in 1875, and a similar union of four Methodist bodies in 1883 raised the question of an interdenominational union. The arguments in favor of such union are summarized in this article. The attitude of the Presbyterians in the negotiations is outlined. Citations are given from the documentary pronouncements of the Baptists and the Episcopalians, who declined to enter the union.

Just about the time that Matthew Arnold was putting on record his dislike for the "dissidence of dissent" and "the Protestantism of the Protestant Religion," and was asserting that nonconformity was born to separation as the sparks fly upward, some of the denominations in Canada, notably the Methodist and the Presbyterian, were giving signs that no negative word, whether it be "dissent" or "nonconformity," described their real life. In 1875 four Presbyterian bodies were united, and became the "Presbyterian Church in Canada," the product of a steady impulse toward union, uninterrupted except for the echo in Canada of the disruption in Scotland in 1843. In 1883, four Methodist bodies joined together under the name of the "Methodist Church." It is to be regretted that in the religious life of this continent, as well as elsewhere, groups break off from their parent stem with what seems insufficient cause, freedom of worship having its defects as well as its advantages; but it can hardly be true, when all the facts are considered, that there is in Canada any inherent tendency toward division.

The two great unions, that of 1875 and that of 1883, took place in time close to the confederation of the Provinces into the Dominion of Canada in 1867, and share in the spirit of that achievement. In lands so sparsely settled as the British

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Colonies then were, union, political and religious, may be said to have been essential. In the churches concerned the effects of union were felt immediately. In the Presbyterian church "a new note was struck, the note of national responsibility."[1] Under this impulse the church entered with enthusiasm upon mission work abroad and in the Northwest, beginning an epoch of expansion which "few would fail to call heroic"; while the record of growth in the Methodist church "tells eloquently in favor of the union of 1883."[2] It is almost impossible to escape the conclusion that it was the happy experience of these two churches which made a still wider union a credibility.

With this stimulating background negotiations for the larger union of Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians were cautiously begun more than seventeen years ago. At the very outset the committees appointed by the several churches entertained no greater hope than that of an increased friendly co-operation, especially in the field of home missions; but soon the discussion took on a deeper tone. As early as September, 1902, a committee of the Methodist church had reached the following conclusion:

> The time is opportune for a definite practical movement concentrating attention on, and aiming at, the practical organic unity of those denominations already led by Providence into such close fraternal relations.[3]

This advance was cordially met by the Presbyterian church, which appointed a committee to confer with their Methodist and Congregationalist brethren, and as a result they jointly reached the decision that "organic union is both practicable and desirable." Perhaps it was at this moment that the die was cast. Union committees were thereupon struck by the three churches, and the new and wonderful movement was fairly launched.

[1] *Canada and Its Provinces*, XI, 283.

[2] *Ibid.*, XI, 310.

[3] *Explanatory Statement*. Toronto: Murray Printing Co., p. 6.

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It is not necessary to follow the negotiations in detail year by year. Perhaps expectations ran too high at the outset; perhaps obstacles emerged; perhaps opposition had not had time to form. In any case the voyage of union was to be more stormy and uncertain than even its more moderate advocates had calculated. The strongest opposition developed in the Presbyterian church, and came from a section which found it advisable to organize into an association for the preservation of the Presbyterian church. In the Methodist and Congregational churches opposition also arose, but never to the same extent, and it was never formally organized.

It is impossible in a "fierce abridgment" to do even the scantest justice to the arguments of those who opposed union. Perhaps the strongest sentiment found in their ranks is the quite legitimate feeling of pride in the history and work of their own special denomination, and an unpleasant premonition of insecurity and loss of identity. This conservative dislike of change is in its way just, and can rightly claim that arguments in favor of church union must be of the most cogent character. But, in addition to this general aversion to what seems to some to be violent and uncalled-for agitations, there are, one may venture to say, also more special grounds of objection. Methodists desire to be insured against the encroachments of spiritual deadness, Presbyterians against the lowering of the academic standards and a limitation of the right of free inquiry, and Congregationalists against a mechanical church autocracy. Needless to say, these are all real evils, into which any church, united or otherwise, may fall, and the more pronounced is the antagonism to them, the better for the fortunes of the united church.

The arguments in support of union may be summarized as follows:

1. *The argument from expediency.*—Men and money would be saved by union, manses would be more commodious, libraries more complete, congregations larger, and traveling curtailed.

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2. *The argument from efficiency.*—Rivalries would diminish, at least within the bounds of the three churches, and proselytizing cease. The number of colleges would be reduced from about sixteen to eight with a marked gain in teaching power.

3. *The argument from the past.*—If the results of previous unions can be used as a basis, a leap forward would be made in all church work, expecially in mission enterprise at home and abroad. Publications would have larger circulations and attract higher talent.

4. *The argument from diversity.*—Union, it is urged, is not a compromise, according to which each denomination drops its personal qualities and accepts a weak amalgam, but a union in which all valuable individual features would have fuller scope. The doctrinal independence of the Congregationalists, the religious fervor of the Methodists, and the scholarship of the Presbyterians would all leaven the united body, the new church being enriched by the special gift of each participant.

5. *The practical argument.*—From time to time the sparser populations of the West, little influenced by older communities, and impelled by self-preservation, have already taken matters into their own control, and formed union churches. At present nearly five hundred such community congregations, shaking themselves loose from denominational ties and setting up church for themselves, are dotted thickly over the prairies and are impatiently awaiting union. To preserve these and other groups to the united church is a matter of the first importance.

6. *The race and language argument.*—The foreign, or as we now term it, the "New-Canadian" problem becomes easier to solve. In the provinces of the West, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, and also in New Ontario, the percentage of the non-English varies from forty to forty-five according to the province. Under existing con-

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ditions the New Canadians, finding no distinctively Canadian church, may be said to be encouraged to hive off by themselves, and perpetuate on Canadian soil their European exclusiveness. Everywhere in the Northwest can be found little match-box churches built by the New Canadians in imitation of the match-box churches built by the English-speaking, all poorly equipped, poorly heated, lighted, and ventilated, the congregation small and struggling, and the minister inadequately paid. It is a colorable proposition that many of these New Canadians will seek to attach themselves to a distinctively Canadian church.

7. *The spiritual argument.*—This argument cannot be ignored. It pleads not for forms or mass-movement or mechanisms, but for more abundant life, not for the dead hand but the free hand, the carrying forward of the living past into the living future; it argues for wider fellowship and for machinery adequate to a Christian brotherhood. While seeking immediate practical unity with those organizations, which are open to consider it, it turns a friendly face toward all Christian bodies everywhere in all lands, believing that the ultimate reunion will be effected not by an instantaneous avalanche at some far-distant and problematical day, but by direct action today, wherever the soil has been by fraternal relations prepared beforehand. Union thus may come not by being staged, and not by observation, but quietly like the dawn; and the speed of its breaking will be in proportion to our faith in the communion and fellowship of man with man and church with church under the guidance of the Spirit of God.

In the course of the "long-drawn-out" controversies extending over a number of years a popular vote was taken in each of the three churches, of a very satisfactory and decisive character in the Methodist and Congregational churches, but less conclusive in the Presbyterian, where the vote was broadly 70 per cent in favor, and 30 per cent against.

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A second vote in the Presbyterian church was even less satisfactory, and many, irrespective of their own convictions, were afraid that to precipitate union would split the church. That view became quite pronounced at the meeting of the General Assembly held in Montreal in 1917. As a consequence a truce was called for the period of the war. When the discussion was resumed in 1921 in Toronto nearly everyone believed that the time had arrived for a decision, and with intense though suppressed interest the Assembly addressed itself to the debate. The committee in charge had framed a recommendation based on a strong desire to avoid disruption. Without a dissenting voice this committee affirmed the great and crying need of a more effective co-operation among the branches of the Christian church, and deplored rivalry. They did not break apart even at the prospect of union, but only upon the immediate step which it was thought wise for the church to take. The majority of the committee finally lined themselves behind the following resolution:

WHEREAS the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada has already by a large majority expressed itself in favor of organic union with the Methodist and Congregational Churches of Canada,

WHEREAS two appeals to the members and adherents of the Presbyterian Church in Canada have resulted in a similar way,

WHEREAS, during the time when by general agreement, the matter of union was not discussed, nothing has occurred to change the mind of the Church, but rather to confirm and strengthen its previous decision, Therefore be it

Resolved that this General Assembly take such steps as may be deemed best to consummate organic union with the above-named Churches as expeditiously as possible.

The Amendment was as follows:

WHEREAS previous assemblies in discussing the question of Organic Union with the Methodist and Congregational Churches declared that "The union of the Churches to be real and lasting must carry the consent of the entire membership," and expressed the hope of practically unanimous action within a reasonable time,

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WHEREAS the question having been twice submitted to the people, the results were that only approximately one-third of the membership declared themselves in favor of Organic Union, the second vote showing increased opposition,

WHEREAS nothing has occurred during the last six years to indicate any increase in favor of Organic Union on the part of the membership,

WHEREAS the preservation of peace in the Church is necessary for the successful completion of the Forward Movement, as well as for the maintenance of the normal activities of the Church, Therefore be it

Resolved that in order to keep faith with our own people the Assembly refrain from any action that would disturb the peace, unity and progress that have so largely prevailed during the last four years; and that the Assembly at no time seek the consummation of union without a clear and unmistakable mandate from the people; and that the Assembly express its desire for cordial co-operation with all other Christian communions.

At several sederunts the union debate had the full right of way, the parliamentary practice being followed that the two sides should present their cases alternately. It is but simple justice to say that, no matter what the view of the individual commissioner might have been, he was proud that the debate was carried on with such breadth of tolerance. The final result was perhaps never in much doubt, although the actual majority of four to one was a signal triumph for the union cause.

The future is not yet clear. The indications are that the minority is prepared to stand by the position assumed in the Assembly, and will make no move so long as the bounds of co-operation are not overstepped without a previous appeal to the Presbyterian people. With wisdom, patience, and forbearance Presbyterians may yet enter union as an undivided church.

So far actual conversations have embraced only the three churches already considered. However at an early stage of the *pour-parlers* Baptists and Episcopalians were invited to take part, and to the general invitation extended by a joint committee of the three churches replies were in due

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time received. From the somewhat lengthy deliverance of the Baptist convention of Ontario and Quebec I make the following extracts:

1. The Baptist people rejoice in all the manifestations of mutual love among the followers of Jesus Christ, and seek on their own part to cultivate a holy fellowship with all Christians. They recognize with thankfulness the gracious operation of the Spirit of God among their brethren of other denominations, and feel themselves to be one with them in many of those things which concern the progress of the Kingdom of God on earth. At the same time they do not admit that the organic union of all Christians is an essential condition of Christian unity, or even necessarily promotive of it. For Christians who differ on questions which some of them hold to be of vital importance, it is surely better to admit the impracticability of corporate union, than to seek to compass such a union at the cost of sacrificing cherished convictions. . . . .

2. The Baptist people regard all truly religious affiliations as reposing, on the one hand, on God's gracious self-communication to human souls, and, on the other hand, on each man's free acceptance of the divine grace and obedience to the divine will. As we understand the Scriptures, only those who are the subjects of such a spiritual experience are capable of participation in Christian fellowship or entitled to membership in a Christian church. Believing, therefore, in the spirituality of the Christian church, that is, that a Christian church is constituted by a voluntary union of those alone who by personal repentance and faith—not by natural birth, nor by proxy, nor by ceremony, nor by any overt act of the church—have come into fellowship with God in Christ, they do not regard the claim to ecclesiastical succession in any of its forms as a matter of concern to them. They acknowledge an historical succession from Christ and His apostles; but its nature is spiritual not ecclesiastical, coming through personal influence and the proclamation of the Gospel, not by means of forms, rites, or ceremonies.

3. The same principle prevents them from admitting knowingly to church membership any except those who have been spiritually renewed. Thus they cannot regard the children of Christian parents as entitled by birth or membership in a Christian household to a place in a Christian church or as a proper subject of its ordinances. It cannot be granted that the Christian ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper convey in any sense to their recipients the spiritual grace which they symbolize, for they have meaning and value only as they express the faith and grace already possessed by those who in these acts of obedience confess their

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relation to Christ. Hence the practice of infant baptism and the consequences which follow it are a fatal impediment to organic union between the Baptist and the Paedo-Baptist churches. Hence also the impossibility of Baptists consenting to an alteration of the original mode of baptism, because without the immersion its representation of the believer's union with Christ in His death and resurrection is lost. Further, the doctrine of the spirituality of the Christian church demands that it avoid all alliance with secular authorities. Such alliances have been fruitful of evil. . . . .

4. It is because of these principles which represent to them the divine will that the Baptists find it necessary to maintain a separate organized existence. In relation to these matters they can make no compromise, but feel themselves under a divinely imposed obligation to propagate their views throughout the world.[1]

From this pronouncement, which was intended to close out all prospect of organic union, the Baptist churches in Canada have not receded, and union is accordingly not above the horizon.

The latest contribution to the question of organic union in Canada is the action taken at Hamilton, Canada, by the Church of England in Canada regarding the "Appeal for Reunion," issued by the Lambeth Conference in 1920 in London. In this appeal it is proposed that mutual reordination be arranged for, thus enabling a clergyman from either side to minister fully to the people of the whole united church. The exact wording is as follows:

We believe that for all, the truly equitable approach to union is by the way of mutual deference to one another's consciences. To this end, we who send forth this appeal would say that if the authorities of other communions would so desire, we are persuaded that, terms of union having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted, Bishops and clergy of our communion would willingly accept from these authorities a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations, as having its place in the one family life. It is not in our power to know how far this suggestion may be acceptable to those to whom we offer it. We can only say that we offer it in all sincerity as

[1] *Report of the General Assembly's Committee on Union with Other Churches.* Toronto: Murray Printing Co. (1908), pp. 8–9.

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a token of our longing that all ministries of grace, theirs and ours, shall be available for the service of our Lord in a united church.

It is our hope that the same motive would lead ministers who have not received it to accept a commission through episcopal ordination, as obtaining for them a ministry throughout the whole fellowship.[1]

This very earnest and interesting proposal has a background. In the year 1908, in answer to an invitation of the three churches then conducting negotiations to the Church of England in Canada to participate in these negotiations, the reply was made that the Church of England in Canada was prepared to confer with other churches on the basis of of what is known as the Lambeth Quadrilateral. This basis involves the acceptance of the authority of the Holy Scriptures, the creed commonly called Nicene, the divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, and the Historic Episcopate. The three churches, while gladly recognizing the cordial and brotherly spirit of the communication from the Bishops, rightly or wrongly regarded this reply as assenting to a limited conference only, since episcopal ordination was insisted on as a necessary prerequisite.[2] The Bishops felt, no doubt, that they had no other recourse than to present the four Lambeth fundamentals.

Thirteen years later, however, at Lambeth the Bishops modified their position, and now suggest the possibility of some form of mutual ordination. It is idle perhaps to speculate as to what will be the outcome of this new and hospitable attitude of the Church of England in Canada. It is, doubtless, a genuine effort of the Church of England to realize its vision of a world-church. An influential committee of the Methodist church has issued the following resolutions:

With regard to a yet wider and more inclusive union of churches we recall the resolution of the Winnipeg Conference in 1902, originally

[1] *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: The Macmillan Co. (1920), p. 135.

[2] *Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Joint Committee on Church Union.* Printed privately by the Committee. Toronto (1908), pp. 6–7, 19.

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declaring itself "in favor of a measure of organic unity wide enough to embrace all evangelical denominations in Canada," and adopting the present negotiations as the most practicable step towards that end. We have noted the appeal of the Lambeth Conference to all Christian people, and record our appreciation of the sincerity and depth of Christian feeling therein expressed. We recognize that this appeal indicates a solemn realization of the responsibility resting upon all Christian communions to express the unity of the spirit in one body, as well as in righteousness in life.

We respectfully record our experience that the most fruitful results of such negotiations have been found when the bodies concerned are untrammelled by pre-established formulas. We are of opinion that in intimate and sympathetic consideration the spirit common to all would find an expression more adequate than can be provided by the proposals of any one communion. We believe that it is the duty of all Christian bodies both to discover and to express this common spirit. We believe that our church would welcome such a development of Christian fellowship and intercourse between the Church of England and ourselves as would not delay the consummation of the union now pending, but would prepare the way for a more inclusive union.[1]

This decision does not diverge greatly from the finding of the joint committee of the three negotiating churches in 1908, when they declared their willingness and eagerness to meet the Church of England on "free and equal terms."[2]

It is more than probable that no basis for union or reunion can be regarded as satisfactory, if reservations are made and positions laid down beforehand. But it is widely admitted that the action of the Church of England has made the general question more fluid, and, while it can hardly be advisable to interrupt the union movement, now so long under way, men of wisdom and wide charity have a superb opportunity to blaze the trail for a joint effort in the not-too-distant future to give shape to organized Christianity in Canada.

Such a consummation would be in keeping with the recorded action of the negotiating churches. As early as September,

[1] Quoted from a newspaper report.

[2] *Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Joint Committee on Church Union*, p. 19.

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1902, the General Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada had explicitly resolved that it would regard with great gratification a movement looking toward organic union of Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists "in no spirit of exclusiveness toward others not named,"[1] and in December, 1908, as a Christmas gift to Christianity in Canada the joint committee, in one of its last acts, decided that it would have been glad "to welcome to their conference representatives of other Christian communions, and, although this widening of the conference has not yet been found practicable, they hope that, in the event of a union of the negotiating churches, a still more comprehensive union may in the future be realized."

The way may not be, and is not, yet wide open; but it is not blocked.

[1] *Explanatory Statement.* Toronto: Murray Printing Co. (1906), p. 6.

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THE NEXT STEP IN NEW TESTAMENT STUDY

HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY
Chicago, Illinois

In the textual study of the New Testament methods have been standardized and the results of critical investigation generally accepted. This is also true of linguistic study and literary criticism.

In contrast to the literary interest in the New Testament as a collection of documents there has just emerged a genuinely historical interest in first-century Christianity as a great social movement. As a result the Jewish background of primitive Christianity has been carefully studied.

But the Hellenistic environment is still waiting adequate investigation. Preliminary studies need to be made in the field of gentile religions. Early Christianity itself should be investigated from a social and genetic point of view. The varied, syncretistic life of the Graeco-Roman world provides a host of problems concerning the genesis and function of early Christianity for the New Testament student who is willing to do pioneer work.

Typical of the whole problem complex are questions concerning the hope, the present experience, the agent, and the guaranties of salvation. The developments marked in first-century Christianity show how the new movement strove to meet the needs of Gentiles in the Graeco-Roman world.

With the past achievements of New Testament scholarships we are not concerned. Our task is rather to canvass the leading characteristics of present day research and indicate where the largest possibilities for advance are to be found. It is an impressive fact that in certain important lines of investigation still in vogue, work has been standardized and results generally accepted. This is notably true in the case of textual, linguistic, and literary criticism.

I. STANDARDIZED TYPES OF NEW TESTAMENT STUDY

In textual criticism the broad foundations laid by Westcott and Hort and their predecessors remain firm, being altered in particulars but not in essentials. True the evidence of the Freer Codex in Washington needs to be called into court and comprehensively examined. Von Soden's critical edition of the Greek New Testament, executed on such a magnificent scale, should be evaluated properly. New manuscript evi-

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dence is eagerly awaited. But the real battle of scholarship in the textual criticism of the New Testament is over and won. No student would dream of pursuing his studies in this field without using a Westcott and Hort or some equally critical text.

Similarly in the linguistic study of the New Testament critical scholarship has already made its case. It was not so long since that scholars were still in the dogmatic period of New Testament philology. Then the language of the New Testament was regarded as a peculiar variety of Greek, especially designed to convey the message of the new Christian religion. Before the close of the last century, however, a great "Light from the Ancient East" broke on the scholarly world. It came from the rubbish heaps of Egypt where Flinders Petrie, Grenfell, and Hunt discovered great numbers of papyrus fragments both literary and non-literary, both public and private. Deissmann, in working over these materials, recognized the fact that the New Testament was written in precisely the vernacular of these documents. This discovery exploded once for all the theory of "Biblical Greek" as a peculiar language. Non-classical elements in the New Testament which scholars had long regarded as Semitisms or Hebraisms were found to be common coin in the Hellenistic Greek of the period. Because of the abundance of the new materials there remains a seemingly endless amount of work to be done in the field of language study. New Cremers and Thayers and Weiners are needed; but the way is cleared for this work. It is demonstrated that the language of the New Testament is the *Koine* Greek, the international language of the Graeco-Roman world.

A third group of problems widely discussed in recent years have been literary in character; problems of genuineness, authorship, integrity, and literary structure. These questions have focused themselves in general around three centers, Pauline, Synoptic, and Johannine. By common consent the

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Synoptic problem has been given primacy. Ever since Harnack's work in reconstructing Q, the two-source theory may be said to have held the field. But it is a healthy sign of the vigor of present day New Testament scholarship that these results have been strongly attacked and a multiple source hypothesis erected in place of the more simple but less adequate theory. The tantalizing possibility of a discovery which may alter our whole Synoptic problem ever lurks in the agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark, yet the possibility seems slight with the data and methods at hand. A new methodology for handling the whole problem must be developed. Since the Synoptic Gospels were themselves the product of the gentile mission it is but natural to expect the development of a new technique from a genuinely historical study of the needs and requirements of that mission. The problem demands an altogether more human and less documentary treatment than it has yet received.

Some progress has also been made with the nexus of literary problems centering around the name of Paul. It is no longer thought necessary to defend the usage of the expression "Pauline letters." Of course difficulties still exist throughout the Pauline field. Are Philippians and Second Corinthians a unit? What is the relation between Colossians and the so-called Ephesian epistle? Are there Pauline elements in the Pastorals? Concerning such problems as these, however, two generalizations may be in place. They are not crucial questions which demand settlement at the expense of more acute difficulties. Moreover, their solution depends to a marked degree on an increased knowledge of the situations which gave rise to these letters. The more a student knows about the environs of the Pauline mission and the problems faced by Christian propagandists in the post-Pauline period, the better will he be able to handle this complex of difficulties.

In the Johannine field events have moved rapidly in recent years. Beginning with the traditional position that Gospel,

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Epistles, and Apocalypse were all by the same author, and he the apostle John, scholarship has gone all the way to a denial of apostolic authorship for each and all and a repudiation of common authorship so far as Gospel and Apocalypse are concerned. In the case of the Apocalypse historical criticism has won its spurs by the singularly successful manner in which it has located the work in its Asian environment, collocated it in relation to other examples of apocalyptic literature and interpreted its words in the lurid light of the last decade of the first century. It is to be regretted, however, that similar methods have not been applied in the case of the Gospel. This remarkable book has not yet been studied in its native habitat except in a very cursory manner. What do we know about philosophical mysticism in the Graeco-Roman world at the turn of the first Christian centuries? Vastly more important than to know the name of the author or his method of literary composition is to know the deep religious experience out of which the Fourth Gospel grew.

Although literary, linguistic, and textual problems remain, technique has become more or less standardized in these fields of research and achieved results have, in general, been accepted. The remaining problems are either not of strategic importance or else demand a new methodology.

II. HISTORICAL INTEREST IN JEWISH ENVIRONMENT

In sharp contrast to the literary and documentary study of Christian scripture a new type of interest has been emerging in recent years which we may characterize as historical. Today the New Testament student looks upon himself not merely as the interpreter of a literature, but as the historian of a social movement. For the historian all the literary remains of the period he is investigating are significant. Hence there has been among New Testament students of the immediate past, a marked enthusiasm for studying the Jewish literature of the inter-Testamental and early Christian periods. Today

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it is generally recognized that a knowledge of these contemporary Jewish documents and the life that produced them is essential to proper equipment for New Testament study.

On the whole the area of late Judaism has been well worked. The important source materials are accessible both in critical editions and translations. Here the *magnum opus* of the last generation was R. H. Charles' edition of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. This stupendous work makes available for English students the Jewish books which, after the canon, were most popular at the beginning of our era and were probably most nearly representative of contemporary Jewish thought. Together with Philo and Josephus these writings successfully bridge the chasm between the Old and New Testaments.

It is to Josephus that students have turned for a record of the political events amid which Christianity arose. They have found his voluminous works a mine of information not only concerning political history, but also concerning the social, intellectual, and religious life of the time as well. In the case of Josephus both textual and translational materials are adequate.

Unfortunately this cannot be said of the extensive works of Philo, which record most clearly the ethical, philosophical, and religious influence of Hellenism on extra-Palestinian Judaism. It is to be regretted that Cohn and Wendland's critical text of Philo is not matched by a modern English translation. Our standard translation of this most important Jewish writer is already over sixty years old.

It is a safe generalization that these source materials have been well utilized for a reconstruction of contemporary Jewish thought and life. The history of the Jewish people during this period has been fully and authoritatively set forth by Schürer in a monumental work. Also briefer, but valuable manuals, notably those of Holtzmann and Bousset, supplement Schürer in important ways.

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The apocalyptic background of late Judaism has been investigated with extraordinary care. At this point the application of Jewish materials to the study of early Christianity has been unusually complete. As a result Christianity is shown to be the flowering of Jewish apocalypticism. What is needed in this whole area is a utilization of all available information concerning late Judaism, equally thoroughgoing with the use that has been made of Jewish Apocalyptic. This is not merely a Palestinian problem, but one that concerns Hellenistic Judaism as well. For example, the importance of Philo's writings for an interpretation of that other Jew of the Diaspora, Paul the Tarsian, has scarcely yet been estimated.

The one place in the Jewish field where there is most likelihood of progress in the immediate future lies in the area of Rabbinic studies. It is a fact that one of the most promising and most neglected source books for this period is the Mishna, though it dates roughly from 200 A.D. Obviously the difficulty is to differentiate between the materials that are early and those that are late. But Jewish scholars particularly are alive to the problem. They are concerned not merely to make the rabbinic sources available but also to evaluate their contents; for there are many Jewish scholars who maintain that the best sources for a knowledge of Judaism even in New Testament times are to be found in the earlier portions of the Talmud. The thorough investigation and evaluation of the rabbinic tradition is, therefore, the capital problem of the present in the field of contemporary Judaism.

Besides the critical rabbinic question there are many minor problems such as the relative significance of Palestinian and non-Palestinian Judaism for the study of the developing Christian movement; the reaction of Hellenistic Judaism on the religion of the homeland; the syncretistic character of late Judaism, Palestinian as well as extra-Palestinian. Such problems as these, however, call into view another set of environmental influences, those emanating from the gentile world.

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Indeed the very reasons which impelled students to investigate the Jewish environment of early Christianity lead inevitably to research in the gentile background as well.

III. A NEW FIELD OF RESEARCH

THE GENTILE ENVIRONMENT

The insufficiencies already noted in the lines of study most pursued during the past generation all point in one direction, toward the gentile environment of early Christianity. For the most part mooted questions lead directly toward this field. Apparently long-expected solutions are waiting just around the corner in the milieu of the first-century Graeco-Roman world.

The study of this gentile background needs no *apologia*. Rather the New Testament itself forces it upon our attention. The very language in which the books of the New Testament were written tells of the life of the times in every sentence; it speaks the language of the common people in the Graeco-Roman world. This much the discoveries of Grenfell and Hunt and the researches of Deissmann have proved to us. Moreover these very human documents were produced in a gentile environment and for purposes of gentile propaganda. Thus the studies in introduction during the past generation have located them. The fact that the Christian scripture was written in *Koine* Greek and for a gentile public compels the consideration of Christianity's Hellenistic environment.

It is true that something has already been done in these rich gentile fields. Historians have given us in broad outline and in detail a view of the political, economic, and social life of the times. Thanks to the untiring labors of Greek and Latin scholars the classical background is filled in with minuteness. This is especially true in the field of classical philosophy and literature. Unfortunately, however, these abundant materials are not largely useful for the study of the developing Christian religion. In the popular thought of the first-century

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world Homer and Hesiod were far away in the dim past, Aeschylus and Sophocles were all but forgotten, while Platonism and Aristotelianism were matters for the schools. For a knowledge of the popular philosophies of Epicureanism and Stoicism New Testament students are indebted to their colaborers in the philosophy department. Other types of popular Hellenistic philosophy are largely ignored, and in the field of the popular religions the ground has been barely broken. The religious significance of emperor worship has perhaps received most adequate treatment. But the really important factors, the popular mystery cults of the day, have been inadequately considered. General works on this subject are few; hence the publications of Toutain and Loisy become greatly enhanced in value. Farnell and Jane Harrison have made the Greek religions of redemption more familiar than the oriental mysteries. Here and there isolated cults have been singled out for extended treatment as in the case of Cumont's "Mysteries of Mithras."

Christianity's relation to the mysteries has generally received a much abbreviated treatment. Certain German scholars of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* have given serious consideration to the problems involved and in circumscribed areas of research have demonstrated how the religious experiences of Gentiles may be used to make the New Testament live again. English and American scholars, on the other hand, have generally been inclined to dismiss as inconsiderable the possibility of gentile influences; though in fairness such significant titles as *The Evolution of Early Christianity* by Case, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* by Lake, and Professor Morgan's refreshing treatment of the *Religion and Theology of Paul* should be noted as specific exceptions to this statement. By far the majority of English scholars, however, have ranged themselves on the side of Kennedy and are willing to admit only the most formal interrelations.

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Thus a wide and varied field of investigation lies open before scholarship in the study of the gentile background to early Christianity. To state the matter in comprehensive terms, there is demand for a great work which shall do for the Hellenistic environment what Schürer and Bousset have done for late Judaism. Such a compendium would, of course, be as diversified in character as the wide variety of interests represented in the syncretistic life of the Graeco-Roman world. With materials easily available this work would be well nigh unmanageable; and with the studied neglect of the Hellenistic field by students in other departments such a work is impossible for the present.

As a necessary preliminary much spade work is required. To cite a typical instance of neglected investigation which demands immediate attention; the whole important area of Hellenistic mysticism, so necessary for an understanding of Pauline and Johannine Christianity, has fallen between the students of philosophy and the students of religion and been ignored by both. We know little of Orphism and less of neo-Pythagoreanism. Concerning pre-Christian Gnosticism and the beginnings of neo-Platonism there are scanty materials available. Yet it is a fact that these very systems, together with oriental astrology and speculation were influential factors in the thought life of the Graeco-Roman world. Like Stoicism and Epicureanism they functioned as religions in the lives of many. Unlike these more respected philosophies, however, they represent the reaction toward supernaturalism which characterized the revival of religion at the beginning of the Christian era and of which Christianity itself was an expression. To investigate the philosophical mysticism of the gentile world is an alluring task with not superabundant source materials.

More important still there are special studies needed in the sphere of Hellenistic religions. It is the popular syncretistic

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religions of the age that concern us here, particularly these of oriental origin. Our information relative to the cults emanating from Syria and Cilicia is scanty and chaotic, although a knowledge of them is of the utmost importance for an understanding of Paul and his mission. Of the religions which flourished on the Phoenician coast, and in Babylonia and the Phrygian highlands there is also a great lack of information. Even Persian Mithraism and the Egyptian cult of Isis are none too familiar to modern students. Also there are special topics such as the relation of religion and morality in the gentile world, the function of prayer, the operations of revelation, religious healing, magic and exorcism and kindred subjects. Each of these furnishes an opportunity for pioneer work in research.

Moreover, much work that has already been done is not adequate for historical purposes. Mystery religions, which have been accorded notably generous treatment, have not been investigated in accordance with modern historical methodology. Such a significant production as M. Cumont's book on Mithraism is primarily a descriptive work on the basis of literary and archaeological remains. It tells the *what* but not the *why*. It ignores the simple fact that back of the literary remains or the cult monument is the group life that produced the monument—the throbbing religious experiences of real men in reaction to their particular environment. A religion always exists before it comes to literary expression or erects its monuments. It is this life back of the documents that interests the modern historian, the social process involved, not the statistics.

For the student of religion, then, the final factor is not the document, but the social movement which gave rise to the document. Now the group life of any period is at best a very complex affair and to be understood it must be viewed as a part of an on-going social process, receiving its constituent elements from the past and making its contribution to the

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future. When any religion is thus viewed as a part of continuous process a specific knowledge of the causal nexus producing the phenomena in question becomes a factor of supreme importance. Indeed it is one of the canons of the modern historical science that no item can be understood without a knowledge of its genetic relationships. Accordingly in studying the mystery cults, the student should minutely investigate the life of the times in order to isolate the influences which gave shape to these religions. The vital interests dominant at that time, the means at hand for the satisfaction of those interests, the physical stimuli of habitat and climate, the course of political events, the economic interests involved, and a host of other social motivations should be considered among the contributory factors.

To collect and order all these items would seem an impossible task for one man; but assistance is available from coworkers in other departments. The anthropologist is prepared to disclose the unscientific presuppositions of the primitive type of mind. The sociologist is ready to analyze the social interests and motivations represented, while the psychologist is alert to examine the mental phenomena involved and show what desires are gratified. In the case of the mysteries where extraordinary religious experiences were much in evidence the services of the psychologist become particularly valuable. Indeed the student of religion should scorn no aid that will better enable him to understand the genesis and the functional significance of these religious movements. A mere description on the basis of literary remains is insufficient. To be understood these movements require the application of the scientific methods employed in the field of general history.

Not only are the Hellenistic religions of redemption waiting to be investigated from a social and genetic point of view but Christianity itself stands in need of such examination. It is only within the last half-century that scholars have learned to think of Christianity in terms of vital religious experience

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instead of static quantities of doctrine, ritual, or practice. By their very fixity of form documents tend to encourage the latter view. Hence it is not strange that New Testament scholars have been peculiarly susceptible to a static conception of their own religion. Today, however, when the notion of progressive development in human experience has become axiomatic it is impossible to escape the conviction that the Christian religion itself is developmental in character and that the writers of the New Testament were real men who lived in vital contact with their environment.

This extension of the developmental conception of history to the field of religious experience calls into view the social processes which gave rise to the New Testament documents. It focuses the attention not on the Christian scriptures but on the men and women who constituted the personnel of the Christian movement. Back of the records of the apostolic age stand Jesus and his apostles and the rank and file of the Christian communities, real men living in constant, intimate, and vital contact with the social order of their day. Out of their personal reactions to their social environment they developed their religion. Accordingly an adequate investigation of the phenomena presented by primitive Christianity demands that the student penetrate back of the New Testament documents to the religious living of individuals and communities which gave rise to that literature.

The appreciation of the social and developmental character of Christianity, however, makes certain very large demands on the New Testament student. It requires that he give the most minute attention to the environment of primitive Christianity in order to understand the dominant social forces which fashioned the new movement. Roughly speaking primitive Christianity was composed of two factors: the Jewish heritage plus the gentile environment. The political and social background of early Christianity was Hellenistic from the first. This was the case even in Palestine where

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political and social developments were strongly influenced by foreign forces. Of more immediate concern are the religious influences which played upon the youthful movement; for Christianity grew up in a very religious world. A great revival was the order of the day. In the gentile field the new religion had to compete with vigorous and popular cults. Christian missionaries came into intimate contact with these groups. To be understood in their propaganda they had to use the religious vocabulary and thought forms of the Hellenistic world.

Just as soon as the first gentile convert was obtained, and that was early, the gentile environment itself became a heritage. By the middle of the first century the converts to Christianity were, in large numbers, proselytes from Paganism. Those who had been adherents of other faiths brought with them a fresh accession of religious experience. The interests and desires which had made them "God-fearers" or initiates now prompted their adherence to the Christian movement. The satisfactions which they had previously sought in popular philosophy and syncretistic cult they now sought in the Christian religion. To meet these practical demands the Christian movement experienced distinct modification as the records of the apostolic age amply attest. In this way a new gentile heritage, moral, intellectual, and religious became a vital part of Christianity. Hence the importance of studying the youthful Christian movement in relation to the total background of Hellenistic life in all its varied aspects—social, economic, and political—as well as specifically religious.

IV. TYPICAL PROBLEMS IN THE GENTILE FIELD

When the New Testament is thus studied from a social and genetic point of view a host of important problems make their appearance and clamor for solution. These difficulties are so numerous and varied that only three or four typical instances may be cited more or less at random.

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One such question concerns the kind of hope which the Christian movement offered to the earnest seekers for salvation in the first-century world. Primitive Christianity began its career as a reformed Jewish Messianism. The apocalypticism of the Jerusalem group did not make allowance for personal immortality. Only those among the Jews who accepted Jesus as the apocalyptic Messiah would be eligible for the Kingdom of God. This kingdom was soon to come here on earth and would be populated by those who were still alive. The primitive Christian hope, then, was clearly a national affair, though it was very limited in its scope.

In sharp contrast to this very narrow conception of a messianic kingdom here on earth, the contemporary gentile cults offered to their initiates the hope of a blessed immortality in the future. This hope was as markedly individualistic in character as the Jewish and primitive Christian ideas were nationalistic. The individual man, whatever his race, might look forward with confidence to a happy future when once he was initiated into the cult. Immediately after death this blessed state would be realized.

In the New Testament we find Christian ideas on this subject in process of transformation. Paul carried over the Jewish apocalypticism but clearly modified it. He assured the Thessalonians that the dead would be raised to enjoy the Kingdom and he had much to say to the Corinthians concerning the resurrection body. Moreover he offered the hope of a salvation, not on the nationalistic basis of membership in the Jewish race but on the individualistic basis of membership in the Christian cult. This was the whole point of the Jerusalem crisis, and the Galatian controversy. In the Gospel of John we have a further development where the blessed dead are given place in heaven immediately after death. Thus the Christian movement made the transition from narrow nationalistic hope of a Kingdom of God on earth to the potentially universal hope of a blessed immortality in heaven. When

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did this transition begin, and whence came the stimuli which brought it about? The obvious inference is that they came from the gentile environment.

A second and similar group of questions are suggested by the consideration of salvation as a matter of present experience. Although the Jewish Christians of the primitive community were living with their thoughts concentrated on the future in daily expectation of the return of Jesus, yet they were conscious of a vivid present experience of salvation. They lived an ecstatic life and their special spiritual endowments they regarded as the mark of divine favor. In anticipation of the appearance of the Messiah they interpreted their *charismata* as premonitory signs of the coming of the new age and a preparation for its advent.

The experience of gentile religionists was not less vivid. In the more orgiastic cults the frenzied worshipers felt themselves possessed by the God. Inspired by the wine of the deity they became literally enthusiastic (*entheos* "full of God"). In the more refined of the mystery religions the initiates experienced an emotional exultation as they watched the unfolding of the mystery drama. However it might be induced the psychological uplift which resulted from participation in the rites of initiation was interpreted as the beginning of a new divine life. The initiate was *renatus in aeternum*. He had become "God from man." The gentile world of the first century was rich in mystical experiences of this type. They ranged all the way from the crass physical emotionalism of the Dionysian cult or the Cybele-Attis mysteries to the highly attenuated mental emotion of Hermetism.

Now it is a striking fact that the Pauline letters record a wealth of mystical religious experience. Paul himself was subject to ecstacies which he interpreted in mystical terminology. He wrote of the inception of the Christian life as a complete re-creation. This experience, he told the Galatians, was the only thing that mattered. The man who had passed

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through such a transformation was no longer the material man but a spiritual man; for he had dwelling within him the spirit of God himself, or what for Paul was equivalent, the spirit of Christ. Paul's conception of the Christian life was most comprehensively summarized in the simple formula "To be in Christ"; yet in this brief expression Paul contemplated a most intimate and realistic union between the spiritual Christ and the believer. This was the main element in Paul's thought of salvation as a present process. On the realistic basis furnished by his idea of the indwelling spirit he built up his splendid ethical system; for the fruits of the spirit were but the outward expression of the inner life. Here then we have one of the earliest Christian missionaries presenting the new religion as a matter of vital union with the living Lord of the community. This was at the middle of the first century. At the end of that century we find this Christ mysticism much intensified in the Johannine type of religious experience, where salvation is viewed as the present sharing of a divine life mediated to men by the Son.

The impressive factors in the situation are as follows: On the one hand the Jewish heritage of Christianity was essentially unmystical. On the other, the gentile environment of Christianity shows the heights and the depths of religious mysticism. This is the antithesis. The Hegelian synthesis follows quite logically. Both Pauline and Johannine Christianity were essentially mystical in character. How are we to account for the strain of mysticism which appeared in first-century Christianity if not on the basis of Hellenistic influences?

The transformation of the early Christian idea of the agent of salvation presents a third problem complex. For the Jerusalem community Jesus was the apocalyptic Messiah who had been inducted into his heavenly office by resurrection from the dead and was shortly to come on clouds of glory to usher in the Kingdom of God on earth. Their prayer was *Maranatha*, "Our Lord, Come!" In the thought of the

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primitive Christian community Jesus was the realization of the Jewish ideal of the Messiah.

The saviors of the Gentiles were very different beings. Normally they were gods or heroes who had vicariously suffered death and then had risen again. By their triumph over death they guaranteed salvation to their devotees. Such a god was Dionysus, the nature-deity of the Thracians, whose death and resurrection were memoralized in the passion dramas of Greece. Adonis was another redeemer-god, and his death, resurrection, and ascension were regularly celebrated each year at Byblos in Syria. Osiris too had suffered a violent death and later had been restored to life; and his experiences were an earnest of the bliss which awaited the virtuous on the Plains of Aalu. These deities were not only dying and rising saviors, but they were the living and present lords of worshiping communities, the cult brotherhoods which were scattered all over the Hellenistic world. Such religious groups belonged to their lord. They were under his protection; and even here on earth they enjoyed a foretaste of the blessed life of the future.

According to the New Testament the primitive Christian conception of Jesus' Messiahship underwent notable change in the gentile world. In the earliest gospel records, represented by the Q or *logia* materials, the death and resurrection of Jesus are not mentioned. Mark, on the other hand, devotes half his Gospel to the narration of these events. Paul, in his preaching, "placarded" the sufferings and death of Jesus before the imagination of his gentile audiences in as vivid a manner as the initiation ritual portrayed the passion of the Savior-God. He assured the Corinthians that even as Jesus had risen from the dead, those who were united with Christ would share in the resurrection. The spiritual Christ was also the living Lord of the community and the very essence of the Christian life was to live in the most vital and intimate union with Christ. In the Fourth Gospel the Messiah concept is further

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transformed. Here Jesus is the pre-existent heavenly Logos, the giver of life and the mediator of knowledge. Whence came all these strange ideas so foreign to the Jewish thought of a Messiah? The clear parallels at hand in the gentile world suggest the answer to this question.

The rites of the early Christians present a fourth series of interesting questions. Even the Jerusalem group had initiatory rites. But their baptism was like that of John. It signified reconsecration rather than regeneration. Their Lord's Supper was at once a memorial and an anticipation. It recalled the last supper of Jesus with his disciples and it looked forward to the great banquet in the messianic kingdom. For hundreds of years the gentile world had also been familiar with initiation ceremonies. They consisted mainly of ablutions. These rites were believed to purify the candidates who died to their old life and arose to a new. The sacred meal also figured prominently in the gentile cults. At the table of his lord the devotee partook of food which engendered and nourished in him the divine life. Sacramental communion with the god by means of eating and drinking was a characteristic feature of the mysteries. The meal might be orgiastic as in the Dionysian cult, or well-ordered as in Mithraism.

Paul's letters are the record of a reinterpretation of the primitive Christian rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper. He leaves out of view entirely the early messianic significance of these ceremonies. For him baptism is significant because it marks the consummation of the believer's union with his Lord. It unites all men, Jews and Gentiles, into the mystical body of Christ. In baptism men die with Christ and arise again in newness of life. Thus baptism becomes a realistic guaranty of the desired union with the risen Lord.

In a similar vein Paul interpreted the Lord's Supper to the Corinthian Christians as a communion of the body and blood of Christ. Not only was the Lord's Supper commemorative

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in Paul's thought but it operated to strengthen and nourish the spiritual life of the believer. Whenever he spoke of these rites Paul always emphasized their importance and significance. In giving them a sacramentarian turn he satisfied the demands of the Gentiles for realistic guaranties of salvation.

The author of the Fourth Gospel insisted upon the rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper even more vigorously than Paul did. Unless a man was born of water and spirit he could not be saved. Unless he eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man he could not have eternal life. Even with the intellectualized Johannine conception of salvation these sacramental instruments were insisted upon as indispensable. Thus the New Testament documents testify to a sacramentarian tendency within first-century Christianity which was integrated with the items of mystical experience already noted.

The parallels for this collocation of sacramental rites and mystical experiences are to be found in Hellenistic religions of redemption. It is difficult to avoid the inference that the two sets of phenomena were closely related. Since the gentile religions were on the field first we must look for the genesis of these tendencies in Christianity's Hellenistic environment. The psychological process whereby the Christian movement became heir to this gentile heritage is worthy of investigation by a master mind.

A large variety of similar problems, all of them of the utmost importance for an understanding of the beginnings of Christianity, might be suggested. The four just mentioned, however, which concern the hope, the experience, the agent, and the guaranties of salvation are typical of the whole problem complex. Taken together they present in one view this striking situation. On the one hand, we have an environment in which popular religions guaranteed the hope of a blessed immortality and the mystical experience of union with a dying and rising Savior-God by means of initiatory rites which featured ablutions and sacred meals. On the other

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hand, there is a youthful and developing Christianity which offered salvation to the Gentiles as a future hope and a vivid present experience of union with Christ guaranteed by baptism and the Lord's Supper. The parallels are too impressive to be ignored. They show that Christianity, like the gentile religions, was sensitive and responsive to the vital needs of the day in the Graeco-Roman world. But what, fundamentally, were the social forces which caused these striking developments? When did they become operative on Christianity? How did they make themselves felt? To what extent did the new religion satisfy the demands put upon it? What precisely were the interrelations of similar phenomena in Christian and pagan religions? These are problems which require the most discriminating investigation.

Of course, this is not the only type of New Testament study that is needed at the present time. Advances must be made all along the line. But the critical problems of the present lie in the Hellenistic environment of early Christianity. Here the questions are of strategic importance just because the field is comparatively unworked and offers uncalculated possibilities for fresh discovery. It is the open door before New Testament scholarship today. Beyond are the unoccupied areas which lure the pioneering spirit.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MYSTIC'S EXPERIENCE

A. EUSTACE HAYDON
University of Chicago

The mystic experience is found in all races and religions. It claims attention as a non-rational, yet real, experience.

It may be defined as an immediate awareness of the nature of reality. The mystic feels a joyous certainty of the truth of his religious ideas.

The significance of the experience is not in its psycho-physical phenomena. The Orient knew long ago how to induce the experience by normal means.

Nor is its significance in its revelation of truth for no new truth is attained in the experience.

Its significance is that it gives emotional value to any world-view whatsoever and makes the individual unshakably certain of his worth and security in the system. Examples from monistic, theistic, and non-theistic mystics.

Each new world-view must develop its own mystics for mysticism tends to be a conservative force.

The mystic experience is known wherever baffled humanity has sought the meaning of the eternal mystery of life. It is a racial phenomenon and challenges attention as to its value, as an experience, without confusion with the specific theological or philosophical implications attached to it by the mystics themselves. With the development of psychological science, the reaction from other-worldliness and the steady effort to organize our understanding of the world of experience in scientific concepts, mysticism has fallen into neglect as a non-rational experience. But it is just as a non-rational, yet real, experience that it deserves consideration. Creative intelligence is really a late arrival in the cosmic drama. We have learned to appreciate how little intelligence has functioned in the long tragic ages of human history, to see the progress of the race as a blundering exfoliating of the will to live, to interpret the individual, human organism and the social complex of ideas, customs, and traditions, which

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molds him, as alike the products of vast ages of suffering and striving, and to recognize the submerged realm of the unconscious as a potent factor in the shaping of life. We could afford to be more hospitable to the mystic experience. It is true that mysticism carries with it a vigorous support of its associated world-view. That is part of its significance. But mysticism is not a world-view. It is an experience and, as an experience, it has the same quality quite irrespective of its attendant religious ideas. The student of religious philosophies, wandering in the bypaths of the centuries, may be forgiven for renouncing the findings of the mystics so far as their interpretation of reality is concerned, for he sees that the religious philosophers themselves have only rationalized into cosmic proportions the ideas of historical religions achieved, not by reason, in the dimly lighted past. The mystic is not to be blamed if he fails to reach higher intellectual heights than those who claim to be intellectual, which is not his claim. His is an experience, which gives him a sense of peace, a quiet, glad at-homeness in the universe. He is no longer an alien, for in a moment of insight, he has seen the warm sunlight of familiarity light up the face of the Ineffable Mystery.

The experience may be defined in the broadest way as an immediate awareness of the nature of reality. It has the qualities of joy, peace, and security. In rare moments, when the play of the senses is subdued and conscious thought is stilled, the mystic experiences an immense extension of being, feels himself naturally, inevitably involved in a vaster existence, which is one with his own. He acquires an unshakable conviction that he has come face to face with the true nature of reality and carries the "sense of presence," "cosmic consciousness," or the feeling of "more" as an emotional glow into the daily routine of living. The mystic is sure that no words can describe his experience, yet a mystic's description is the best means of defining the nature of his vision. An

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example, which is fairly typical, may be taken from a theosophical work.[1]

> There are moments, supreme and rare moments, that come to the life of the pure and spiritual . . . . when the senses are tranquil, quiet and insensitive, when the mind is serene, calm and unchanging; when fixed in meditation the whole being is steady and nothing that is without may avail to disturb; when love has permeated every fibre, when devotion has illuminated, so that the whole is translucent; there is a silence and in the silence there is a sudden change; no words may tell it, no syllables may utter it, but the change is there. All limitations have fallen away. Every limit of every kind has vanished: as stars seen in boundless space, the self is in limitless life and knows no limit and realizes no bound: light in wisdom, consciousness of perfect light that knows no shadow and therefore knows not itself as light; when the thinker has become the knower: when all reason has vanished and wisdom has taken its place. Who shall say what it is save that it is bliss? Who shall try to utter that which is unutterable in mortal speech—but it is true and it exists.

This shows all the marks of the experience—ineffability, transiency, quiescence, the sense of immediate contact with reality, bliss, and complete assurance of truth.

Here, then, is an experience which challenges question on two points. Does it transcend explanation in terms of psychological science? Does it yield truth as to the nature of reality?

On the first point the answer is swift and confident. Modern psychology finds nothing mysterious in the phenomena of the experience. All the phases, from the milder sense of presence to the ecstatic trance, fit somewhere into the formulas of psychological science. The actual psycho-physical mechanism of the experience is sufficiently accounted for by the activity of the fringe of consciousness or the subconscious, by auto-suggestion or hypnosis, by sex-repression, by the effects of drugs, dancing, or anaesthesia, by unification of discordant

[1] *The Self and Its Sheaths*, p. 71, quoted by C. R. Jain.

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elements of consciousness, or by the many phenomena of dissociation of personality. That modern science should explain the psychical conditions under which the ineffable vision comes does not disturb the mystic. A thousand years ago the Orient had worked our the normal method of producing the experience. It included strict control of the senses, repression of disturbing elements of thought, concentration of vision to induce hypnosis and meditation on a single thought. That the experience has a natural explanation may be taken for granted, but what of the truth immediately realized in the experience? That, for the mystic, is the important thing.

On this point Professor Pratt says:

> But I think we may say at least this much: that while the psychology of religion must have a free hand, and while it is hopeless to look to it for a proof of anything transcendent, nothing that it can say should prevent the religious man, who wishes to be perfectly loyal to logic and loyal to truth, from seeing in his own spiritual experiences the genuine influence of a living God.[1]

No genuine mystic ever needed such encouragement. It is the nature of the mystic experience to give an unshakable assurance of the truth realized in the vision. If he is a believer in God he will be convinced that God is and will be confirmed in his belief in him with a certainty that reason never could give. But here enters a difficulty. There are non-theists who are also mystics, and in their times of immediate awareness of reality they do not find God but a clear realization of the truth of their own already accepted world-view. So we find the answer to our second question. It has already been excellently stated by Professor Coe[2] and others. The mystic experience gives no new truth. The mystic comes from his intuitive contact with reality with just that truth which he took with him, namely, what he had accepted as true as a result of his training or of his social heritage. It is neither in its miraculous nature

[1] *The Religious Consciousness*, p. 458.

[2] "The Sources of the Mystic Revelation," *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. VI.

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nor in its worth as a revelation of truth that the mystic experience has significance and value. In the Orient this was known long ago.

The central significance of the mystic experience is that it adds an emotional driving power, a glow of worth and enthusiasm to whatever religious interpretation of the world the mystic may adopt. A touch of mysticism, and the most coldly rational view of reality takes on life and interest. The confident assurance of being intimately united with the deepest reality gives a dignity and beauty to living and a wonderful spiritual exaltation which lights up the dreary, daily, commonplace facts of existence. While the mystic experience adds this reinforcement to any world-view its peculiar, psychic quality of unification, vastness, and infinity lends itself best to monistic interpretations. But since the self is always central, even impersonal or naturalistic monisms take on the feeling of personality. Tagore has pointed out that, while for the thinker ultimate reality is impersonal, for the religious worshiper it must always be experienced as personal. The theist will find the personal God in his mysticism. Although a religion may demand a personal God, the experience itself is one of unity, infinity, and eternity, with the result that in such writers as Ramanuja, Kabir, Tauler, and the Sufi poets there is a strange blend of the two types of expression. St. Teresa was even assured, in a moment of union, of the truth of the Trinitarian dogma. The more philosophical Vedantist finds only the impersonal Absolute and a confirmation of his *māyā* doctine of the phenomenal world. In the *bhakti* types of Hinduism the predominant note is that of ecstatic union with a loving, personal God. But in all theisms the impersonal and personal are inextricably combined in the descriptions of the mystics. Kabir sings:

"When I am parted from my Beloved, my heart is full of misery: I have no comfort in the day. I have no sleep in the night. To whom shall I tell my sorrow?

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The night is dark; the hours slip by. Because my Lord is absent, I start up and tremble with fear.

Kabir says: "Listen, my friend! There is no other satisfaction, save in the encounter with the Beloved."

But he also says:

"The river and its waves are one surf: where is the difference between the river and its waves?

"When the wave rises, it is the water; when it falls, it is the same water again. Tell me, Sir, where is the distinction?

"Because it has been named as wave shall it no longer be considered as water?

"Within the Supreme Brahma, the worlds are being told as beads:

"Look upon that rosary with eyes of wisdom."[1]

Both the personal and the impersonal forms of expression fail to reach the full meaning. "Kabir says: It cannot be told by the words of the mouth. It cannot be written on paper. It is like a dumb person who tastes a sweet thing—how shall it be explained?"

It is only necessary to seek out the mystics of the various lands and religions to be convinced that any interpretation of reality may find support in this experience. Ramakrishna was able to achieve the mystic experience equally well in relation to Kālī, Krishna, Allah, and Christ, and so, to conclude that all religions are one and all are true. The experience is one and all mystics talk the same language.

The idealists of China who thought of reality as a monistic Tao unfolding in the phenomenal world-order may be represented by Chuang-tse.[2] Every mystic will understand him. "In tranquillity, in stillness, in the unconditioned, in inaction we find the levels of the universe, the very constitution of Tao." "Take no heed of time, nor of right or wrong. But passing into the realm of the Infinite, take your final rest therein" and so "we are embraced in the obliterating unity of God."

[1] *One Hundred Poems of Kabir*, LII, XIV, LXXVI.

[2] *Chuang-tsu, Mystic, Moralist and Social Reformer*, pp. 191, 31, Giles translation.

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Turn now to another type of world-view. India has had several non-theistic religions, and mystics in all of them Here the center shifts from a Supreme Soul to the individual self as the ultimately real. The Sankhya philosopher teaches that souls are eternal and only by nescience are deluded into adopting as their own the experiences of the psycho-physical state of existence. In the mystic revelation the soul is convinced of its eternal isolation, breaks the bondage and escapes the tyranny of the world. Life is endurable with this insight. The Jains have always repudiated the idea of a supreme God as well as the monistic view of reality. Because mysticism has been associated in their thought with this dreamy monism they dislike being called mystics. They insist that a man must arrive at a clear understanding of the nature of reality by reason and then follow the mystic way to find the confirmation of the truth. "The real *yoga* for man is to know and realize his own divine nature and to establish himself in the beatific state of blessedness and bliss by subduing and mortifying the little, self-deluded, bodily self." The goal of *yoga* is "to establish the soul in the state of Sat-Chit-Ananda-ship."[1]

As ignorance of the godly nature of the soul has been the cause of trouble in the past the change of belief in the right direction now must bring about the state of at-one-ment with the self. All the *yoga* that need be performed by the *jnāni* therefore consists in the unshakable conviction of the truth of the *Atman*, i.e., the soul, being the *Paramatman*, that is God. *Feel* this and you are free.

The *yogi* loves only the thrill of delight characteristic of wholeness and perfection. In the conscious enjoyment of real joy he finds it difficult to keep back the words "happy, happy. I am happy," which constantly rise to his lips. No royalty under the sun can lay claim to any such experience. The world reads, "Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven" but it is the *yogi* who realizes and enjoys it. Men only vaguely talk of God but the *yogi* knows himself to be the enjoyer of the divine status and feels his own heart beating in harmony with the "divine heart." This is the very last stage of progress. When the aspirant gets established in this state he is said to have attained

[1] Jagadisha Chandra Chatterji, *The Hindu Realism*, pp. 150, 151.

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to *samadhi* (i.e., the ecstatic trance). He has touched the summit of attainment and like a conqueror stands triumphant, his mind like a calm and boundless ocean spreading out in shoreless space holding the powers of life and death in his hand.[1]

The Hindu school of the Nyāya-Vaisheshika is also non-theist and just as self-conscious in their use of the mystic experience. *Yoga*, they maintain, is not philosophy, but the means by which man may achieve "a direct knowledge or realization of what he has already learned by reasoning." So

He may realize all the facts and principles pertaining to the transcendental i.e., the supersensible and may finally realize *himself*, that is to say, the Atman, as separate from and independent of, everything else. When this is done he no longer feels that he is the body or the mind. With this realization all identification of himself in thought and desire with any specific form of existence ceases and the man is free.[2]

Exactly the same use of the mystic way is found in modern non-theistic Buddhism. The experience gives a complete and joyous conviction of the true nature of reality and of Nirvana. The training leads the Buddhist up to the concentrated state of mind.

His ultimate goal being still ahead, he makes his concentrated mind a powerful and effective means for the development of insight in order to fully realize the true nature of the world. Wherever he turns his eyes he sees naught but the Three Characteristics—Anicca, Dukkha, Anatta—standing out in bold relief. Nowhere, neither in heaven above nor in earth beneath does he find any genuine happiness, any reality, any fond object of desire to which he can cling. Whereupon he takes that one of the Three Characteristics which appeals to him most and intently keeps on developing his insight in that particular direction until one glorious day there comes to him, like a flash of lightning, the intuition of Nibbana—that "unshakable deliverance of the mind." Instantly he realizes that what was to be accomplished has been done; that the heavy burden of sorrow has been finally discarded. He now stands on those celestial heights with perfect *Sila*, mind fully controlled, far removed from the passions and defilements of the world, realizing the unutterable bliss of eternal deliverance.[3] . . . .

[1] C. R. Jain, *The Key of Knowledge*, pp. 383, 402.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 432, 475.

[3] *The Buddhist Annual of Ceylon*, 1921. p. 28.

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It would merely add examples to the monistic and theistic types of mysticism to follow Mahāyāna Buddhism through its Dharmakāya idealism and the faith-religion centered around Amitābha. All alike find assurance of the truth they believe.

During recent years in the West many have been forced to break with the old-world view of Christian philosophy. For some of these the mystic attitude has served to vitalize a new vision of reality. Edward Carpenter sees the doom of all the old religions and the sublimation of their values in a new religion of humanity. His is a social idealism in which the self is linked by innumerable bonds to the whole growing world and to all mankind. His mysticism has the glow of the Vedānta. He describes the vision.

> Thus at last the Ego, the mortal, immortal self—disclosed at first in darkness and fear and ignorance in the growing babe—*finds its true identity*. For a long period it is baffled in trying to understand what it is. It goes through a vast experience. It is tormented by the sense of separation and alienation—alienation from other people and persecution by all the great powers and forces of the universe: and it is pursued by a sense of its own doom. Its doom truly is irrevocable. The hour of fulfilment approaches, the veil lifts and the soul beholds at last *its own true being*. . . . . At last there comes a time when we recognise—or see that we shall have to recognise—an inner equality between ourselves and all others; not of course an external equality, for that would be absurd and impossible, but an inner and profound equality. And so we come again to the mystic root-conception of Democracy.[1]

Under the strain of war H. G. Wells gave us an excellent example of the mystic assurance of the reality of the God he needed to have. He had long ago abandoned the Christian God. He had given up the hope of relationship with the "First Cause" of Ultimate Beginnings—the "Veiled Being." Equally unsatisfying he found the Reality of which Mr. Shaw and M. Bergson can write with mystical fervor—the "Life Force." His God must be finite, heroic, the synthesis of the highest human values, a "strongly marked and knowable

[1] *Pagan and Christian Creeds*, pp. 306, 308.

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personality, loving, inspiring, and lovable." Mr. Wells does not need to "argue" about his God, for he has had the mystic moment of insight and so he "relates."

> Suddenly, in His own time God comes. This cardinal experience is an undoubting, immediate sense of God. It is the attainment of an absolute certainty that one is not alone in oneself. It is as if one was touched at every point by a being akin to oneself, sympathetic, beyond measure wiser, steadfast and pure in aim. It is completer and more intimate but it is like standing side by side with and touching some one that we love very dearly and trust completely. "Closer is He than breathing, nearer than hands and feet."[1]

There can be no doubt of the value for life of this experience of complete assurance of the truth. It deserves to stand side by side with St. Teresa's words of assurance as to the reality of the Trinitarian God of whom Mr. Wells makes mock.

> But how, you will repeat, *can* one have such certainty in respect to what one does not see? This question I am powerless to answer. These are secrets of God's omnipotence which it does not appertain to me to penetrate. All I know is that I tell the truth; and I shall never believe that any soul who does not possess this certainty has ever been really united to God.[2]

It is needless to multiply examples. Mr. Blood, pluralist and evolutionist, found in the anaesthetic revelation a clear realization of the "inevitable vortex of Becoming," an understanding of "the genius of Being" and a consciousness of the complete security of the self in the cosmic flow. A well-known scientist, who had had no religious experience but had from childhood been steadily devoted to natural science found the mystic experience in mountain climbing and, while clearly conscious of exhilarating life, felt his own being interpenetrate and become one with mountain, trees, and stones. This might easily be a mystic naturalism. But give the identically same experience a theistic turn and it becomes a consciousness of divine presence, as the literature of Christian and Indian mysticism abundantly proves.

[1] *God, the Invisible King*, p. 23.

[2] Quoted by William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 410.

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The mystic experience, then, will justify any world-view and therefore can prove the truth of none. Our knowledge and understanding of the nature of reality must be secured in the full light of intelligence. When it is so achieved or accepted on authority, mysticism comes or, by proper technique may be induced, to light it up with beauty and give it emotional value and the conviction of certainty. We have seen that some religious groups develop the experience with this conscious purpose. But it is an essentially conservative force and each new religious world-view will have to develop its own mystics. It is at this point that the evolutionary naturalism of our Western science has failed. Some have carried over the old "sense of presence" into the new system of thought; some have found that it is only a step from the mystic "feel" of the old monistic idealism to that of the new humanism. But most religious people still feel that the world-view yielded by modern science is what Carlyle called it long ago—"a gospel of mud." And the anguish of suffering humanity as they gather the first-fruits of the age of machines is not reassuring. There is a deep sense of loneliness. If humanism is to have emotional driving power it must learn how to use our common human capacity for mystical feeling and mystical insight to give us the sense of deep-rooted security in cosmic development; to show us our affinity with the forms of life unfolding about us in the world of nature; to link us, by its clear vision, with our whole humanity in the bonds of mutual service and so, make possible that warm awareness of personal significance, worth, and responsibility in the shared life of the race.

The mystic attains this joyous certainty, that his own life is safely and inevitably bound up with the meaning of reality. The nature of the world-view does not matter. Spontaneously, or with the appropriate, controlled technique, the ineffable experience comes and, as with a fairy's wand, touches the structure of thought and suffuses it with "the light that never was on sea or land." In this emotional reinforcement lies the secret of its significance for religion and for life.

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS LOYALTY

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH
University of Chicago

The current campaign of opposition to critical scholarship in the realm of religion involves, not merely the question of establishing the truth, but also the question of religious loyalty. Critical scholarship must face this issue. The need and the value of loyalty to the institutions of Christianity on the part of scholars is urged. There is real danger of a scientific provincialism in theological scholarship.

The morale of any cause depends on the whole-souled loyalty of the men and women who are engaged in its promotion. If it be suspected that the cause is being subordinated to other ends by any of its supposed devotees, distrust takes the place of co-operation. If singleness of aim be not restored, the cause itself will suffer from inner division. The disintegrating effect of "disloyalty" was keenly felt by every patriot during the war; and in the effort to prevent this demoralization, stringent restrictions were placed on freedom of criticism. To be sure, the perils of this suppression of criticism were evident to thoughtful minds; and with return to less strenuous days we are eagerly seeking to restore the rights of free speech which were curtailed during the war.

The vigorous campaign which is now being waged against critical scholarship in the realm of religion is to be understood only as we remember that it grows, at least in part, out of a genuine concern for loyalty. Christianity exists as an organized form of devotion to Christ and to the Kingdom of God. Its primary aim is to enlist men in the privileges of religious experience and in the responsibilities of religious service. The morale of the Christian cause depends on whole-souled loyalty. The militant conservatives in Protestantism believe that such loyalty is being impaired by critical scholarship. Hence, in

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order to maintain loyalty, they are seeking to penalize and suppress criticism.

This current distrust of critical scholarship cannot be met simply by declaring that the critical scholar has the facts on his side. If the discussion could be kept to the issue of a dispassionate investigation, scholarship would, of course, be able to vindicate itself. But the opponent of criticism addresses himself to an audience which knows little or nothing about the technicalities of critical research. With such an audience it is easy to quote scholars long since dead as doughty defenders of conservative conclusions; or superficially to display disagreements among living scholars as evidences of the inherent vagaries of criticism. The conservative is really challenging the critic on the ground of religious loyalty. Unless scholarship squarely faces this challenge, it can be accused of evading the issue. For the scholar to make rejoinder by charging the conservative with ignorance is peculiarly irritating. It must be granted that a man like Dwight L. Moody knew little or nothing about critical scholarship. Yet he was a great religious leader. The religious man wants to know whether one possessed of critical scholarship can show any such power.

The critical scholar is primarily impressed by the fact that zeal without knowledge is a dangerous thing. If religious loyalty is identified with the acceptance of a theory of the Bible which is contrary to the facts, the discovery of the facts will tend to discredit religion. If Christians be called upon to oppose the doctrine of evolution, the college student who finds that the evolutionary hypothesis, like the theory of gravitation, is taken for granted by scholars, will be ashamed of a religion which puts a premium on avoidable ignorance. The prejudice aroused against religion because it has been identified with doctrines which will not stand the test of critical investigation is real and deep and more widespread than is often suspected. It would be a calamity if there were no critical scholars whose

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distinctive contribution is to establish the facts in the realm of religion.

But granting the necessity of establishing the facts, the question raised by the conservative is not yet answered. Does critical investigation, after the facts have been discovered, take expression in religious loyalty? Here there is a distinct danger that critical inquiry may issue in what a modern scholar has called an "illicit secularizing of religion." Religion exists in human life because it is the means of organizing and expressing precious experiences of aspiration, love, devotion, service. Its primary *raison d'être* is the promotion of these experiences. But in the process of critical investigation, the scholar may easily come to use religion exclusively as material to be turned into scientific or critical historical conclusions. What the scholar does may be all to the good so far as disinterested science is concerned. And if the sole end of life were to arrive at defensible scientific conclusions, such a scholar might become the high-priest of a new culture.

But if, either because of sentiments of distrust so freely expressed by those hostile to critical scholarship, or because of exclusive preoccupation with his specialty, the scholar permits himself to drop out of active social relationship with a religious group; if—to be perfectly plain—he ceases to have any vital share in the distinctively religious expressions of experience as these are promoted by our churches, he is almost inevitably led more and more to judge his contribution solely in terms of the scientific standards which are provided by the fellowship of scholarship. That this easy acquiescence in a release from *religious* responsibility is common enough to attract attention, cannot be denied. Not that every scholar thus withdraws himself, any more than every devotee of religious zeal neglects scholarship. But the pressure of professional demands may easily make a scholar provincial, if he neglect the general demands of human culture.

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Admirable as is an unquestioning loyalty, there is a kind of loyalty much finer. It may be illustrated in what often takes place in the experience of marriage. The young lover pictures his beloved in terms of perfection. Poetry is full of the ardent devotion inspired by such idealization. Marriage, however, sooner or later brings to light defects of character which were not known. The facts, as these are revealed, do not justify the picture of perfection on which romantic ardor was based. Now some of the finest chapters in human history are the record of a reconstructed loyalty in the marriage relationship. When the facts are frankly faced and taken into account, there may be developed a social companionship which shall include precisely the virtues and the limitations which actually exist. While the unrestrained adoration of the romantic lover is more dramatic, the picture of a domestic love which tenderly observes and reverences frailties as well as virtues is ultimately more satisfying and more enduring. If it were more commonly exalted, we should perhaps have less of the violent ruptures of marriage due to disillusionment.

Another analogy may be drawn from the political realm. Love for country is indispensable to the welfare of our complex social life today. To "stand by the government" is a moral precept which deserves honor. Now no government is perfect. In our land of freedom of speech we have plenty of criticism of governmental policies. It is well that this should be so. But a genuinely patriotic citizen experiences a sense of disappointment if he is compelled to read *merely* criticism. One may acknowledge the brilliancy and the challenge of certain critical journals in the realms of politics and social issues, and yet be profoundly weary of a kind of criticism which leaves the critic and those who agree with him apparently detached from the organizations and institutions which are actually operative. The influence of a critic who is a recognized *outsider* is seriously limited. In times of stress he will be

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accused of trying to break down the government instead of trying to help it to be more efficient. But the man who remains in social contact with the organizations through which movements are actually promoted is in a position to have his criticisms listened to with respect, provided he has the exact knowledge which entitles him to respect.

In the history of Israel we have a striking illustration of the combination of inexorable criticism with religious zeal. The reader of the prophetic books of the Old Testament often gasps in amazement at the merciless dissection of national life which the prophets perform. But these very trenchant criticisms are the outgrowth of so ardent a love for Israel that the prophet desires only the best for his nation. And that best can be had only by facing the facts, cost what it may. While the prophets, like all critics, had often to encounter distrust and opposition, yet they became the great religious leaders of their people and the inspirers of all generations since their day. If their exposure of conditions in Israel had taken the form of a coldly judicial investigation, they would today be unknown and forgotten figures.

The critical scholars in the realm of religion today have an enviable opportunity. No permanent objection can be raised to the proposal to test critically all phases of religion. It is inevitable that the outcome of such testing will be the discovery that in theology, as in every other branch of human learning, opinions and doctrines are in need of revision. But, granting this, the scholar should ask himself whether he is primarily interested in religion itself, or merely in critically ascertained facts, regardless of the bearing of his discoveries on the fate of religion. If he is compelled to admit that his only use of religion is to make it serve as material for interesting (and perchance sensationally startling) scientific conclusions, if he assumes no responsibility whatever for the relating of his scholarship to the actual religious life of the churches, he has no real cause for complaint if he is denounced as a foe of religion. Indeed, the comfort and the strength which

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religion brings to mankind are so precious and so indispensable to wholesome social relations, that he who neglects this spiritual asset will ultimately find himself outside the great social emotions and motives which most men share. To translate religion into non-religious terms, or to use religion for non-religious purposes cannot be defended even on grounds of scientific precision. Yet this very defect marks some of the most challenging investigations of our day.

On the other hand, the vehement accusations of those who oppose critical scholarship reveal the fact that such scholarship has a far wider hold on the religious thinking of our day than would appear to the casual observer. There are many ministers today who are constructively using scholarship. The great forward movement of the churches recently was based on the preliminary survey undertaken under the auspices of the Interchurch Movement—a survey which sought to arouse loyalty and generosity on the basis of a knowledge of the facts which evangelical and missionary enterprise must face. The time is ripe for a reorganized religious loyalty, which shall include what is made known by critical investigation. There are many brave leaders who are practicing this loyalty. If the scholars themselves shall personally identify themselves actively with the actual social promotion of this kind of religion, the reinforcement which they bring will be invaluable. But a critical scholarship which simply uses religion as material for the filling of scientific treatises must logically look to scientific rather than to religious interests for its support. If the religion of the future is to include the best scholarship it is self-evident that the best scholars must themselves be loyally devoted to religion itself. If the control of religious organization and propaganda should pass into the hands of those opposed to scholarship, the scholars themselves would be largely to blame.

One of the significant aspects of the current attack on critical scholarship is a singular lack of discrimination in relation to the matter of religious loyalty. Although the con-

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fessed interest of the reactionary conservatives is the preservation and promotion of religious vitality, they are constantly being betrayed into a mere debate over theological positions. They apparently make little or no distinction between the liberal who has withdrawn from church activities and the liberal who is zealously giving time and thought to the promotion of the church's efficiency. All "critics" are tarred with the same stick. The discussion is being constantly turned into a debate over theological conclusions. Conservative theology is assumed to be identical with religious loyalty. Yet we all know of controversialists, whose theology is strictly orthodox, but who use that theology chiefly as a bludgeon with which to fell possible rivals. Surely this is as serious a misuse of religious material as that of which the critical scholar is alleged to be guilty.

The fact of the matter is that loyalty to the church cannot be determined by asking what a man's theology is. Such loyalty is far more dependent on the spirit of social generosity than on any other one thing. And this spirit of social generosity is precisely what we mean by the spirit of Christ. The ultimate decision as to whether critical scholarship is a blessing or a bane to the church will rest upon the question as to whether such scholarship is or is not fruitful in promoting the spirit of social co-operation. A reconstructed religious loyalty, strong and virile because it faces all the facts, is within reach wherever scholars care enough about religion itself.

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CURRENT EVENTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A Significant Survey of the Early Protestant Movement in Italy.—Not all of us English-speaking Protestants have known that, about the time of Martin Luther, Italy, too, was stirred by a mighty spirit of reform. The movement promised to free the souls of men from the dominion of the unworthy and oppressive priesthood, but it was smothered by the power of the Roman church. Scattered in Italian convents and libraries lie a great number of books and memoirs, many in manuscript, telling, often at first hand, the experiences of the heroes of this Italian Reformation, but only a few scholars have known of these writings.

Now an Italian pastor of Florence, Rev. Pietro Chiminelli, moved by love of evangelical religion and of his country, has sought out these documents with research marked by rare devotion, and has compiled a descriptive catalogue of 2,543 books and pamphlets, in Italian, French, German, and English, the dates ranging from 1539 to the present. This work will be a great aid to any student of Europe in the Middle Ages.

The book is entitled *Bibliografia Della Storia Della Riforma Religiosa in Italia*, and is issued by the Casa Editrice Bilychnis, Roma, Via Crescenzio 2. Price 5 lire.

The Death of Two Leaders of European Protestantism.—One of the most brilliant and effective writers on theological subjects in the English-speaking world was Principal P. T. Forsyth, of Hackney College, London, who died on November 11, 1921. His religious experience included a profound consciousness of the power of sin, and his theology made redemption from sin its central theme. He was considerably influenced by the practical emphasis of the Ritschlian theologians, but differed from them in making the Cross rather than the inner life of Jesus central. His style, with its love of rhetorical antithesis and striking phrases, was not conducive to exact thought, but the whole-souled enthusiasm of his purpose was unmistakable. Among his most influential books are *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind*, *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, and *The Principle of Authority*.

Professor Eugène Ménégoz, who died at the age of eighty-three on October 29, 1921, was associated with Professor Auguste Sabatier in the

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Faculty of Protestant Theology at Paris. His emphasis on the supreme place of faith (by which he meant a practical attitude of trust and devotion) in religion was combined with Sabatier's exposition of the symbolic character of religious knowledge to form the religious movement known as *symbolofidéisme*. To the interpretation of this vital type of Protestant liberalism Ménégoz gave his life. His important works are the volumes of *Publications diverse sur le fidéisme*.

A Notable Achievement in Editorship.—When a man serves a church for thirty years or more it it always an occasion for comment. It should be equally worthy of note when a man serves the interests of all the churches in a denomination for that length of time. Dr. Howard A. Bridgman has just retired after thirty-four years of editorial service in connection with the *Congregationalist*. It was during his term of editorship that the *Congregationalist* became officially the one journal representing the interests of that denomination. Dr. Bridgman had an extraordinary capacity for positive and constructive editorship, combined with the broadest sympathies, and made the *Congregationalist* one of the ablest religious journals in the country.

A Religious Interpretation of the Doctrine of Evolution.—Professor A. P. Mathews, in an article, "The Road of Evolution," in the *Yale Review*, January, 1922, suggests an interpretation of the doctrine of evolution which is capable of an interesting religious development. Professor Mathews points out that while struggle for existence has usually been taken as the most important aspect of the process of evolution, there is really a much more important factor, which he calls the struggle for freedom. The course of the development of a species consists not simply in a relative superiority to other species, but also in the development of an organism which will make the individual less dependent upon the environment in which he chances to be. Professor Mathews finds the significant fact in evolution to be the development of the individual. "Evolution is a splitting-off, if I may put it thus, of an organism from its environment." The organism develops more and more mastery over environment as life passes from water animals to amphibians, and thence to reptiles, and eventually to animals with circulatory systems so that water supply may be carried about in the organism. Eventually comes the development of intelligence, which gives to man his peculiar power to triumph over the natural conditions of environment. The conclusion is that the evident goal of evolution is the development of free intelligent personalities such as we see in man. Professor Mathews intimates that the religious valuation of

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human personality and the hope of immortality are entirely in accord with this reading of the doctrine of evolution. This interpretation, coming from a technical scientist, is full of significance.

Concerning Modernism in China.—The *Chinese Recorder* for December makes a very significant statement that bears on an unsigned letter which appeared in the *Evangelical Christian* for September. Here the statement is made that "the presence of Modernists destroys the faith of school children and students and gnaws the root which alone can produce a native ministry and church." "The assumption is," says the *Recorder*, "that the influence of the Modernists is weakening the school as a religious and Christian force." In reply to such an arraignment the *Recorder* states that, "a recent direct study of a large number of these schools shows, first, that in the middle schools about one-third of the pupils are church members with a large group of professing Christians not yet members. Among students in colleges, in grades above the middle school, two-thirds are in the church. Moreover, whereas the average increase to the Christian church outside of the Christian School in China is about 4 to 5 per cent, in the Christian schools it is about three times that much." Thus it appears that the Christian school is a stronger factor in the Christian propaganda than other phases of work. In any event, this influx of "Modernists," if it exists at all, has not had all the deleterious effects on Christian schools that is sometimes assumed.

The Modern Pharisee.—He is not the hard-hearted and self-conceited hypocrite of the New Testament type, but according to Mr. Blau, in the January number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, he is the spiritual driving force who alone can save the present-day Judaism from bankruptcy. The distinction between the modern Sadducee and Pharisee is seen in their different approach to the solution of the Semitic problem. The Sadducee feels that the problem is social, philanthropic, economic, and political. To the Pharisee the problem is chiefly spiritual. A new education, a new understanding, and a new vision are his means. The condition of Judaism today, according to Mr. Blau, is a lifeless formalism that no one takes very seriously; here and there a pathetic bit of folklore in connection with death or marriage customs and a little ostentatious charity. It is as if the spirit had long fled the husk. "The Jew is in imminent danger of becoming a Sabbathless, religionless devotee of business and pleasure—a being without a sense of God, with no ear for the vast tender suggestions of Eternity, no understanding of the spiritual meaning of human life." The Reform movement, which Mr. Blau designates as "made in Germany," has not relieved the situation

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any. It has made no essential contribution to religious thought. "It has failed to initiate a religion by showing the modern Jew how to rise above the merely negative phases of criticism to the heights of a glowing religious affirmation." The cure for all Jewish ills, according to Mr. Blau, is found in geography. The gradual repatriation of the Jew in Palestine, where he may avoid foreign contacts, is considered the solution for the Jewish problem.

Whatever value may be attached to the repatriation of the Jew in Palestine it will never prove a panacea for modern Jewish ills. A glance at the Old Testament is sufficient to disprove such an allusion. When the Jews did occupy Palestine foreign contacts were unavoidable. How much more would that be true today. Moreover, the very same arraignment that Mr. Blau makes against modern tendencies was made by the prophets when the Jews were still in Palestine. The crying need is not geographic isolation but prophetic inspiration.

The Gate Called Beautiful.—We are familiar today with the Christian propagandists who attempt to lead the world through the gate of Truth. Even more frequently the attempt is made to bring men to the gate which is called Righteousness. "But," says Henry Sloan Coffin in the January number of the *International Review of Missions*, "rarely do we think to lead them to the gate which is called Beautiful." To the ancients, beauty was a gate which led directly to communion with the Deity. To this day, even in ruins, the Greeks' symmetrical, white marble temples, charmingly located, evidence the prominence of beauty in worship. "We who trace the lineage of our faith through Israel, have not been wont to use this gate into the temple." "But we cannot forget that the supreme Interpreter of the Most High was a lover of beauty." He bade us consider the lilies of the field and himself was an artist in speech, whose stories and sayings live not only because of their inherent truth but by reason of their essential loveliness. "We must not forget the holding power of beauty. When the gate Truth appears closed and the gate Righteousness loses its appeal, they may be forsaken; but the gate Beautiful keeps near it even those who claim no intention of entering by it into the temple." "Many men who have lost faith in the truth of the Bible, continue to read its pages for their sheer fascination." The Bible may not be considered a gate to anything, but let it be esteemed as beautiful. Few who feel its spell can resist passing through its doors into the temple of faith and consecration.

The Question of Responsibility.—In the great attempt to establish an enduring world-peace, there is one particular obstacle that has not

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yet been removed. In an article, "The Question of Responsibility," that appeared in the January number of the *Hibbert Journal*, we are reminded by H. C. Shawcross that "the dogma of Germany's sole responsibility is emphasized to camouflage the sinister aims and ambitions which some of the Allied Powers are pursuing." It is displayed to strengthen the public in its resolve to make Germany pay and to exclude from the consciousness of the Allied peoples any suspicion of the possibility that other powers may share the guilt of Germany. The authors of the Versailles Treaty prefaced their conditions with the same assumption. "A change of heart must come," says Mr. Shawcross, "and with it a spirit of friendliness and toleration in the intercourse of the nations, strong enough to move us to acknowledge our mutual errors. In 1914 all the big powers were watching each other in distrust and fear. France had passed its three years' conscription bill; Russia was intent on Pan-Slavonic supremacy and was looking to Constantinople; England, secure in her naval strength, was waiting. This was the mine that existed in 1914. It is true that Germany first fired the mine, but Germany was not alone in the race of armaments that produced the mine. If under such conditions we continue to place the whole responsibility of the war on Germany, she is thrown back upon herself to nurse a sullen resentment at the senseless verdict. From such feelings of resentment it is but a short step to the desire for revenge.

Even now the world is troubled by the same ambitions and passions which led to the catastrophe of 1914. To avert this storm from bursting out again, we must believe in the good will of other peoples and earnestly desire their co-operation in the work of promoting well-being for all.

Hypocrisy and Dogmatism.—The habit of affirming that we believe what we do not believe is a pathological symptom which is called hypocrisy by Benjamin Ginzburg in the January number of the *International Journal of Ethics*. In the past the traditional school of ethics spent much time in denouncing the hypocrite. The attacks should rather have been directed to a society in which a man often cannot help being a hypocrite. A careful study of the social sciences reveals that hypocrisy often results when a mode of thought or standard of life is not in vogue, or else is no longer in accord with the precise needs of living men "For the trained sociologist, the appearance of hypocrisy is in itself a sufficient warning of the need of a readjustment." It is a readjustment to avoid contradiction. That such a process is now going on is witnessed by the laborious attempts that have been made in England and in America to reconcile the Old Testament version of creation with the

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scientific theory of evolution. Such a revision is indeed encouraging since it is an indication of the moral evolution of society. It is an indication of an attempt to remove this phase of contradiction and attain a higher level of unity.

Present-Day Occultism.—What are the phenomena involved in such modern cults as telepathy, dowsery, spiritualism, palmistry and faith-healing or psychotherapism? In an article on occultism in the January number of the *Hibbert Journal*, Edward Clodd explains these phenomena in the light of scientific research. Regarding telepathy he says, "That one mind can communicate with another mind, no matter what distance in space divides them" is a conclusion often arrived at when "one startling incident, one dream fulfilled, suffices as the swallow to make the summer." Coincidences are very likely to impress a sensitive imagination and beguile those who are prone to take the line of least resistance. Francis Bacon's shrewd comment on the inferences drawn from "Dreams and Predictions of Astrologie" hits the bull's-eye. "In prophecies," he says, "first that men marke when they hit and never marke when they miss." "The myriad number of dreams unfulfilled count as nothing against one dream that comes true." And the same indictment is equally effective against the other branches of modern occultism. By a mass of gratuitous assumptions, the propagators of these superstitions retard the approach to the discovery of truth. Hume's axiom is quite applicable in this field: "As finite added to finite never approaches a hair's-breadth nearer to infinite, so a thing incredible in itself acquires not the smallest accession of probability by the accumulation of testimony."

Are Theological Seminaries Disintegrating?—In 1918 the official report of the United States Bureau of Education showed an attendance of 9,354 students at reporting theological institutions. In 1916 the attendance was 12,051. Thus the year 1918 had witnessed a decrease of 2,697 students in theology. Without further analysis, such statistics would indicate a very serious setback for the Christian church. However, a sounder analysis of this situation has been offered by Professor C. H. Moehlman in the November number of the *Rochester Seminary Bulletin*. It reveals the significant fact that, although there was a decrease of 2,697 students, due largely to the demand for "Y" men and chaplains in the world-war, the attendance of college-degree students in seminaries was almost doubled from 1905 to 1918 and the increase in theological graduates during that period was 572. This constant rise in the level of the educated ministry is one of the most hopeful facts in the general theo-

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logical situation. This is particularly true of the Protestant theological schools. In 1916 the percentage of college-degree men in Roman Catholic theological schools was 24 while Protestantism had a percentage of 40. This favorable Protestant balance has been constantly maintained. Moreover, the decline in the total number of theological students for 1918 was not singular for the seminaries. There was a decline throughout all the professional schools and colleges as well. In the case of law the decline exceeded that of theology by 34 per cent and when we notice a retardation of 13 per cent in case of even college graduates, the wonder is that theology did not suffer at a far greater rate.

However, in one respect the Roman Catholic church has a tremendous advantage. "Given a religious community of 1,500, Roman Catholicism would erect one church, while Protestantism would be represented by at least one Congregationalist, one Northern Baptist, one Methodist, and one Presbyterian." "If the era of competition and waste for Protestants were to terminate, there would be more than sufficient Protestant ministers to care for all the Protestant churches."

The League of Nations and the Health of the World.—"It is a war that never ends, but unlike other conflicts it turns science from the destruction to the healing of the nations." In *Current Opinion* (February, 1922) George E. Vincent, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, tells of the great work which the League of Nations is doing in helping science battle with disease. Through the League of Nations we are approximating a world-organization and campaign against disease. The Health Committee of the League of Nations is standardizing internationally the products which are used for protection against the more deadly diseases. Through this same organization vital statistics are now being assembled internationally. Scientific knowledge is being effectively and promptly diffused where it is most needed. "One of the aims of the League of Nations' Health Committee is to centralize all current information and to distribute this to the chief health offices of the fifty-one nations which are its members." This great campaign against disease in every quarter of the world more than justifies the existence of the League. As it continues ministering to the body of mankind it may also have a larger opportunity for ministering to the soul of the world.

Christianizing Penal Methods.—Revenge and retribution in the treatment of criminals are being replaced by saner methods based upon justice and good will. Charles L. Chute, Secretary of the National Probation Association, writing for the *Survey* (January 21, 1922) tells

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of the success of probation as a method of treatment for offenders. In 1921 in New York State 19,637 persons were released on probation; 79.6 per cent completed their probation terms without committing other offenses and were honorably discharged; 8.2 per cent were arrested for violating probation or committing other offenses and were imprisoned. Only 6.1 per cent escaped supervision. Pointing out that long prison terms do not reform criminals the writer says, "For the protection of society and the solution of the crime problem we must strengthen every available method for reforming the offender in and out of the institution. Most important of all, we must begin with the young, giving the greatest attention to the early and first offender, and we must discriminate between the entirely different types of delinquents appearing in our courts." The writer concludes this encouraging discussion with a plea for popular support of the reformatory methods now being tried and proving a success. "Public criticism should be directed away from the indiscriminate attack on probation, parole, and other approved methods of treatment for the offender. The need today is to strengthen these systems to the end that individual justice may be done and society bettered."

Signs of the Times in Moslem Lands.—A very illuminating and readable description of present conditions in Turkey and an interpretation of the present outlook is presented in the *Missionary Review of the World* (January, 1922). The writer of this description has lived in Turkey forty years and gives us first-hand information on the status of Mohammedanism in Turkey.

Today the very pillars of Islam are neglected by the average Moslem. The annual pilgrimage to Mecca used to be one of the first duties of every true believer. But because of the political situation no Turk has gone to Mecca since 1914. Consequently he feels his world shrunken and disgraced; for it was at Mecca that the Turk met his brethren from other lands and felt the tremendous strength of Islam as a world-power. The annual fast of Ramazan, once strictly observed by all good Moslems, is today very generally ignored. The duty of praying five times daily toward Mecca used to be strictly observed by all Turks. But today this is a rule more honored in breaking than in keeping. Such disregard for the very pillars of Moslem faith indicates that here, as in Christian lands, the exigencies of the new world are making significant changes in religious sentiment.

How Prohibition Is Working.—What is claimed to be an acute observer's survey and forecast with reference to the working of prohibi-

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tion in the United States is given in the *Independent* for January 14, 1922. The writer, Chester T. Crowell, who has been in nearly all of our states during the past twelve months, gives us these observations on the liquor situation as it exists today:

1. This country still has local option because there are large parts of its most populous states where the people do not desire prohibition and sentiment is not adequate to make its enforcement possible.

2. Taking the country as a whole the progress made toward actual enforcement of prohibition is certainly as great as a sanely optimistic person could have expected.

3. Intoxicants can be obtained in every state in the Union—and in the larger cities with comparative ease.

4. It is still too early to predict whether the general tendency is dry or wet.

5. Efforts to launch campaigns for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment have received very little support.

Preaching the Gospel by Wireless.—An interesting experiment conducted by Paulist Fathers is described in the *Catholic World* for January, 1922. During a mission in Old St. Patrick's Church in Pittsburgh a wireless telephone was installed in the pulpit of the church. After preaching to their unseen audiences the speakers invited the listeners to send in their questions by telegraph or mail, promising to answer the questions on the following evening. The second day after the use of the wireless, inquiries began to come in from very distant points. People in cities four hundred miles away wrote in for information and literature bearing upon the doctrines of the church. The sermons were heard in twenty different states and it was estimated that the listeners every night numbered a million.

Receiving instruments for wireless messages can be installed almost anywhere at but a few dollars cost. This makes the possibilities for the use of wireless very great. If the church begins to use wireless there is no danger that printers' ink will eliminate the spoken word, and preaching become a lost art.

Emperor-Worship in Japan.—In an interesting article, "The Shifting 'Thoughts' of Japan," in the *Missionary Review of the World*, December 1921, Robert E. Speer, who has just been in Japan, tells of the political-religious movement in the Islands. Buddhism has now very little influence among the educated and intelligent classes. But there are some powerful forces that are trying to change it into a pure Emperor-worship cult. A new Meiji shrine has just been erected at Tokyo.

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Toward this magnificent shrine the devotion and worship of the people, more especially the youth, are being directed with the highest skill and authority.

What about the Church in Soviet Russia?—Though the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic says, "with a view to insuring real freedom of conscience for the laborers, the church is separated from the state, and the school from the church, and the freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is the recognized right of all citizens," yet the Russian Communist party and the state authorities still invite the people in the name of prosperity and happiness to forsake and to persecute their ministers. Anti-religious propaganda exists on a most extensive scale. But the significant fact is that the people, the masses of them, cannot renounce the religion of their fathers. It is too precious to them. Persecution here, as always, means a revival of interest in religion. The outcome of this struggle between a new state policy based on materialism and the old religious devotion will be watched with interest. (*American Review of Reviews*, November, 1921.)

A Unique Missionary Magazine.—*Outward Bound* is an illustrated monthly edited by Basil Mathews, similar to any other popular magazine in appearance. Its style is pictorial throughout and its contents cover the whole living and moving world of non-Christian peoples. It is the ambition of the editor to make the monthly such that it will appeal to the man in the street who fights shy of the conventional missionary magazines. It will challenge men to think of religion on as broad a plane as matters of business and politics. This new monthly is for sale at every railway book-stall in England.

Should American Denominations Exist in Europe?—This question is raised in an article, "The World of To-Day," in *Christian Work*, December 10, 1921. In these days of physical suffering and spiritual starvation in every land, the American churches are eager to do what they can in helping others. But the great danger there is that they will incidentally strive to spread their own denominational interests. When years ago the first missionaries went to China, Japan, or India, they started their own churches, as was natural, since no churches existed in those lands. But Europe has her own Protestant churches. Why should the Americans today start their own denominational churches there instead of co-operating to the best of their ability with the native Protestant churches? A few sentences from M. Jezequel, the general secretary of the National Union of the Reformed Church in France, will illustrate the attitude of European Protestants toward this question:

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They say that one of the (American) important religious bodies intends to undertake evangelization in France. It is said to have already begun its program. This is well enough, but on one condition, which is that the body in question does not venture to conduct this movement itself. If it gets in touch with all those who, among us, are qualified to conduct evangelistic work, if it associates itself with them, giving them co-operation and its resources, but accepting their counsel and direction, then we can predict magnificent results. But if our American friends want to direct themselves, to chose their agents without consultation, to impose upon us their men, their methods, and their program, then in all brotherliness we must warn them of disaster, and stand aloof from a venture which can only end miserably.

Religious Doubts of Chinese Students.—In the *Methodist Review*, November, 1921, Paul Hutchinson tells of "The Awakening Student Mind of China." This is his conclusion from a special study he made last summer of the mission-school students. The latter, like the government-school students, have been very much interested in social, economic, and religious problems. But the mission-school students are having real difficulties with the problems of Christianity. There is very little Western influence in this matter. The students are just thinking for themselves along the line of religious interest. They are skeptical toward the miraculous elements in the Bible. They question whether hell and heaven exist. They ask why God lets Satan tempt people when he commands them not to tempt each other. They have learned the doctrine of Trinity; but are now asking why it says in the Bible that the Son does not know what the Father intends, since God and Son are one. However, the students are open-minded. If Christian teachers will approach them "in a fair manner, showing that they know and respect the results of modern science, and yet advocating a Christianity that is compelling in its ethical power and has deep social implications, they will find an army of eager recruits."

A New Era of Two Old Religious Journals.—The *Reformed Church Review* began with its January issue a new series. The journal was founded in 1848, and has had a continuous existence since that time, except for a gap of five years at the period of the Civil War. Originally called the *Mercersburg Review*, it undertook to promote the vital, Christocentric type of theological thinking which characterized the Mercersburg School. It has since become more broadly the organ of the religious thinking of the Reformed church. It has always been marked by a fine spirit of loyalty to truth as well as to the Gospel of Christ, and has been a real influence for sanity and sweetness of temper in theological discussion. The new managing editors, Professor Theodore F. Herman and Presi-

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dent George W. Richards, have a noble inheritance and an enviable opportunity.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* has an even longer history. It was founded in 1843, and was for years the leading theological journal in this country, being edited with unusual vigor by the noted Andover theologian, Dr. Edwards A. Park. At Dr. Park's death in 1883, it was transferred to Oberlin, Ohio, where Professor G. Frederick Wright was editor. It has recently been more and more devoted to the defense of conservative views. With the death of Professor Wright the journal passes to the faculty of Xenia Theological Seminary, with Professor Melvin G. Kyle as editor-in-chief. It thus continues to be a scholarly exponent of conservative theology.

An Inquiry by Chinese Students Concerning American Religion.—About a year ago a group of Chinese students in two or three American universities carefully planned a questionnaire with the purpose of gaining what information they could in this way concerning the status of belief in God in this country. They sent out to practically one thousand people the following three questions: (1) What is your idea of God? (2) Do you believe in God? (3) Why? They received 580 letters in reply, over 100 of these being volunteer statements made by those who had heard of the questionnaire. The committee of students attempted to organize and classify the answers to the questions. In reply to the first, the ideas of Creator, Supreme Being, Personality, Spirit, and Force are the dominant ideas. In reply to the second question it was found that there were 399 persons who professed belief in God, 15 who were agnostic or neutral, and 30 who definitely disbelieved in God. The answers to the third question are so variable that any classification proved to be almost impossible. The answers vary all the way from a mere conventional repetition of what had been taught to a reasoned explanation of the person's belief.

Among the various classes of people it is interesting to note that there are 42 believers in God and 1 agnostic among criminals, while of natural scientists there are 61 believers, 8 unbelievers, and 8 agnostics. In fact, it is only among natural scientists and philosophers that any significant number of unbelievers appears.

It is to be feared that the students who made this inquiry will perhaps be as much bewildered after reading the replies as they were before. In the nature of the case the answer to a questionnaire depends very largely on the amount of thought which the person interrogated has given to the subject. If, for example, the ordinary clergyman were to

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be asked three questions as follows: (1) What is your idea of theory of gravitation? (2) Do you believe in the theory of gravitation? (3) Why? it will readily be seen that the answers would furnish information concerning the limitations of a clergyman's knowledge of science, rather than any suggestions of value concerning the theory of gravitation. Analogously, it is hardly to be expected that men busy in other lines of work who have not devoted any specific attention to theology should be able to throw much light on theological problems by their remarks. On the whole, the questionnaire seems to indicate that the majority of people believe just about what they have been taught in the conventional society in which they are. A very few have done some critical thinking on the subject.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A NEW DICTIONARY OF RELIGION AND ETHICS

A new reference book for students of religion has recently appeared.[1] It was prepared for the average pastor and thoughtful layman and not for the specialist in any field. A large number of the articles are brief definitions or explanations of significant terms in theology, church history, and comparative religions. It is at the same time, however, an encyclopedia, covering a wide and interesting field in a series of valuable articles. Here, for example, is the field of comparative religions, of primitive religions and the various faiths and cults, past and present. Articles like that on "Bahaism" by Sprengling, "Mystery Religions" by Case, "Faith Healing" by Kantor, and "Millenarianism" by Cross, suggest the attention to recent problems that are of wider interest. Only a thorough mastery of the materials enables a writer to bring so much into so brief compass and to set forth what is given in such clear and readable fashion as here.

In the philosophy and psychology of religion typical articles are those by Lyman on "Philosophy of Religion," by Pratt on "Psychology of Religion," "by Mathews on "Religion," and Watson on "Religious Experience." Here as elsewhere the promise of articles written "objectively, without speculation or propaganda," is carried out. Articles on Democracy, Liberty, Social Gospel, Social Service of the Church, Labor Movement, Family, Divorce, and Amusements suggest the interest in ethics and especially social ethics. Specific treatment from the Christian standpoint of such pressing ethical problems as those of property, the nature and authority of the state, and the principles governing international relations might be added here to advantage.

With the growing attention to matters of doctrine, no part of this dictionary will be of more interest than the articles dealing with these subjects. Those by Gerald Birney Smith, the chief contributor in this department, deserve special mention. In orderly arrangement and clear statement they are admirably adapted to the general reader. Their compact form makes possible the inclusion of all important materials. Their tone is objective and the statement of the various

[1] *A Dictionary of Religion and Ethics.* Edited by Shailer Mathews and Gerald Birney Smith. New York: Macmillan Co., 1921. vii+513 pages. $8.00.

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positions is eminently fair. The articles on God, Christology, Supernatural, Miracles, and Salvation are instances in point. The contributions of Mathews, Beckwith, Cross, and others are of the same kind (note especially Mathews' comprehensive article on Christianity). The dictionary offers valuable help to the man who wishes to know what sound modern scholarship is saying and to have at the same time a fair statement of the traditional views.

Would not the average reader appreciate a fuller statement of these matters and readily spare a large number of the smaller articles to which a few lines of formal definition or description are devoted? Take, for example, Asura, Aśvins, Atar, Atargatis, Atavism, Atharvaveda, Atman, Autocephali, Avarice, Avignon, Athos, Atrophy, Austerities. Some of these are of interest only to the specialist, and the meaning of others could be taken from easily available books of reference.

A hasty survey reveals a few of those errors which elude even the careful. The Methodist Episcopal, not the Episcopal church, established its missions in Japan in 1873. "Apocrypha" appears as "Apochrypha" not once but throughout the article on that subject.

A final question concerns the article on Christian Science which has been furnished by the Christian Science Board of Directors. Presumably the editors followed here the principle suggested in their prospectus, to have articles written "as far as possible by those most in sympathy with their subject." In so doing, however, have they not violated their other and primary principle, to have articles that are "written historically, objectively, without speculation or propaganda"? Do the principles of Christian Science permit a scientific and historical discussion by its adherents? The special student will be interested in reading this article, but will it give the average reader the reliable account which he has the right to expect in such a work, and the answer to important questions? For example, what is the position of Christian Science as to the personality of God? Does unreal mean what is not or what ought not to be? What about the origin of the movement, and Mrs. Eddy's relation to Quimby and other influences? We are not helped here by the repetition of orthodox historical misstatements or of Mrs. Eddy's ambiguous phrases. It is to be regretted that the editors in regard to this article followed the precedent of the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. It should be added that the bibliography in the Appendix gives some corrective by reference to other works, as Hastings does not.

This bibliography deserves a special word of appreciation. Here are given, under the heads of the principal subjects discussed, brief lists of

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the most important references. No question is more often raised than that of the best books on a given subject. These lists have been carefully prepared. They are not so long as to confuse, and they should be of great aid to the student.

In the fields of theology, ethics, comparative religions, psychology and philosophy of religion, missions and church history, this dictionary gives authoritative information in compact and yet readable form. It will be of interest to the special student, and of large value to the pastor and the increasing number of laymen who are inquiring as to these subjects.

HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL

GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

A NOTABLE ROMAN CATHOLIC VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT[1]

Everyone must heartily welcome a new English version of the Bible under Roman Catholic auspices. Surely no one can use the antiquated and defective Douay version, even in such revisions as Challoner's or Kenrick's, with satisfaction. The Protestant world may join with all Catholics in the gratification which this admirable work must bring. We may expect to see the other three New Testament volumes shortly, and the Old Testament will follow as soon as may be. The names of the general editors are a guaranty of adequate scholarship, and it is good to be assured that the enterprise has "the approval of the English hierarchy and the co-operation of many distinguished Scripture Scholars in England, Ireland and America." Without this, indeed, the work could not have seen the light, but the plain statement of it is pleasant.

The present volume sets a high standard for its successors. The contributors include, besides the general editors, Fr. Rickaby, Fr. Keogh, and Archbishop Goodier, all English Jesuits. The work is first and foremost a translation. There are brief introductions to the several epistles, and four brief appendixes on special points, in addition to footnotes on each page. But these serve primarily to clarify or justify the translation. They reveal competent scholarship of the modern type, scholarship positive, constructive, reverent. It is, of course, scholarship within bounds. Thus we read that the primitive church in Thessalonica "was one in faith and government, bound to the other

[1] *The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures.* General Editors: The Rev. Cuthbert Lattey, S.J., and the Rev. Joseph Keating, S.J. The New Testament, Vol. III: St. Paul's Epistles to the Churches. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1921. lxiii+258 pages. $2.50.

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similar Christian churches by a bond of common submission to St. Paul and the other apostles, among whom it is clear from the New Testament as a whole that St. Peter ranked as chief. There is a local governing body, probably a college of priests, but St. Paul and his immediate followers and delegates—in all of whom it is natural to suppose episcopal powers—are over the local clergy." On the other hand, Fr. Lattey writes plainly of the Vulgate reading in I Cor. 15:51, "It is little more than a bold paraphrase, and has no serious claim to be regarded as the genuine reading. . . . . But it is well known, and has always been recognized, that the Vulgate contains wrong readings. . . . . The Vulgate was adopted as the official version, not because it had no mistaken readings, but because it had never been convicted of heresy." And indeed, this mistaken Vulgate reading "is capable of orthodox explanation," which is duly given, but with the comment, "It is true that this interpretation of the reading does not suit the context; still, any other interpretation would be equally out of harmony with St. Paul's doctrine here and elsewhere, and with New Testament teaching generally, and the creeds." It is in such language that we feel the difference between Catholic exegesis and that of practically any Protestant group.

As for the translation itself, it is most admirably done, striking a very happy medium between the familiar seventeenth-century "biblical" style and that of the modern vernacular. It is primarily, of course, a translation of the Vulgate, but the Greek text is constantly consulted, and the various English versions have been taken account of throughout. Moffatt, for example, is followed in placing Rom. 2:16 before 2:14. Occasionally a Rheims phrasing is left unrevised, where revision would have helped the modern reader, as in the benediction of II Corinthians, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the *charity* of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all." But on the whole the rendering is admirable; terse, vigorous, clear, dignified, a worthy vehicle of its great content. Let two passages, taken at random, illustrate it:

> I am become foolish! It is ye who have compelled me! I should have been commended by you! For in naught have I fallen short of the most eminent apostles, even though I am naught! Indeed, the signs of the apostolate were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders and mighty works. In what, pray, were ye put to a disadvantage compared to the rest of the churches—unless it were that I myself was no burden to you? Pardon me this injustice!
>
> Now if what I do is contrary to my wish, I am admitting that the Law is excellent. In fact, it is no longer I that act, but sin dwelling within me.

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For I know that there dwelleth not in me, that is, in my flesh, what is good; to wish is within my reach, but to accomplish what is excellent, no. I do not the good that I wish; but the evil that I do not wish, that I perform. Now if I do what I wish not, it is no longer I that act, but sin dwelling within me. I find, then, this law when I wish to do what is excellent, namely, that what is evil lieth to my hand. . . . . So then, one and the same self, with my mind I serve the law of God, but with my flesh the law of sin.

There seems an inadvertence in the introduction to the Corinthian epistles. The "sorrowful visit," which on pages xxxi and xxxiii is said to be occasioned by a crisis which arose after I Corinthians was written, a crisis out of which arose also the "sorrowful letter," is dismissed on page xxviii as follows: "Most probably this visit was paid long before the writing of I Corinthians, and was dealt with in the previous epistle [the letter referred to in I Cor. 5:9], so that it did not call for mention in the one before us" (I Cor.). A very slight slip is "*Epistles* to Philemon" on page lxi.

CLAYTON R. BOWEN
MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

BARON VON HÜGEL: THEOLOGIAN AND PHILOSOPHER

Whoever would enter into the richest and most original religious and philosophical thought of the present day must take large account of the writings of Baron von Hügel. His volume *The Mystical Element in Religion* has for some time been recognized as the most profound modern study of mysticism, and his article on the Fourth Gospel in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is an example of his ripe and judicious scholarship.

The present volume[1] deepens the impression of the insight, breadth, and discrimination of his mind. Here is a Catholic indeed (incidentally a Roman Catholic) in whom is no guile. He is also a modernist of the modernists. One wonders that a church that dealt as it did with Father Tyrrell should tolerate this untrammeled modernist even though he is a layman. The volume deals chiefly with three issues: the nature of religion, the essence of Christianity, and the need and value of the church.

It would be difficult to find a more penetrative analysis of the modern mind and its attitude toward religion than is here made under the caption: "Concerning Religion in General and Theism." It is an incomparable discussion of the place of religion among human interests—a place conceived as supreme, but one which cannot be fully realized except as science, art, philosophy has each its own acknowledged place

[1] *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion.* By Baron Friedrich von Hügel, LL.D., D.D. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1921. 298 pages. $6.00.

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also. There is full recognition, too, of the truth, as well as the error, in other religions. "We religious men will have to develop, as part of our religion, a sense, not simply of the error and evil, but also of the truth and the good, in any and every man's religion" (p. 63). There is nothing extraordinary, perhaps, in such a statement as that, but the manner in which it is reached makes it far from commonplace.

Baron von Hügel's understanding of the genius of Christianity is both intimate and illuminating. The fusion of philosopher and scholar in him is peculiarly complete and carries with it an unusual sense of trustworthiness. His brief survey of the stages in the progress of the religion of Israel and of Christianity (pp. 72–88) is as striking as it is condensed. His attempt to correlate the evolutionary and expansive and the apocalyptic elements in the teaching of Jesus—making the latter to begin abruptly at Caesarea Phillipi and continue to the cross—may not be capable of verification, but it is suggestive of the right (because the inclusive) solution of this vexing problem.

The emphasis placed by him upon the essential *duality* of the Christian view of the universe is just, but medievalism sadly distorted the Christian conception of it. He reads a far more discerning interpretation of the real nature of this duality than it possessed back into the scholastic distinction between *nature* and the *supernatural*. That division ran along artificial and misleading lines, and its abrogation was the only way into true understanding of the interplay of the natural and the spiritual, whose full meaning and significance is now coming into view.

Could anything be finer in scholarly fraternalism than the mutual admiration and friendship of the Romanist scholar von Hügel and the Protestant scholar Troeltsch? The glowing but not uncritical analysis and appreciation of Troeltsch's work which von Hügel has given us in this volume is prophetic of the new day of unprejudiced recognition across hitherto obscuring boundaries of separation. Now and again one gains a glimpse in his writings of a church of the future which will be a Catholic church indeed, taking up into itself all that is worthy both in Rome and in Protestantism. But the vision fades into the light of a very common day as one perceives how strangely complete, after all, is the bondage of this otherwise unfettered spirit to the church whose virtues he so nobly embodies but to whose woeful limitations he appears blind. It is only as the Church of the Future transcends the limitations both of Romanism and of Protestantism that it can restore the seamless dress.

JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

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MODERN PROPHETIC PREACHING[1]

The problem of classification of men and functions grows increasingly difficult. How shall Charles D. Williams be fitted into the conventional office of bishop of Michigan; how shall William Ralph Inge be jammed into the prescribed limits of dean of St. Paul's? Such reflections come to one fresh from the reading of *The Prophetic Ministry for Today* and *Outspoken Essays*.

Bishop Williams treats his subject in eight chapters, four of which may roughly be regarded as dealing with "functions" and four with the personal qualities involved in their discharge. After a composite view of the "Modern Minister," he considers the prophetic succession, inheritance, message, and program. Then follow three chapters in which the composite conception is studied under the detailed heads of critic, reformer, priest, and prophet.

The outstanding impression that abides is the superb common sense of Bishop Williams, coupled with his downright honesty and humanity. He is a churchman throughout; but he is always spilling over the bounds of his established churchmanship. We would not have him be anything else; but we are glad that he is something more than a bishop. Hear him on "apostolic succession":

> Over-stressed, magically interpreted, it becomes an absurdity of superstition, the alleged conveyor of manual or digital grace. Underestimated, it becomes the matter of superficial and often senseless jibes and jests. Duly estimated and rationally interpreted, as a principle applied habitually everywhere else in human affairs, it has its large values, I believe, as an assurance of the regularity of the authoritative commission of the ministry and the continuity of the historic church.
>
> But there is another succession, vastly more important. It is the only assurance of the reality of the mission of God in our ministry. It is the one secret and source of all spiritual vitality, power and efficiency in that ministry. And that is the "prophetic succession" [p. 26].

The hot point of contact between these two ideas is not touched, however. If the prophetic succession does not inevitably depend upon the apostolic; if the apostolic does not guarantee the prophetic; then there is something more to be said before one's mind is quite at rest.

Bishop Williams handles the content of the prophetic message with a firm hand. Note this paragraph:

> The prophetic message then is always and everywhere a social message. It deals with society rather than with the individual. Religion is construed

[1] *The Prophetic Ministry for Today*. By Charles D. Williams. New York: Macmillan Co., 1921. 183 pages.

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as essentially a community concern, first of the family, then of the tribe, then of the nation, and finally of the nations. The sin it condemns and the righteousness it commends are social sin and social righteousness. Its final and supreme vision and goal are the Kingdom of God in this present world wherein the will of God shall be done on earth as it is in heaven [p. 50].

This is a conception in sharp contrast with the individualistic and apocalyptic program that is abroad today in the form of fundamentalism and pre-millenarianism. It interprets the function and the message of the prophet truly instead of making him the clairvoyant and wizard, promulgating a blueprint of the future.

We spoke of the human quality in these lectures. The passage is too long for quotation, but as an example of the way in which a man can see himself accurately and appreciate the humor of the vision, we commend the description that Bishop Williams gives of himself as a single-taxer. We have come nearer being made a disciple of Henry George by this alluring section (pp. 124 ff.) than by all the forensics in defense of the cause to which we ever have listened.

We were not so happy after reading pages 148 ff., in which Bishop Williams tells how he uses the words of the creed, especially in respect to the "resurrection of the body," with what he calls "liberty of interpretation." Why not find new words that will truly represent the thought of the modern man in religion as well as in science? Bishop Williams knows that his ancient brother believed in the resurrection of "this flesh" as well as in the continuity of personality; when he uses the ancient brother's language with only half the historic content, is it quite honest and fully fair? It surely is for Bishop Williams, and we honor his frankness; but there are many young men who will not be satisfied with the position, and something more must be said on the point. Does not this same train lead to Rome? Why get off at Canterbury? or Detroit?

By the way, there is a slip on page 148, where "imminent" is printed for "immanent." Also the book should have been provided with an index.

OZORA S. DAVIS

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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BOOKS RECEIVED

[The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length.]

PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION

MACKIE, ALEXANDER. *The Gift of Tongues.* New York: Doran, 1921. 275 pages. $2.00.

A study in certain pathological aspects of Christianity covering the whole range of Christian history from the apostolic age to the present. The argument is that the "gift of tongues" is considered a mark of spirituality simply because of its unusual character, that it is the expression of a diseased mind, and that it is almost always associated with anti-moral conduct.

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

FERNÁNDEZ, ANDRÉS. *Epoca de la Actividad de Esdras.* Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1921. (Biblica 2.) 424–47 pages.

A study of the Ezra-Nehemiah problem by a Jesuit who maintains Ezra's priority in Jerusalem.

JASTROW, MORRIS. *The Song of Songs.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1921. 246 pages. $3.00.

A companion volume to the author's volumes on Job and Ecclesiastes. It contains an extensive introduction and interpretation and a new translation. The Song is treated as a collection of love songs.

LAGRANGE, M. J. *Évangile selon Saint Luc.* Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1921. clxvii+631 pages. Fr. 50.

A critical commentary on the Third Gospel by a Roman Catholic scholar of the Order of Friars Preachers. Commentaries on Judges and Mark by the same author, as well as extensive studies in Semitic religions and Jewish messianism are already familiar to biblical students. His commentary on Luke is an expansive production characterized by conservative scholarship, encyclopedic learning, and critical acumen.

MCCLURE, HAVEN. *The Contents of the New Testament.* New York: Macmillan, 1921. i+217 pages. $1.50.

An introductory course intended to make available for high school students the results of literary and historical criticism in the New Testament field. The author's handling of literary problems is particularly successful. He is not so much interested in when or where a particular book was produced as to know why it was written. His method of treatment is popular, sketchy, and comprehensive. His materials are logically arranged and well proportioned. As a text-book this is a very usable publication.

PETERS, JOHN P. *Bible and Spade.* New York: Scribner, 1922. xii+239 pages. $1.75.

The Bross Lectures delivered at Lake Forest College last year are here published. They devote themselves almost entirely to the results of excavation as they bear upon the Old Testament, but do not constitute a comprehensive survey of the field.

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SCOTT, ERNEST FINDLAY. *The New Testament Today.* New York: Macmillan, 1921. 74 pages. $1.00.

A scholar of established reputation reports to a popular audience the present status of critical investigations in his field of research. Professor Scott details the reasons for giving place to the New Testament writings as the central documents of our religion. He shows how the New Testament came into existence to meet the immediate needs of the early Christians. In considering the New Testament as the product of its time he discusses particularly the relation of primitive Christianity to Jewish apocalypticism on the one hand and Hellenistic mysticism and morality on the other. The concluding chapter of this all too brief book concerns the message of the New Testament to the modern world.

THILO, MARTIN. *Das Hohelied.* Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, 1921. 48 pages. M. 4.

A new translation of the Song of Songs, with a brief interpretation. The author seeks to show, contrary to Paul Haupt, that the song is not of erotic character but that it is a collection of songs extolling the glories of true love between man and woman.

WAYLEN, H. Appendix to the third edition of *Mountain Pathways.* Oxford: Waylen, 1921. 129–56 pages.

This appendix is composed of corrections and additional notes to the author's *Mountain Pathways,* a popular study of the Sermon on the Mount from the standpoint of modern ethical ideals and present-day psychical research.

CONCERNING JESUS

CAMPBELL, R. J. *The Life of Christ.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1921. 421 pages. $3.00.

Written by a world-famous preacher to meet the needs of the ordinary churchgoer. Not the least valuable feature of the work is the frequent citation of carefully selected literature for further study. The author is quite frankly homiletical in his treatment of materials. In fact the book was preached almost in its entirety before it was published.

HUTTON, JOHN A. *The Proposal of Jesus.* New York: Doran, 1921. 181 pages. $1.50.

A series of seven lectures delivered at the University of Glasgow by an eminent Scotch divine. With originality of viewpoint and a style at once stimulating and discursive the author seeks to show what Jesus' message about God meant for the nationalistic Jews of his own day and the wide world of Paul's time.

SIMKHOVITCH, VLADIMIR G. *Toward the Understanding of Jesus.* New York: Macmillan, 1921. v+165 pages. $1.75.

Three historical studies by a professor of economic history. In the first he raises the problem: Why teachings so unprecedented as those of Jesus at that particular time? The answer he finds in the fierce nationalistic aspirations of the Jewish people which Jesus sought to satisfy by the gospel of the Kingdom of God—a kingdom which the individual could enter only through a spiritual rebirth. The other two essays concern the fall of the Roman Empire and village life in Europe.

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CHURCH HISTORY

MACFARLAND, CHARLES S. *The Progress of Church Federation to 1922.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1921. 266 pages. $1.00.

A former edition, revised and brought down to date, giving a brief sketch of the proceedings and activities of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, covering the formative period from 1908 to 1912, the critical years of the war, and the subsequent period of reconstruction.

MURRAY, MARGARET ALICE. *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921. 286 pages. 16 shillings.

An informing scientific survey of witch-cult in Great Britain. Chapters are devoted to God, admission ceremonies, assemblies, rites, organization, and witch transformation. Five appendixes contain considerable source material. One bears on Joan of Arc. There is an extensive bibliography and a good index.

NICOLL, W. ROBERTSON. *Princes of the Church.* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1921. viii+326 pages. $3.00.

Reprints of Dr. Nicoll's articles in the *British Weekly* called forth by the death of notable figures in the Christian world. Marked by the clear insight and charming style of this distinguished editor and observer; personal touches appear often, adding to the value of the articles. To read it is to pass through a great portrait gallery and be moved by the sense of human worth.

TURBERVILLE, A. S. *Mediaeval Heresy and the Inquisition.* New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1921. vii+264 pages. $4.00.

A scholarly work, pleasingly written for the general reader, popularizing the content of Lea's work, and embodying the supplementary information that has been gathered since Lea's time. Part I deals with heresy, and Part II with the procedure of the Inquisition.

WOLF, GUSTAV. *Quellenkunde der deutschen Reformationsgeschichte.* Gotha: Perthes, 1921. iii+296 pages. M. 24.

A continuation of Wolf's bibliographical studies in connection with the German Reformation. The writer gives salient factors in each author's career, titles of works, and an estimate of their value. This volume makes references to approximately sixty authors, of whom Mykonius, Spalatin, and Jonas are the most prominent.

DOCTRINAL

CARRINGTON, PHILIP. *Christian Apologetics of the Second Century in Their Relation to Modern Thought.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York: Macmillan, 1921. 155 pages. $3.00.

A brief but vivid account of the way in which Christianity justified itself in the second century. The last chapter—a very short one—considers the problem in relation to modern thought.

DAVIDSON, WILLIAM L. *Recent Theistic Discussion.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner, 1921. ix+240 pages. $2.25.

The twentieth series of the Croall Lectures. The lecturer was asked to sum up the contributions of the Gifford Lectures to an understanding of theism. Dr. Davidson's own exposition of theism makes him an unusually competent expositor. The survey indicates strikingly the large place which Hegelian philosophy has held in

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British thinking. Most of the Gifford Lectures are necessarily dealt with somewhat cursorily; but Driesch, Balfour, A. Campbell Frazer, and Pringle-Pattison receive extended notice.

DODD, C. HAROLD. *The Meaning of Paul for Today.* London: Swarthmore Press, Ltd., 1921. 172 pages. $2.00.

Quite incidentally Professor Dodd suggests the place of Paul in the history of early Christianity. His main purpose is to indicate in present-day terminology what he considers to be of permanent significance in the apostle's thought. This abiding element he finds in a comprehensive religious philosophy of life based on the fundamental idea of a commonwealth of God.

FENN, WILLIAM WALLACE. *Immortality and Theism.* (The Ingersoll Lecture, 1921.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921. 41 pages. $1.00.

After carefully considering the alleged direct evidence for the survival of human spirits after bodily death, and finding it inconclusive, Dr. Fenn sets forth a theist's faith. The argument is a forceful statement of the familiar demand that a world-order in which rationality, morality, and aesthetic and religious satisfaction exist is consistently defended only if the permanence of human personalities is affirmed.

GORE, CHARLES. *Belief in God.* New York: Scribner, 1921. ix+299 pages. $2.25.

The title of this book is misleading. It is largely an elaborate argument to vindicate the essential historicity of the New Testament as the authentic foundation of the Christianity of the creeds. Dr. Gore regards the critical-historical interpretation of the Old Testament as something to be adopted by every thoughtful man; but those who employ precisely the same methods of interpreting the New Testament are "destructive critics." The candid inquiring mind in the first part of the book becomes an apologetic defender of traditional views in the latter portion.

MICKLEM, NATHANIEL, and MORGAN, HERBERT. *Christ and Caesar.* New York: Macmillan; London: Swarthmore Press, 1921. 249 pages. $2.25.

A careful study of modern social and political problems, with attempt to show that while the salvation of society depends upon following the ideal of Jesus, yet progress toward the realization of this ideal is to be made by political evolution rather than by revolution.

DEVOTIONAL

BORGONGINI-DUCA, FRANCIS. *The Word of God.* New York: Macmillan, 1921. 211 pages. $2.00.

Devotional meditations on the Gospels for Sundays and certain Saints' days, widely published in their original Italian form and now translated into English. Entirely uncritical, thoroughly under the influence of Roman Catholic dogma and tradition, and, from this point of view, edifying only to Roman Catholic readers.

LEBUFFE, FRANCIS P. *The Hound of Heaven.* New York: Macmillan, 1921. 89 pages. $1.25.

The text of this famous poem, with elaborate notes and comments by a Roman Catholic scholar. The reader is aided by these to a more intelligent literary appreciation, and is especially led to make the poem a profound aid to religious devotion.

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LEFFINGWELL, CHARLES W. *A Book of Prayers.* Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1922. v+206 pages. $0.90.

A selection of prayers for various occasions, chosen with admirable taste, published in convenient form, including the "Canticle of the Sun" by St. Francis of Assisi in Matthew Arnold's translation. An excellent manual for private devotions.

EVANGELISM AND SOCIAL SERVICE

BILL, INGRAM E. *Constructive Evangelism.* Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1921. 125 pages. $1.00.

A small book, significant quite beyond its size. One of the clearest statements of the ideal and method of evangelism which unites preaching, religious education, and social service in a consistent program which will save conventional evangelism from its partial and transient effects in the community.

COLEGROVE, KENNETH. *American Citizens and Their Government.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1921. 333 pages. $1.75.

This is a handbook on the American citizens and their government which sets forth the American government in its original development and machinery for getting governmental action. Its chapters cover not only the national but state, city, county and rural government, and citizenship problems as well as tendencies in our present governmental life. The book is well written.

DAVIS, BOOTHE COLWELL. *Country Life Leadership.* Plainfield: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1921. 158 pages. $1.75.

A series of baccalaureate sermons to students preparing for service in country life by one who has spent his life in the rural church and rural movements. The author's sympathies and understanding make him a voice for the rural movement. These sermons strongly emphasize the spiritual note in rural development.

GEISTER, EDNA. *Ice-breakers and the Ice-breaker Herself.* New York: Doran, 1921. v+169 pages. $1.35.

The games and stunts described in the book, *Ice-breakers*, have for several years been successfully used to entertain miscellaneous groups. The Ice-breaker herself in the final section of this volume gives wise and pertinent advice concerning the qualities essential in a recreation leader.

KERBY, WILLIAM J. *The Social Mission of Charity.* New York: Macmillan, 1921. xi+190 pages. $2.25.

A thoughtful and sympathetic portrayal of the problem of poverty in modern society and of the task of relieving want and establishing more just conditions. The author is professor of sociology in the Catholic University at Washington. He strongly urges the employment by the Catholic church of the best scientific knowledge administered by trained experts in its work of Christian ministry to the needy.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

HUNTING, HAROLD B. *Hebrew Life and Times.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1921. 188 pages. $1.25.

A very interesting, though elementary, sketch of Hebrew history, generously illustrated with cuts of ancient Semitic and Hebrew archaeological objects and well suited to use in Sunday schools.

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HURT, HUBER WILLIAM. *Self-Help in Teaching.* New York: Macmillan, 1921. 98 pages. $1.25.

A manual which analyzes the teaching process so as to help those engaged in teaching or in any form of leadership to appreciate what is happening both with the learner and with the leader. This appreciation is made possible by analyzing the learning process on the one hand and the teaching process on the other. This is done so as to make easier the way for all struggling to help youth. The author has proved his own ability as a teacher and leader and blazes the trail for others who are eager to be similarly helpful. The book is psychologically and pedagogically scientific and will lend itself admirably for teacher-training or leadership-training classes.

MEREDITH, WILLIAM V. *Pageantry and Dramatics in Religious Education.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1921. 212 pages. $1.25.

The author of this book not only makes out a splendid case for the use of dramatics and pageantry by the church but shows that they are indeed the child of the church and the very handmaid of religion. It was the church itself that gave birth to dramatics and pageantry and then lost contact with these modes of expression through long periods of time. That they are now coming into their own in the church is only evidence that the church is recognizing its religious educational facilities. The book presents the "what" and "how" of stimulating dramatics and pageantry, with abundant illustrations. Any teacher, young people's worker or minister should study this book. The helpfulness of the book is enhanced by the bibliography given at the close of each chapter.

MONDAY CLUB. *Sermons on the International Uniform Sunday School Lessons for 1922.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1921. 332 pages. $2.00.

The Monday Club meets in Boston. Its members prepare sermons on the International Sunday-school lessons. This is the forty-seventh series. As would be the case inevitably the character of the different sermons varies greatly in method and content; sometimes expository, sometimes remote from the lesson text. It is interesting to see how preachers differ in their handling of material; but the sermons are of scant value to either a teacher or student of the lessons treated.

SLATTERY, MARGARET. *New Paths through Old Palestine.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1921. vii+126 pages. $1.80.

A very stimulating travelogue of experiences of the author while traveling the old yet ever new paths of Palestine. The book is well written and the author's unusual personality gives many sidelights and interesting relationships of the Bible and the country she is describing. Young people will like this book.

WODEHOUSE, HELEN. *Sunday Talks to Teachers.* New York: Macmillan, 1921. 112 pages. $1.25.

Ten inspirational lectures on the share teachers have with God in stimulating the Good Way in our children and youth. Many concrete and practical suggestions are given.

MISCELLANEOUS

BURKE, JANE REVERE. *The One Way.* New York: Dutton, 1922. xxi+149 pages. $1.25.

Alleged communications from Professor William James, recorded by automatic writing. The conventional piety and "New Thought" ideals here expressed convince

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the reader that the author spoke truly when she said that she had never read James's writings. The book is interesting as a psychopathic document.

ENELOW, H. G. *The Jew and the World.* New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1921. 116 pages.

A series of brief sermonic addresses aimed at justifying Jewish life and thought.

INGE, WILLIAM RALPH. *Outspoken Essays.* (Second edition.) New York: Longmans, Green, 1921. vii+281 pages. $2.25.

Frank, clear, challenging discussions of pertinent questions. They consist of articles already published in journals. Most of them date back to before the war. Some were written during the war. Two date from 1919. The subjects range from eugenics through politics and into religion. Seventeen thousand copies of the volume have been published.

INMAN, SAMUEL GUY. *Problems in Pan-Americanism.* New York: Doran, 1921. 415 pages. $2.00.

An attempt, made by a friend and student of both continents, to portray to North American readers the attitude of Latin Americans to Pan-Americanism.

MACDONALD, CAROLINE. *A Gentleman in Prison: The Story of Tokichi Ishii Written in Tokyo Prison.* New York: Doran, 1922. 164 pages. $1.75.

A "human document" of the most striking and valuable sort. It contains the simple and poignant record of his experience, done by a Japanese criminal, who gave himself up to save a comrade who had been falsely accused and wrongly condemned for a crime which he, Tokichi Ishii, had committed; and for it he was executed. Meantime he was brought into the Christian experience through the influence of Caroline MacDonald. This he also records. Tragedy, straightforward confession, the spirit of love, the flame of the Christian experience of forgiveness and new life all are here.

Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Part II, 1913–14. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921. viii+795–1481 pages. $1.50.

A painstaking collection of materials on the ethnology of the Kwakiutl arranged by Franz Boas. These native sources provide the indispensable basis for the interpretation of their social life and religion.

NOTE.—For a review of Headlam, *The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion*, see article by Professor George Cross, "The Stake of Protestantism in the Christian Union Movement," on page 129 of this issue.

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THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION

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THE KENTUCKY CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE TEACHING OF EVOLUTION

ALONZO W. FORTUNE
Lexington, Kentucky

Under the leadership of Dr. J. W. Porter, an active campaign has been carried on to secure legislation in the state of Kentucky forbidding the teaching of "Darwinism." Mr. William Jennings Bryan lent his aid to the movement. Bills were introduced into the Senate and House making the teaching of evolution illegal. The texts of these bills and an account of the arguments in favor and in opposition are given in this article. The House bill was lost by one vote. The result of the agitation has been a widespread public education on the subject of evolution.

The state of Kentucky has been passing through a period of intense religious discussion. In pulpit, press, schoolroom, social gathering, around the fireside, and on the street corner evolution has been the favorite topic. This controversy became state wide when a bill to prohibit the teaching of evolution was introduced in the Kentucky legislature, January 23, 1922. Inasmuch as the propaganda which is back of this bill is extending throughout the country, the religious and educational leaders of the nation have been much interested in the proceedings at Frankfort. The papers and magazines of the country have had articles and editorials on the Kentucky situation, treating it more or less lightly; but it is really a time to be serious, for what has been attempted here may be attempted in any state in the union.

The introduction of this bill was the culmination of an active campaign against the teaching of evolution which has been conducted with increasing vigor for four or five years.

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The colleges and public schools of Kentucky have for years been teaching the modern scientific theory of evolution, and no objection has been made. One of the colleges which is under the control of the denomination which has been the most active in this recent anti-evolution movement celebrated the birth of Darwin in 1909. About five years ago a reactionary wing in the Christian church made an attack on the members of the faculty of the College of the Bible, one of their theological institutions which is located in Lexington. Among other things these men were charged with teaching the theory of evolution as it applies to man. This opposition has continued to the present. During recent months there has been a growing sentiment against the teaching of evolution in schools supported by public funds. The Baptists have taken the lead in this opposition, but they have had the support of other communions.

The immediate occasion for the attempted legislative barrier against the teaching of evolution was the proposed enlargement of the University of Kentucky. President Frank L. McVey launched a movement during the summer to enlarge greatly the state university. It was generally understood that the theory of evolution was taught in the university, and one of the professors has engaged in newspaper controversy on the subject with Dr. J. W. Porter, who was until recently the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Lexington. Some of the professors of the university were accused of being radical in their views, and their statements and the effect of these on the faith of the students had been greatly exaggerated. This proposed enlargement of the University of Kentucky intensified the activities of those who were opposed to the teaching of evolution.

Plans were being formulated for several months for the campaign which was to drive evolution from the state. During the autumn the "Fundamentalists" held conferences in several of the important centers of the state, and much was said in

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these meetings about the dangers of evolution. The campaign for legislative enactment against the teaching of evolution was inaugurated by Dr. J. W. Porter, who became the leader of the movement, in a resolution which was presented to the Baptist State Board of Missions, meeting in Louisville, December 6. This resolution charged that the "false and degrading theory of Darwinian evolution is taught in text-books" of the state university and many of the high schools throughout Kentucky. This resolution led to the appointment of a committee which was to prepare literature, launch active propaganda against the theory and to carry the matter to the state legislature for the purpose of obtaining the enactment of "laws in harmony with the resolution." This committee was charged to "look into funds going to the state university if the university does not conform to the requirements of the resolution."

Shortly after this action by the Baptist State Board of Missions, Dr. Porter preached a sermon against evolution in the First Baptist Church of Lexington. In the course of this sermon he read a letter from William Jennings Bryan, praising him for his opposition to the teaching of the Darwinian theory of evolution in the public schools. In this letter Mr. Bryan said:

> I have seen much of your activity and am gratified. You have done exactly what I think should be done and our Florida Baptists have taken the same step. I cited the action of the Baptists of your state in speaking to them here. The movement will sweep the country and we will drive Darwinism from our schools.

Mr. Bryan seemed to think that inasmuch as the evolutionists lacked courage it would be easy to rout them. He said:

> The agnostics, who are undermining the faith of our students, will be glad enough to teach anything the people want taught when the people speak with emphasis. My explanation is that a man who believes that he has brute blood in him will never be a martyr. Only those who believe they are made in the image of God will die for a truth. We have all the Elijahs on our side. Strength to your arms.

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In this sermon Dr. Porter declared that "Darwinism would be run out of Kentucky if it took every cent the Baptist people of the Commonwealth had to do it." He also stated that the Lexington City Board of Education would be petitioned to discontinue the use of the present textbook on zoölogy because it teaches the evolution theory.

The campaign was intensified by the coming of W. J. Bryan to deliver a series of addresses in central Kentucky. He had delivered his address in Louisville in September. He spoke before the House and the Senate in joint session January 19. He denounced the evolutionists with his usual vigor and called upon the lawmakers to protect our young people. His meeting in Lexington was typical of the others. Although the price of admission was fifty cents and one dollar the auditorium was crowded to hear him. Although he bitterly denounced Darwinism he did not seem to make any definite distinction between that and other theories of evolution. He warned students against the professor who teaches the Darwinian theory as "the most dangerous man that could be met." He referred to numerous incidents in various universities to show that the teaching of evolution destroys faith in God and the Bible. He read passages on evolution from some of the textbooks used in the Kentucky schools and urged that such teaching should be prohibited in schools supported by public funds. At the close of his lecture Rev. W. L. Brock, pastor of the Immanuel Baptist Church of Lexington, presented the following resolutions which were adopted by a rising vote in which a large majority of those present participated:

Whereas, Darwinian evolution, the unscientific anti-Biblical teaching that man is descended from a lower form of life, is being taught in the schools of Kentucky, supported by the taxation of her citizens, and whereas we believe this teaching to be detrimental to the faith, and therefore to the morals of the rising generation; therefore, be it resolved:

1. That, while we cherish the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and while we accord

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to all men the right to found and maintain schools to teach the tenets of their faith, we vigorously deny the right of any set of men, whether orthodox, atheists, or infidels, to teach their own peculiar views of the Bible at state expense;

2. While conceding that state schools, on the ground of our constitutional separation between church and state, are excused from the positive teaching of the Bible, we yet maintain with deepest earnestness that this constitutional provision prohibits their teaching views antagonistic to the Bible—that separation prohibits alike the union of church and state and the union of state and atheism or infidelity;

3. In view of the above, we respectfully request presidents, faculties and trustees of state schools, municipal boards of education and trustees of public schools to co-operate in the elimination of Darwinism and similar evolution theories, teaching that man is descended from a brute or some lower form of life, from their teaching and textbooks;

4. We earnestly appeal to the General Assembly of Kentucky for legislation prohibiting the teaching in state schools of evolution, destructive criticism and every form of atheism and infidelity whatsoever.

These preliminary steps were followed by the campaign in the legislature. This was inaugurated by the introduction in the House of a bill against the teaching of evolution. This bill reads as follows:

KENTUCKY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1922

House Bill 191—Introduced January 23

By Representative George W. Ellis, Barren County

An act to prohibit the teaching in public schools and other public institutions of learning, Darwinism, atheism, agnosticism or evolution as it pertains to the origin of man.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:

SECTION 1. That it shall be unlawful for a teacher, principal, superintendent, president or anyone else who is connected in any way with the public schools, high schools, training schools, normal schools, colleges, universities or any other institutions of learning in this Commonwealth, where public money of this Commonwealth is used in whole or in part for the purpose of maintaining, educating or training the children or young men or young women of this Commonwealth; for such teacher, principal, superintendent, president or other person connected directly

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or indirectly with such schools or institutions of learning to teach or knowingly permit the same to be taught; Darwinism, atheism, agnosticism, or the theory of evolution in so far as it pertains to the origin of man; and anyone so offending shall on conviction be fined not less than fifty nor more than five thousand dollars or confined in the county jail not less than ten days nor more than twelve months, or both fined and imprisoned in the discretion of the jury.

SEC. 2. If any school, college, university, normal school, training school or any other institution of learning which has been chartered by the Commonwealth of Kentucky and which is sustained in whole or in part by the public funds of said Commonwealth shall knowingly or willingly teach or permit to be taught Darwinism, atheism, agnosticism, or the theory of evolution in so far as it pertains to the origin of man it shall forfeit its charter and on conviction shall be fined in any sum not to exceed five thousand dollars. In all proceedings of forfeiture or revocation of charter, the holder thereof shall be given thirty days notice in which to prepare for a hearing to be attended by its representative or counsel.

The Commonwealth or the accused may take such oral or written proof for or against the accused as it may deem it the best to present these facts.

This act is to be in full force and effect from and after its passage and approval as provided by law.

This was followed two days later by the introduction of a similar bill in the Senate by Senator James R. Rash, of Madisonville. This bill is as follows:

An act prohibiting the teaching of evolution in any school, college or institution of learning maintained in whole or in part in this State by funds raised by taxation and providing penalties therefor.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:

1. It shall be unlawful in any school or college or institution of learning maintained in whole or in part, in this State, by funds raised by taxation, for anyone to teach any theory of evolution that derives man from the brute or any other form of life, or that eliminates God as the creator of man by a direct creative act. No textbook containing any such teaching shall be adopted for use in any such school or college or institution of learning maintained in whole or in part by funds raised by taxation in this state. Any person violating any of the provisions

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of this section shall be fined not less than fifty dollars nor more than one thousand dollars.

2. Any person acting as a teacher or instructor in any school or other institution of learning maintained in whole or in part by funds derived from taxation who shall teach or give instruction in any of the theories prohibited by Section 1 of this Act shall forfeit his position and place as such teacher or instructor and shall be entitled to no salary, either past or future.

Any two persons having information that instruction in any of the theories prohibited by Section 1 of this Act is being given or has been given in any school or institution of learning maintained in whole or in part by funds derived from taxation may make complaint thereof. Said complaint shall be in writing and signed by the parties making the charge and shall be delivered to the board or other persons authorized by law to employ such teacher. Within five days after the filing of such complaint said board shall call said teacher before them and shall investigate said complaint, and if the same is found to be true, said teacher shall be discharged.

The introduction of these two bills was the signal for a state-wide campaign. Most of the ministers in the state either preached against evolution, or attempted to show that it was possible for one to be an evolutionist and still be a Christian. The dailies and the county papers had articles and editorials for and against in almost every issue. Evolution was discussed by all classes wherever they met together. It was marvelous to see how proficient in scientific knowledge the average citizen of Kentucky suddenly became. The anti-evolutionists carried advertisements in the papers to further their propaganda. In these advertisements an attempt was made to discredit evolution by quoting authorities against it.

The arguments that were made against evolution can be summed up under four heads. It is antagonistic to the Bible, and the teaching of it undermines faith in Christianity. It lowers man to the brute, and takes away his divine birthright. It eliminates God from creation. It justifies force as a social program.

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The opponents of legislation on the subject of evolution insisted that education should be untrammeled. They urged that instead of belief in evolution destroying faith in God, it gives him a larger place. The annual council of the Episcopalian Diocese of Kentucky, which met in Louisville shortly after the introduction of the bills, unanimously passed the following resolutions:

Whereas a bill was introduced Monday, January 23, in the Kentucky Legislature against the teachings of Darwinism, atheism, agnosticism, or evolution as pertains to the origin of man in schools maintained wholly or in part by State funds;

Be it resolved by this council, representing the Episcopal Church in the diocese of Kentucky, assembled at Christ Church Cathedral in Louisville, Kentucky, this 26th day of January, 1922, that we most urgently protest against the passage of such a bill for the following reasons:

First—The theory popularly known as Darwinism, or natural selection of evolution, is not synonymous with atheism or agnosticism, as the title of this bill seems to indicate. Some of the most scholarly, devout and eminent Christian thinkers have been and are today avowed evolutionists, notably the late Henry Drummond, Alfred Russell Wallace, the co-discoverer with Darwin, and many others.

Second—While opposing with all the earnestness possible the teaching of atheism or agnosticism, yet we deprecate the attempt of a popular legislative body to decide questions concerning the curricula of our schools and colleges and our textbooks, for which task they were not selected; nor have they the time, technique or training to fit them to be judges. These questions pertain to and must be left to the decision of those chosen and fitted for this purpose, namely, our educators themselves.

The test was first made in the Senate. Senate Bill 136, which had been introduced by Senator Rash, was argued before the Committee on Kentucky Statutes February 9. The senate chamber was crowded and the hour was one of intense feeling. Any legislation on the subject under consideration was opposed by President McVey of the University of Kentucky and Dr. E. L. Powell, pastor of the First Christian Church of Louisville. Some legislation on the subject was urged by President E. Y. Mullins of the Baptist Theological Seminary, of Louisville and Dr. J. W. Porter, of Lexington.

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The following amended bill, which was agreed on at a meeting of Baptist ministers, was introduced at the instance of Dr. Mullins:

An Act prohibiting the teaching of anything that will weaken or undermine the religious faith of the pupils in any school or college or institution of learning maintained in whole or in part in this State by funds raised by taxation and providing penalties therefor.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:

Whereas a fundamental principle of the separation of church and state is organic in our American laws, and

Whereas the separation does not imply an antagonism between church and state, but rather mutual respect and relations of friendship and co-operation, and

Whereas the religious rights of our people are guaranteed to them by law, and

Whereas it is glaring violation of the principle of religious liberty when teachers in our schools, supported by our taxes, attack or seek to undermine or destroy the religious beliefs of students.

1. Now in order to safeguard the religious rights of our people and to establish more securely the principle of separation of church and state, no teacher in any department of any university, normal school, or public school in the State of Kentucky, supported in whole or in part by funds raised by taxation, who shall directly or indirectly attack or assail or seek to undermine or weaken or destroy the religious beliefs and convictions of pupils of said university, normal school, or public school shall be employed as a member of the faculty of said university, normal school, or public school by the authorities entrusted with such duties.

2. Should such teacher, by oversight on the part of the board or misrepresentation by said teacher or teachers, be employed by the governing boards of any of said institutions entrusted with such duties, said governing boards shall duly consider any and every complaint made in writing by two persons against any teacher or teachers violating the above provisions, and if said charges are established as true, said teacher or teachers shall be immediately dismissed from the faculty of said institution.

President McVey argued that the legislation proposed "leads to a lack of personal liberty provided for under the rights of the constitution." He said, "If you can pass such an act as the one before you for consideration you would be

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justifiable in passing one which provides for a certain religious belief." He declared that if the proposed legislation were enacted it would be impossible to secure textbooks for the schools of Kentucky. He maintained that such legislation would force our young people to go to church schools or to the universities of other states to complete their education.

Dr. Powell argued that the proposed legislation is un-American and contrary to the fundamental principles of Protestantism. He insisted that it is unconstitutional because it interferes with the freedom of conscience.

Dr. Mullins took the position that there should be no legislation that interferes with science, but he insisted that certain conditions exist which make some legislation necessary. He said: "I do not believe that the church shall have the power to say what shall and shall not be taught in the school, and, on the other hand, I do not believe that the state shall have the power to teach something that is a direct attack on the Christian religion." He urged the passage of the first amendment. Dr. Porter insisted on the passage of a bill that prohibits the teaching of any theory of evolution that derives man from a lower form of life.

The committee reported out the amendment suggested by Dr. Mullins which was discussed in the Senate February 15. The Senate seemed to be about equally divided with perhaps a slight majority in favor of the bill. After much filibustering the bill was finally referred to the Rules Committee by a vote of 19 to 17. This action virtually killed the bill as far as the Senate was concerned.

People generally seemed to think that there would be no further action during the present session, and they seemed to be satisfied to call a truce in the controversy and give time a chance to throw some light on the whole situation. The question, however, was reopened when the House voted to call the Ellis bill out of the Rules Committee. Practically the entire day, March 5, was given up to a discussion of the bill

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with virtually the same arguments that were made before the Senate. Although this was the most objectionable of all the bills it was defeated by just one vote, the vote being 42 to 41. Thus the evolution controversy in this session of the General Assembly has ended with a slight victory for a free educational system.

It would perhaps be appropriate for the writer to make some personal observations on the whole situation. In the first place, the controversy greatly stimulated investigation, thought, and discussion of all subjects which have any bearing on evolution. There has been so much demand for the works of Darwin, works on biology, and on geology that it has been almost impossible to secure any of these in the public libraries. In the second place, the term evolution has lost much of its objectionable connotation as the public has become better informed. It is not so much of a scare-term as it was a few months ago. In the third place, the evolutionists and the anti-evolutionists are much closer together than they were three months ago. Many who were opposed to all evolution at the beginning of the controversy now grant it for all forms of life except man. Others who at first opposed any theory of evolution as it applies to the origin of man are now careful to state that they are only opposed to Darwinian evolution. On the other hand, the evolutionists have been careful to state that they do not hold or teach the Darwinian theory, that is, the theory of natural selection. In the fourth place, the teaching of evolution is quite probably removed from the realm of civil legislation. It does not seem probable that the question will ever come before the General Assembly again. In the fifth place, this controversy has helped to remove the teaching of evolution from the realm of ecclesiastical legislation. It will not be as difficult for a preacher, or a teacher in a theological seminary, to express himself sympathetically on the subject of evolution as it was before. The controversy has helped to turn on the light and good has come out of it.

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL STATUS OF RELIGION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

CARL ZOLLMANN
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The principle of separation of church and state in America makes impossible the direct teaching of religion in public schools. By implication anti-religious propaganda is also excluded. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 declares that religion is to be encouraged.

The common law back of the Constitution recognizes Christianity as a part of the law of the land. This has been expressly stated in a Pennsylvania court decision. Legislation prohibiting teaching contrary to Christianity is thus probably constitutional. The difficulty of such legislation will lie in the definition of terms and the administration of the law.

It is a truism that the public schools of this country are non-sectarian in their very nature and hence cannot impart religious instruction. This situation is the natural result of our American doctrine concerning the relation of church and state. Any attempt by a public school to teach religion must necessarily bring it into conflict with the religious convictions of some citizens. The result is a public system of education confined to secular subjects.

It is clear that such a system is essentially defective. One of the elements of a well-balanced education is lacking. The religious and moral qualities of the pupils are of necessity neglected. The result of this lack of balance, the consequences of this sharpening of the wits without a corresponding deepening of the religious and moral conceptions, can be studied at first hand in any penitentiary or reform school. Great dissatisfaction accordingly is manifested throughout the country. A new form of religious day school which aims to co-operate rather than compete with the public schools is therefore in the process of being created. Through this means it is hoped to restore religious education to public-school pupils.[1]

[1] See an article by the author of this paper entitled, "The Legal Basis," in *Religious Education*, February, 1922, p. 34.

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It is quite essential to this new development that the secular teaching in the public schools harmonize as much as possible with the religious culture imparted by the religious schools. Otherwise one school will tear down what the other builds. An approximation to the situation in the old-style parochial school, where physiology, geography, history, and even reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught in the light of religion, is desirable.

The inherent limitations must not be left out of view. The contrariety in the religious beliefs which will be imparted in the parochial schools will make the task of completely harmonizing the secular education with such beliefs an utter impossibility. If the beliefs of every religious sect were to be regarded public schools might in some localities be required to teach that the globe on which we live is flat. All that can be done, therefore, is to keep out of the public schools the worst outcroppings of anti-religious propaganda such as the denial that there is a God or the contention that man is descended from the ape.

This in fact is what is now being attempted through bills introduced into a number of legislatures largely through the efforts of William Jennings Bryan. The proposed Kentucky law probably is typical of others. It would penalize public-school teachers, principals, superintendents, etc., who teach Darwinism, atheism, agnosticism, or the theory of evolution, in so far as it pertains to the origin of man, or who knowingly permit such subjects to be taught.

It is not, however, the first time that the subject has been before the country. When President Grant in an address to the Army of the Tennessee at Des Moines, Iowa, on September 29, 1875, challenged a movement whose aims were to gain public support for parochial schools and to introduce religious instruction into the public schools he said: "Resolve that neither the state nor nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford

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every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas.[1] His annual message of 1875 accordingly recommended an amendment to the federal constitution making it the duty of the various states to establish public schools and forbidding "the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets."[2] When the proposed amendment was finally, on August 11, 1876, voted upon by the Senate it forbade the appropriation of public property or revenue to any school "wherein the particular creed or tenets of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination shall be taught."[3] The failure of the measure to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority in the Senate closed the agitation so far as this particular phase is concerned without resulting in any tangible legislative enactment or constitutional provision.

This result was to be expected. No organized attempt to introduce anti-religious tenets into the public schools had been made. It is true that the public schools, though they were the direct lineal descendants of the parochial school founded by the early settlers in close connection if not union with the churches which they built, had been secularized by an elimination of their religious aspects. But this was as far as the development had gone. It had never been intended by this elimination to make the public schools the stamping-grounds of anti-religious propaganda. The purpose was to eliminate all discussion of religion, whether friendly or hostile. Either is a disturbing element and should be kept out. Anti-religious zealots are apt to be just as polemic and bigoted as are some religious devotees.

Not much material in the form of constitutional provisions need therefore be expected. While the number of the so-called unchurched in this country is large, the great majority of this

[1] Hecher, *Catholics and Education*, p. 180; Sevett, *American Public Schools*, p. 72.
[2] *Congressional Record*, Vol. 4, Part 1, p. 175. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 5453.

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class are unreligious rather than anti-religious and retain some preference toward, if not touch with, some church. The forces of downright agnosticism and atheism are therefore quite small. In addition they stand for a mere negative and have no such organization as is maintained by the various denominations. They therefore have not made themselves felt in public life to any very marked extent. While provisions against sectarian instruction in public schools or public support of sectarian institutions have been inserted in practically all the constitutions adopted since the days of Grant,[1] there has been no occasion to invoke constitutional restraints against the forces of unbelief. The author has examined the constitutions of all the forty-eight states but has failed to find a single provision levied against this particular form of opinion.

All that can therefore be cited are a few constitutional provisions which closely link education and religion together. While the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States was in session, Congress, in 1787 enacted the famous Northwest Ordinance, which stated that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."[2] This provision was superseded when the various states which now take up the Northwest Territory adopted their constitutions[3] but has been literally copied into the constitutions of Michigan and North Carolina[4] and has with certain changes been adopted by Ohio and Nebraska.[5] Says the Michigan Court in reference to this

[1] See the author's article, "The Legal Basis," in *Religious Education*, February, 1922, p. 34. Also a pamphlet by him, *Church and School in the American Law*, published by the Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo.

[2] Article 3.

[3] 1890 *State ex rel Weiss* v. *Edgerton School District 76*, Wis. 177, 44 N.W. 967, 7 L.R.A. 330, 20 Am. St. Rep. 41.

[4] Michigan constitution of 1908, Art. 11, Sec. 1. North Carolina constitution of 1876, Art. 9, Sec. 1.

[5] Nebraska constitution of 1875, Art. 2, Sec. 4. Ohio constitution of 1912, Art. 1, Sec. 7.

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provision: "It is not to be inferred that, in forming a constitution under the authority of this ordinance, the convention intended to prohibit in the public schools all mention of a subject which the ordinance, in effect, declared that the schools were to be established to foster."[1]

This lack of constitutional restrictions throws us back on the common law which lies back of the constitutions, though it may be evidenced by recent decisions. Two outstanding indications are at hand, one negative, the other positive. The latter deals with the maxim that Christianity is a part of the law of the land. The former involves trusts to anti-religious purposes. We shall dispose of the negative before taking up the positive aspects of the matter.

According to the early English cases any attempt to bring into controversy the truth of any Christian doctrine constituted the crime of blasphemy. Therefore any testamentary disposition of property designed to promote the discussion of the truth of these doctrines was void as being in furtherance of a crime.[2] This doctrine has now been abandoned even in England.[3] The question remains whether a gift to a positively anti-religious purpose will be sustained. On this question the authorities are not as explicit as might be desired. Indeed gifts to a voluntary association of free thinkers and anti-sectarians[4] or to the "Infidel Society" of Philadelphia[5] have been held to be too vague to be executed by the courts. It has been pointed out that it is not easy to see how love to God or man can be promoted by the dissemination of infidelity which robs men of faith and hope if not of charity also. Therefore

[1] 1898 *Pfeiffer* v. *Detroit Board of Education*, 118 Mich. 560, 77 N.W. 250, 42 L.R.A. 536.

[2] See note, "Validity of Testamentary Disposition Subversive of Religion," Ann. Cas. 1917 B 1024.

[3] 1915 In re Bowman 113, L.T. Rep. 1095; cited 25 Yale Law J. 503.

[4] 1909 *Korsstrom* v. *Barnes*, 167, Fed. 216.

[5] 1870 *Zeisweiss* v. *James*, 63 Pa. (13 P. F. Smith), 465, 468; 3 Am. Rep. 558.

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the Pennsylvania court has concluded that "a court of equity will not enforce a trust where its object is the propagation of atheism, infidelity, immorality or hostility to the existing form of government. A man may do many things while living which the law will not do for him after he is dead. He may deny the existence of a God, and employ his fortune in the dissemination of infidel views. But should he leave his fortune in trust for such purposes, the law will strike down the trust as *contra bonos mores*."[1] Similarly, atheists are by the constitutions, statutes, and decisions of a considerable number of states disqualified from acting as witnesses in the courts or from holding public office. It is one of the purposes of our common schools to help qualify citizens for these important duties. A prohibition levied against the teaching of atheism in the public schools is adapted to prevent in a measure such disqualification and therefore is within the competency of the legislature.

The maxim that Christianity is a part of the law of the land originated in England when church and state were closely linked together. It came with the Pilgrims to America. Though in the course of our history church and state have parted company, though Thomas Jefferson has branded the maxim as a "judicial forgery" which "engulfed Bible, testament and all into the common law,"[2] it remains today as the abstract expression of a very concrete series of facts. The fact that church and state are separated has not done away with the other fact that the Christian religion is and ever has been the religion of the people. "This fact is everywhere prominent in all our civil and political history, and has been, from the first, recognized and acted upon by the people, as

[1] 1880 *Manners* v. *Philadelphia Library Co.*, 93 Pa. 165, 172; 39 Am. Rep. 741.

[2] Letter of June 5, 1824, Jefferson's Posthumous Works, Vol. IV. Cited and discussed 1837 *State* v. *Chandler*, 2 Del. 558. For a criticism of this dictum see 9 Am. Jur. 346.

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well as by constitutional conventions, by legislatures and by courts of justice."[1] Says the Pennsylvania court:

> The declaration that Christianity is part of the law of the land, is a summary description of an existing and very obvious condition of our institutions. We are a Christian people, in so far as we have entered into the spirit of Christian institutions, and become imbued with the sentiments and principles of Christianity; and we cannot be imbued with them, and yet prevent them from entering into and influencing, more or less, all our social institutions, customs, and relations, as well as our individual modes of thinking and acting. It is involved in our social nature, that even those among us who reject Christianity, cannot possibly get clear of its influence, or reject those sentiments, customs, and principles which it has spread among the people, so that, like the air we breathe, they have become the common stock of the whole country, and essential elements of its life.[2]

In the words of the United States Supreme Court, Christianity is a part of the law of the land in this qualified sense that it is "not to be maliciously and openly reviled and blasphemed against, to the annoyance of believers or the injury of the public."[3] Lack of space forbids us from citing other significant utterances by various courts.[4]

Christianity being a part of the law of the land the Connecticut court has declared that our school laws are based on the Christian religion.[5] It therefore is just and proper that teachers be required to conform their conduct in and out of the schoolroom to the moral precepts of this religion. They may even be expected to rise above these precepts so far as they have been laid down by the criminal law. It is but a step farther to require them if they entertain agnostic or atheistic notions to refrain from exploiting them in the classroom. Since the ordinary citizen may on pain of punishment

[1] 1861 *Lindenmueller* v. *People*, 33 Barb. 548, 561 (N.Y.).

[2] 1855 *Mohney* v. *Cook*, 26 Pa. 342, 347, 67 Am. Dec. 419.

[3] 1844 *Vidal* v. *Girard*, 43 U.S. (2 How.) 127, 198, 11 L. Ed. 20.

[4] See an article by the author of this article in 17 *Mich. Law Review*, 368–377. See also the author's *American Civil Church Law*, pp. 12–15.

[5] 1854 *First Congregational Society* v. *Atwater*, 23 Conn., 34, 42.

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be forbidden from expressing blasphemous sentiments,[1] the teacher who is in the employ of the state may certainly be required to abstain from poisoning the minds of his charges with atheistic or agnostic conceptions.

That the administration of the law will involve grave difficulties is clear. The words used by it will have to be defined. The state of public opinion in the particular locality will influence this definition. Where religious sentiment is strong courts will incline to give a broad definition. Where it is weak the contrary course is probable. The religious leaning of the judge or judges in question will also be important. Where a jury tries the case the prevailing religious opinion of the neighborhood is apt to be decisive.

This difficulty, however, is not peculiar to this situation. It exists in connection with very many statutes. Thus blasphemy laws are on the statute books of many of the states. The term blasphemy is certainly as hard to define as is agnosticism or atheism. Yet the difficulty of defining this term has not prevented the courts from enforcing the statute.[2] Neither will it prevent the statute under consideration from being enforced. Terms which cannot be defined definitely in the abstract will be left for demarkation to the judicial process of inclusion and exclusion. Where the intention of the legislature is reasonably clear and not in contravention of the Constitution the courts will be obliged to enforce it and to meet as best they can the difficulties which are inevitably presented when such laws are applied to concrete situations.

A distinction, of course, exists between agnosticism and atheism on the one side and Darwinism and evolution on the other. The former are inherently, the latter only incidentally, anti-religious. It is even possible to teach Darwinism and

[1] See the cases cited in the next note.

[2] *Specht* v. *Commonwealth*, 8 Pa. 312; *People* v. *Ruggles*, 8 Johns 290 (N.Y.); *State* v. *Chandler*, 2 Harrings 553 (Del.); *Undegraph* v. *Commonwealth*, 11 S. and R. 394 (Pa.); *Mochus* v. *State*, 113 Atl. 39 (Me.). For a short discussion of these cases see the author's *American Civil Church Law*, pp. 15 and 16.

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evolution so as not to conflict with religious and even Christian principles. This, however, is entirely a matter of the personal equation of the particular teacher. If he is an infidel he cannot but teach these subjects in such a manner that they will conflict with the teachings of the various denominations into which the American people are divided. An absolute prohibition therefore would seem to be the only effective remedy. Has the legislature the necessary power? There appears to be no constitutional inhibition. There are no constitutional provisions protecting the teaching of these subjects. The question what subjects are to be taught in the public schools therefore is a matter of absolute legislative discretion. Such discretion extends even beyond the public schools. A prohibition of the teaching of one or all foreign languages in parochial schools to pupils under a certain grade has been adopted in recent years in many states and has been upheld by the Iowa, Ohio, and Nebraska courts.[1] If the legislature has power to limit or forbid the teaching in *private* schools of such legitimate subjects of study as foreign languages it certainly can prohibit the teaching of Darwinism and evolution in the *public* schools. Arguments against such a prohibition should therefore be addressed to the legislatures, not to the courts.

[1] 1920 *State* v. *Bartels* —— Iowa 181 N.W. 508; 1921 *Pohl* v. *State* —— Ohio —— 132 N.E. 20; 1919 *Nebraska District* v. *McKelvie* 104 Neb. 93 175 N.W. 531; 1922 *Meyer* v. *State* —— Neb. —— 186 N.W. ——.

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CAN CHRISTIANITY WELCOME FREEDOM OF TEACHING?

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH
University of Chicago

The campaign against the teaching of evolution is a phase of a movement to identify Christianity with a dogmatic system which is being undermined by modern critical scholarship. In order to preserve religious faith, it is proposed to outlaw certain doctrines.

The leaders in the campaign fail to understand or appreciate the moral and religious value of the scientific spirit. Their program would defraud future generations of knowledge which can be attained only by free scientific research. It would be disastrous to religion itself to stand sponsor for any such repression of freedom of teaching.

The method pursued substitutes political campaigning for a dispassionate quest for the truth, and introduces malignant factors into the discussion of religion. A type of religion which distrusts candid critical inquiry betrays a suspicious weakness. A virile religion welcomes and interprets the best knowledge.

Recent attempts to outlaw the teaching of evolution have aroused widespread public attention. It is remembered that forty or fifty years ago religious sentiment had been strongly opposed to Darwinism. But it had been taken for granted by most intelligent persons that the religious world had gradually adjusted itself to the situation. It seemed that the history of theological discussion concerning the Copernican astronomy was being repeated in the case of the doctrine of evolution. Eventually religious people everywhere see the futility of opposing scientifically established positions. Since the doctrine of evolution is now almost universally accepted by biologists and historians, it was supposed that the theological battle was virtually over.

Moreover, there are in existence plenty of books which make a positive use of the conception of evolution in the service of religious belief. Henry Drummond nearly forty years ago showed that an effective evangelical appeal might be made in terms of concepts taken from biology. The title of his later Lowell Lectures—*The Ascent of Man*—suggested

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a friendly connection between his Christian interpretation and the idea associated with the name of Darwin. Lyman Abbott's *The Theology of an Evolutionist*, published nearly a quarter of a century ago, was a frank attempt to deal with religious ideals in the light of the generally accepted scientific doctrine. When Christian leaders have for a generation been employing the idea of evolution surely there is nothing fatally irreligious about it!

For teachers of biology, then, when they were quietly pursuing their scientific work, to discover suddenly that they were being listed as destroyers of faith was dismaying. In fact, the ordinary university man found it difficult to take the campaign seriously. He felt toward it somewhat as he would toward a proposal to revive the persecution of witches. He could not imagine a state of mind so foreign to his own. To be told, point blank, that a teacher of science must take his cue as to what he shall teach from a theological decision rather than from scientific research seemed incredible.

Yet the incredible is actually occurring. At a time when scientists had come to feel that the older religious opposition had well-nigh disappeared, when religious leaders were incorporating evolutionary conceptions in the exposition of Christian ideals, a bill to prohibit the teaching of evolution is introduced into the legislature of the state of Kentucky, and fails of passing the house by only one vote. Moreover, the Kentucky campaign is only one instance of a nation-wide movement.

The opposition to the teaching of the doctrine of evolution has for some time been organized and vigorously pushed by the group of conservatives known popularly as "fundamentalists." In the report of a committee on schools and colleges, at the World Conference on the Fundamentals of the Faith in Philadelphia held from May 27 to June 1, 1919, the concluding paragraph reads as follows:

> And finally *resolved*, That in our colleges, especially, the teaching that man has descended or ascended from brute beast is not only unsup-

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ported by any unquestioned facts and therefore totally unscientific, but is a distinct denial of the Bible account of the creation of man, the beginning of sin, the plan of salvation, and the extension and triumph of the Christian religion in the world.

The doctrine of evolution appears in this report as only one of several doctrines which are declared to be subversive of Christian faith. All others are distinctively church matters, such as the inspiration of the Bible, the historicity of miracles, and the redemptive work of Christ. The fundamentalists have for several years been vigorously carrying on a campaign to rid schools under church control of all "infidel, atheistic education." The doctrine of evolution has been one of the doctrines under condemnation.

In recent months Mr. William Jennings Bryan has been advocating legislation which shall apply to public schools. The only alleged anti-religious doctrine in the fundamentalist's list which would find a place in these schools is the evolutionary hypothesis.[1] Hence this has been singled out for especial attention. At the same time the history of the movement shows that the campaign against evolution is only part of the larger program proposed by the committee on schools and colleges at the Philadelphia conference.

According to this view the employment of "higher criticism" in the study of the Bible, the denial or modification of certain doctrines hitherto prominent in evangelistic preaching, and the teaching of the doctrine of evolution are all condemned for one and the same reason. Those who hold and teach these positions are ruining the religious faith of the younger generation. Says Mr. Bryan:

> Those who teach Darwinism are undermining the faith of Christians; they are raising questions about the Bible as an authoritative source of truth; they are teaching materialistic views that rob the life of the young of spiritual values. . . . . A teacher might just as well write over the door of his room, "Leave Christianity behind you, all ye who enter

[1] In the Kentucky bill Darwinism was coupled with atheism and agnosticism.

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here," as to ask his students to accept an hypothesis directly and irreconcilably antagonistic to the Bible.[1]

The deliberate destruction of the religious faith of a generation of students is certainly not a matter to be passed over lightly. If there actually exists any such situation as is depicted by those engaged in the present campaign against higher criticism and evolution, it demands the serious attention of all high-minded citizens. In the absence of more definite knowledge on the subject, the lurid portrayal of the inroads made by "infidelity" and "atheism" into the religious beliefs of students is sure to cause widespread public concern. If public opinion can be sufficiently aroused, legislation will be introduced to put a check to the alleged irreligious influences in our schools. The fact that when the matter was brought to a vote in the Kentucky House of Representatives, restrictive legislation failed by only one vote shows what may happen if people generally shall come to believe that the contentions of the fundamentalists are justified.

Moreover, such an attempt as that just made in Kentucky is probably entirely constitutional. The article in this issue of the *Journal of Religion* by Mr. Zollmann indicates clearly that the influence of the Christian religion is distinctly encouraged and sanctioned in constitutional and legal pronouncements. Mr. Bryan makes a telling point when he insists that after Christian people have consented to the elimination of all positive religious instruction from the public schools it is intolerable that this situation should be used to permit a definitely anti-religious propaganda in the schools. Says he:

The Bible has in many places been excluded from the schools on the ground that religion should not be taught by those paid by public taxa-

[1] Citations taken from an article by Mr. Bryan in the *New York Times*, February 26, 1922. Compare the report of the committee on schools and colleges at the Philadelphia Conference, in which it is stated that, "Unfortunately most schools of this class profess to be Christian, but they teach doctrines concerning the Word of God, the person and work of Christ, and the origin of the human race which are contrary to the teachings of the Bible and destructive of Christian faith and morals."

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tion. If this doctrine is sound, what right have the enemies of religion to teach irreligion in the public schools? If the Bible cannot be taught, why should Christian taxpayers permit the teaching of guesses that make the Bible a lie?[1]

To one who has been accustomed to scientific methods of reaching conclusions, the presuppositions and implications of this attack on evolution are at first sight ridiculous. There is a strong temptation to laugh the whole procedure down. There are plenty of sincere Christian teachers deeply concerned for the religious welfare of the students under their charge, who are employing critical methods of studying the Bible, and who are sympathetically in touch with the developments of science. For such men suddenly to find themselves called "infidels" and "enemies of religion" is bewildering. It seems so absurd that the first impulse is to regard it as a huge joke. Moreover, the naïveté of the fundamentalists when they touch the content of science would be amusing if it were not accompanied by so evident a moral passion. But to treat this reactionary movement with ridicule will certainly not help matters. The advocates of placing restrictions on freedom of teaching in the interests of religion are in deadly earnest. They feel themselves to be the representatives of a holy cause. Any ridicule of their contentions is regarded by them as simply one more evidence of a ribald spirit of irreligion which must be extirpated.

It must be frankly recognized that a profound concern for the religious welfare of students is an honorable attitude. Such a concern will rightly command the approval of the vast majority of people. If it should be made to appear that the teachers in our schools are less concerned over this matter than are the fundamentalists, popular sentiment would be likely to support the fundamentalists whenever the matter is brought to an issue. As against a widespread emotional demand for "loyalty," mere pleas for "freedom of speech" have

[1] Article in the *New York Times*.

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little weight. We have the experience of the war too recently in mind to cherish any illusions on that point. If it shall come to be generally believed that freedom of teaching in the colleges breaks down the morale of the students, public sentiment will ardently back up movements for a religious control of teaching. The teachers in our schools should not forget that they are actually being called to account by this movement. For the present, popular sentiment is in favor of permitting them to prove by the outcome that the existing freedom is good in its results. But eventually the challenge must be met. Doubtless the campaign will be immediately effective in creating a greater sensitiveness on the subject. Already, I am informed, heads of schools seeking teachers of science are generally making definite inquiries concerning the religious character and attitude of candidates. This awakening of a sense of responsibility will be welcomed by all who have the cause of the spiritual life at heart.

But when all this is recognized, the fact remains that the method proposed by the fundamentalists and advocated by Mr. Bryan is so disastrous to spiritual interests that it must be resisted by all who have the real welfare of humanity at heart. It proposes to substitute for the method of free research the method of prescribing by law what shall be taught in educational institutions. Such a proposal would mean that future generations would be defrauded of the discoveries which may be made if men are free to search for the truth. Said Froude:

> If medicine had been regulated three hundred years ago by Act of Parliament; if there had been Thirty-Nine Articles of Physic, and every licensed practitioner had been compelled, under pains and penalties, to compound his drugs by the prescriptions of Henry the Eighth's physician, Dr. Butts, it is easy to conjecture in what state of health the people of this country would at present be found.[1]

Equally, if biologists be compelled by law, under pains and penalties, to teach only what is demanded by the group repre-

[1] Quoted in *Painted Windows*, by A Gentleman with a Duster, p. 198.

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sented by Mr. Bryan, it is easy to conjecture the ultimate outcome so far as real knowledge is concerned. In view of the fact that the intelligent understanding of the problems of medicine today is so closely related to biological research, and the further fact that such research involves the recognition of an intimate interrelationship between the vital processes in man and those in animals, it is not saying too much to declare that such a bill as that happily defeated in Kentucky is virtually a conspiracy to defraud future generations of the biological knowledge which should be rightly theirs. Its proponents belong in the same class as those who formerly opposed vaccination and the use of anaesthetics on religious grounds.

It is here that we come upon the most appalling aspect of the campaign. The complete failure to recognize the priceless value of the scientific spirit is disheartening. Mr. Bryan's clever identification of a scientific hypothesis with a "guess" is a case in point.[1] By calling the evolutionary hypothesis concerning the origin of species a "guess," he finds it possible to ridicule the proposal that teachers should be permitted to teach irresponsible guesses when these controvert the Bible. By this gross misrepresentation he discloses a superficial flippancy which bodes ill for the spiritual honesty of the cause which he represents.

It ought to be understood by every man of intelligence today that a scientific "hypothesis" is a carefully formulated provisional statement to be used in furthering more exact research. Whenever facts are discovered which were not taken account of in the first hypothesis, the hypothesis itself is revised so as to include the new discoveries. In this way a scientific hypothesis is a method of coming closer to the truth.

[1] "The word hypothesis is a synonym used by scientists for the word guess; it is more dignified in sound and more imposing to the sight, but it has the same meaning as the old-fashioned, everyday word guess. If Darwin had described his doctrine as a guess, it would not have lived a year"—*In His Image*, p. 92.

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It is at the farthest remove from an irresponsible "guess." A hypothesis is the best theory which accounts for all the facts so far as these are known. Any hypothesis is modified whenever the evidence requires it. It is called a "hypothesis" expressly to avoid dogmatically closing any investigation before all the facts are carefully considered.

The misunderstanding of the nature of a scientific hypothesis robs some contentions of any real significance. One of the most frequently used arguments is to the effect that Darwinism has already been abandoned by modern scientists. This is no news to biologists. Darwinism is simply one of the pioneer formulations of the evolutionary conception. In the fifty years or more of research since his day, the Darwinian hypothesis has, of course, been modified. Some of his suggested solutions have been found to be inadequate. But the many modifications of theory during these years have brought a steadily increasing unanimity as to the fruitfulness of the conception of evolution. To abandon Darwinism does not mean that the anti-evolutionists are right. One of the clearest statements of the precise status of the doctrine of evolution is given by Professor H. H. Newman, as follows:

> The nature of the proof of organic evolution, then, is this: that using the concept of organic evolution as a working hypothesis it has been possible to rationalize and render intelligible a vast array of observed phenomena, the real facts upon which evolution rests. Thus classification (taxonomy), comparative anatomy, embryology, paleontology, zoögeography and phytogeography, serology, genetics, become consistent and orderly sciences when based upon evolutionary foundations, and when viewed in any other way they are thrown into the utmost confusion. There is no other generalization known to man which is of the least value in giving these bodies of fact any sort of scientific coherence and unity. In other words, the working hypothesis works and is therefore acceptable as truth until overthrown by a more workable hypothesis. Not only does the hypothesis work, but, with the steady accumulation of further facts, the weight of the evidence is now so great that it overcomes all intelligent opposition by its sheer mass. There

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are no rival hypotheses except the outworn and completely refuted idea of special creation, now retained only by the ignorant, the dogmatic, and the prejudiced.[1]

Anyone familiar with the work of scientists at first hand knows that the scientific attitude involves a humility in the face of the facts which prevents premature dogmatism. The address of Professor William Bateson at Toronto in December, 1921, is being quoted—in spots—by the anti-evolutionists; for Professor Bateson frankly admitted that nothing is yet *scientifically known* concerning the origin of species. This seems, at first glance, like a confirmation of the statement that evolutionists are simply engaged in guessing; and it is being thus used by the fundamentalists. It rhymes well with their other citations from scientists to the effect that Darwinism is now discredited. But the concluding paragraph of Professor Bateson's address deserves attention; for it shows how far removed is his attitude of scientific honesty from the dogmatic attitude of anti-evolutionists. Said he:

> I have put to you very frankly the considerations which have made us agnostic as to the actual mode and processes of evolution. When such confessions are made the enemies of science see their chance. If we cannot declare here and now how species arose, they will obligingly offer us solutions with which obscurantism is satisfied. Let us then proclaim in precise and unmistakable language that our faith in evolution is unshaken. Every available line of argument converges on this inevitable conclusion. The obscurantist has nothing to suggest which is worth a moment's attention. The difficulties which weigh upon the professional biologist need not trouble the layman. Our doubts are not as to the reality or truth of evolution, but as to the origin of species, a technical, almost domestic problem. Any day that mystery may be solved. The discoveries of the last twenty-five years enable us for the first time to discuss these questions intelligently and on a basis of fact. That synthesis will follow on an analysis we do not and cannot doubt.[2]

In other words, the hypothesis of evolution is an indispensable instrument for scientific research; although no one

[1] *Readings in Evolution, Genetics, and Eugenics*, p. 59.

[2] *Science*, January 20, 1922, p. 61.

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is yet in a position to declare finally just what is the exact process by which new species arise. Scientists today await the detailed researches of scientists in the future in order to construct a theory which shall account for all the facts in detail.

There is in this scientific attitude something so fine in its spirit of humility and devotion that it should be welcomed by religion. To be willing to follow the leading of the facts when these have been surely identified, to trust to the co-operative labors of scientists everywhere to contribute to a constantly growing knowledge of the world in which we live, to use hypotheses in so honest a way as to provide for their constant modification in the interests of truth—all this is what we sorely need to save us from faddists and undisciplined enthusiasts. And this Mr. Bryan caricatures as an irresponsible attitude in which a "guess" is made supreme! It bodes ill for a religion if its advocates are incapable of appreciating the spiritual value of scientific honesty. This has been caustically expressed by President Hopkins of Dartmouth College in the following words:

> The minute that education becomes something besides a sincere and open-minded search for the truth it has become a pernicious and demoralizing influence rather than an aid to society and an improver of civilization. . . . . If the spirit of propaganda is to be enshrined above that of the spirit of truth, the master of lies is going to be given a considerably greater prestige in the world than he has had before even, and this will be at the expense of the cause of Him who said: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."[1]

The underlying weakness of the attempt to protect religion by prescribing what shall be taught is readily exposed. Every genuinely religious man, of course, wants the truth taught. But how shall we determine what is the truth? Manifestly, *if one is compelled beforehand to affirm only one of two different hypotheses, he can never really determine which of the two is true.*

[1] Reply to a letter sent out by the Committee on Baptist Fundamentals, *New York Times*, February 17, 1922.

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If it should chance that falsehood is embodied in the prescribed hypothesis, there would be no opportunity for a *religious* man (if religion means enforced adherence to the prescribed view) to discover the truth. The theological opponents of the Copernican theory deprived *religion* of the opportunity to prove that it prized truth-seeking more than dogmatic compulsion.

To one who has the scientific temper, such a proposal as that made in Kentucky argues a suspicious weakness. If religion is in such a bad case that it cannot hold its own in a free discussion, there must be something fatally wrong about it. The campaign against the teaching of evolution will be sure to create in the minds of scientists a feeling of suspicion and hostility toward a religion which betrays such a lack of trust in the ability of truth to vindicate itself. Thus instead of winning teachers of science to a more sympathetic attitude toward religion, it is bound to have the precise opposite result. Indeed, the animus exhibited in typical controversial utterances, the inability or the unwillingness to debate fairly, the resort to ridicule, the calling of unpleasant names—these go far to make extremely difficult the co-operation of a man of reverent scientific spirit with a type of religion which vilifies and misrepresents. And when it is proposed to incorporate this purpose into law and to enforce the law by penalties, one is appalled at the disastrous results to religion itself. If the teaching of religion can be secured only by threats, where is its spiritual power?

Those who know and love historic Christianity must enter a protest against this movement in the name of Christianity itself. To restrict Christianity to the *ideas* contained in the Bible is to substitute for real Christianity the scribism which Jesus and Paul repudiated. That the great religious *ideals* so potently set forth in the Bible are central in Christian faith no one denies or wishes to deny. But even the most rigid literalist recognizes that there are customs and ideas in the

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Bible which were appropriate to a certain stage of development, but which would have little or no meaning today. The exact reproduction of the system of sacrifice commanded in the Old Testament would be everywhere recognized as unwise and unnecessary. Few Christian communities today would venture to put unto practice the injunction of the apostle Paul that women should keep silence in the churches. Even Mr. Bryan probably accepts the Copernican astronomy without suffering shipwreck of his faith. The plain fact is that historic Christianity has been so creatively vital that it has been able in the past to make such modifications in traditional doctrines and practices as shall be necessary in order to continue to be a vital force in the ever-enlarging knowledge of men. For any group of men to call a halt to this century-long characteristic of Christianity is to misread our religious history.

The Christian ministry has in the past been considered a learned profession. Our forefathers gloried in the fusion of faith and knowledge. The theological textbooks of former centuries were veritable compendiums of universal knowledge. The promotion of higher education, until very recently, was almost entirely due to the initiative of the Christian church. The leaders of Christian thought enjoyed the hearty respect of all intelligent men. Those who have in mind this noble history of Christianity, and who seek to continue this cordial relationship between religion and education, are sick at heart to find that would-be leaders of religious thought today are so devoid of any appreciation of this aspect of our traditional faith. Have we fallen so low that religion shall appear as an enemy of education? If Christianity is so presented as to alienate thoughtful scholars, those who so present it have betrayed the cause. When Christian faith suffused the best learning with its power it was the supreme influence in the world. Those who would welcome freedom of research and teaching in the name of Christianity are the true representa-

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tives of this noble inheritance. Those who distrust science and seek to dominate it by threats and penalties are enemies of Christianity as well as of science. They would strip off the garment of light which has attracted the love and trust of the world, and would dress religion up in a policeman's uniform, with the club of legal penalties in plain sight to intimidate.

Mr. Bryan disclaims all intention of coercing belief. He insists that those who want the doctrine of evolution taught have a perfect right to found schools where their pet doctrine may be taught. But he assumes that Christians do not want evolution taught, and that it is wronging these Christians to permit it to be taught. He entirely overlooks the fact that most Christians *want the truth-seeking spirit to prevail in education.* For Christians to demand that fixed dogma shall be taught rather than that an honest quest for the truth shall be encouraged would lead to intolerable difficulties. Among the various branches of Christianity, which one is to be singled out as right when they disagree? Is it not rather in accordance with the spirit of historical Christianity to be eager to share so completely in the best learning of its day as to be able to correct imperfect theological opinions when correction proves to be necessary in the interests of the truth? Everyone really wants to know the truth about the origin of the human species. Is there any way in which to find out the truth except by the patient research of scientific specialists? Was there any other way in which to ascertain whether the Copernican astronomy was true or false? Shall men, in the name of Christian loyalty, be permitted to initiate a policy of repression the purpose of which is to discourage that very process of scientific research by which alone the truth can be established? It should be made clear that the protest against such a policy comes not simply from scientists (who might conceivably be discounted on the hypothesis or "guess" that they are irreligious) but from those who are ardent Christians, and who believe that Chris-

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tianity in the future as it has done in the past will welcome as part and parcel of religion itself the scientific spirit of loyalty—a spirit which forbids any cheap and easy way of being satisfied with doctrines, but which would make the attaining of the truth a constant exercise of the spiritual life.

The method proposed by the fundamentalists is that of outlawing everything which raises critical questions concerning the traditional beliefs. The word "authority" has a foremost place in their conception of religious faith. Our beliefs are represented as ideas which are furnished to us by divine authority, and which we are under obligation to accept because they are thus prescribed. Anything which tends to weaken or destroy this conception of authority is denounced as being irreligious. Now the ominous fact faces us that the development of modern education has introduced a different method—that of discovering the truth by careful critical investigation. And such investigation inevitably leads to revisions of opinions previously held. This is just as true in the realm of opinions about religious matters as anywhere else. In so far as the methods of study now approved in colleges and universities are seriously used, students are sure to be led to a critical re-examination of the opinions with which they came to college. And this means substituting the method of critical inquiry for the method of "accepting" ready-made doctrines.

The fundamentalists propose to outlaw this method of education. They insist that the conception of accepting beliefs on the basis of authority shall be preserved. The gist of the argument against evolution is that it is contrary to what the Bible teaches. Consequently, in the interests of religious faith, teachers must be restrained from teaching anything contrary to the Bible.

Now it must be admitted that a person who is prepared *honestly* to submit every decision to the authority of the Bible is apparently ready for aggressive Christian service. The devo-

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tion and zeal of such persons are evident. They often exhibit an ardor which, superficially regarded, seems more religious than the more modest attitude of an inquirer. But the fatal limitation of this way of attaining a unified consciousness is that it involves a cruel attitude of dogmatism toward those who cannot honestly take that position. When an authoritarian meets a person who has inner difficulties about reaching his own conclusions, he has no proposal save the necessity of submitting to authority. An appeal to authority, however, in the last resort is an appeal to force. If a person will not voluntarily yield to authority, he must be *made* to yield. There is thus no absurdity seen in a proposal to hold over the head of any teacher of biology the legal penalty of a fine of five thousand dollars and a year's imprisonment if the result of his teaching is to impair the hold of a certain dogma of religious authority on students. The question may be fairly asked whether a religious policy whose final appeal is force deserves the name Christian at all. There are those of us who believe that the last word in Christian devotion is love rather than legal coercion. The most painful thing about the attitude of authoritarian zealots is their conspicuous lack of Christian love. They prefer the sound of trumpets and the clash of arms to the less conspicuous methods of love. They draw their analogies from the military world rather than from the ministry of Jesus.

Happily, the days are past when coercion in religion could be carried to its logical conclusion of physical torture and even death. But it is possible to outlaw certain teachings if popular sentiment demands it. Therefore the effort is being made to secure a majority who will vote to exclude from teaching positions those who do not bow to the authority proclaimed by the fundamentalists. The campaign thus inevitably takes the form of political agitation, either in the state at large, as in Kentucky, or within the various religious denominations, as is the case with the Baptists and the Disciples. But political

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agitation has its great spiritual dangers. The supreme aim is to get a majority vote. The popular orator comes to the front. The irresponsible spreading of discreditable rumors concerning the other party is encouraged, until the "campaign lie" has come to be a regular feature of our politics. Clever debate takes the place of reverent search for the truth. Partisanship rather than carefully thought-out patriotism is promoted. All these evils, so common in secular politics, are being introduced into the realm of religion by the fundamentalists. There is real danger lest thousands of men shall be led to suppose that they are experiencing a religious consecration when in fact they are only responding emotionally to the crowd-psychology used so successfully by all demagogues.

All this is involved in the attempt to secure religious uniformity by coercion. And if the attempt should succeed, it would compel numbers of conscientious disciples of Christ to endure the stigma of being classed as irreligious. Surely no one seriously desires such an outcome.

To those who know both in their own experience and by their observation of others that a devout Christian faith is entirely compatible with an acceptance of the principles of higher criticism and with a cordial attitude toward the findings of modern biologists, it seems like nothing less than a tragedy that a needless burden of anxiety should be laid on the students and teachers in our schools and colleges. There is no desire on the part of the modern teacher to "indoctrinate" a student. The aim of education is to develop the capacity to discover the truth. The only possible adverse criticism of religion would be directed against a kind of religion which resists the truth. The effort is to introduce students to a method of critical inquiry which will lead them to the formation of conclusions on the basis of a careful study of the facts.

So far as this attitude is concerned with religion, it will of course lead the student to ask critical questions concerning his religious beliefs. It will almost certainly lead to a discovery

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of the formidable difficulties in the way of holding certain conceptions of biblical authority—conceptions which are justified only by the quoting of a few proof-texts, and which cannot for a moment stand on the basis of an examination of the facts. But it leads also to large and inspiring views of religion and challenges the honest inquirer to face the question of his own personal loyalty to the ends which religion promotes.

When it is discovered that religious faith does not stand or fall with the affirmation or the rejection of certain arbitrary doctrines, a new sense of confidence comes. Then the teacher with the scientific spirit trusts the inherent power of the ideals of the Bible and the gospel of Jesus to bring their own convincing message. The student is led to incorporate these ideals in his philosophy of life because he learns to love them, not because he is commanded to "accept" them on the basis of authority. Religious consecration is brought about with the consciousness of entire freedom. The way is open for modifications of religious beliefs whenever these seem to be required by the facts. The analogy between scientific processes and the gradual development of religious beliefs is a potent means of steadying the religious life of many students today, who would be only bewildered if they were confronted point blank with the alternative of "accepting" or "rejecting" a theology which seemed to them questionable. If a student knows that he can take all the time he needs to work out his religious questions, but that while he is working them out he ought to be practicing the best kind of religious faith which he can honestly entertain, the way is open for a wholesome growth into a richer and larger knowledge.

The present ferment in religious thinking will prove to be a mighty influence in turning the attention of men to religion, if it is not transformed into an occasion for inquisition. Indeed, the campaign against evolution seems to be having an effect quite different from that intended by Mr. Bryan. Thousands of people, who would otherwise have remained apathetic, are

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being stirred up to discover what it is all about. A remarkable movement of popular education is going on. It is to be hoped that those who now enjoy complete freedom of teaching will seize the opportunity to indicate clearly that Christian faith has no need to fear critical investigation. In past centuries Christianity has had an enviable reputation as a supporter of the best learning. We cannot consent that this reputation shall be lost, as it will be lost if the reactionary movement is permitted to go unchallenged. Many of the most prolific movements in the history of the church have grown out of dissent from an authoritatively fixed theology. Freedom is always creative. When religious beliefs have to be enforced by law or compelled by assent to "authority" or made dominant by political scheming, it is a sure sign that that kind of religion has lost its spiritual power. In the interest of the vitality of Christian faith, freedom of investigation and freedom of teaching should be advocated by all who really believe that religious faith should *seek the truth* always and under all circumstances.

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THE RELIGION OF THE MANICHEES

F. CRAWFORD BURKITT
University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England

Manichaeism, now extinct, was a formidable rival to Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries, and was a religion professed in parts of Central Asia for a thousand years. Our authorities for the study of it are the newly discovered fragments of Manichee literature from Turfan, in Chinese Turkestan, and the polemical writings of Mohammedans and Christians, including the *Refutations* by S. Ephraim, lately deciphered by C. W. Mitchell.

Manichaeism is dualistic, in that the two principles of Light and Dark are regarded as self-existent and eternal, but they ought to remain separate: this world of sense originated from a disastrous mixture of the two. It is, in fact, a Smudge. The goodness of God, the Lord of the realm of Light, is shown not in improving the world but in devising means for getting rid of it altogether, for evil consists in the mixture of Light and Dark.

Neither the fantastic mythology of Mani, nor the ascetic organization of the Manichees, appears to be derived from anything east of Babylonia. Nor is it pessimistic in the sense of a belief in the ultimate triumph of evil; unregulated desire will always continue to exist, but it will be confined to its own appropriate sphere.

No champion of Manichaeism appeared at the Chicago Congress of Religions, nor has one been seen at any similar gathering, for the Manichees are extinct. It was on Sunday, March 20, 242 A.D., that Mani first proclaimed his new religion, and for about a thousand years men and women professing his doctrines were to be found, mostly in Central Asia, in the countries to the northeast of Persia and west of Thibet. But now they have utterly disappeared. For centuries they were persecuted and proscribed, by Christians, by Zoroastrians, and by Mohammedans alike, and they seem finally to have been swept out of existence in the calamities which marked the age of Zenghis Khan and of the Mongol dominion.

The century that saw the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity and the final formulation of the Creeds was marked also by a serious struggle between Christianity and Manichaeism for mastery both in the East and in the West. The religion of Mani was a missionary religion and its devoted

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emissaries were to be found all over the Roman Empire within a century of its first publication. And when we remember that during the fourth century the most influential of all Latin Christians, one of the greatest formative influences upon medieval thought, Augustine, was for some nine years himself a Manichee convert,[1] we shall realize that the danger from Manichaeism was serious and that what the heathen writer, Alexander of Lycopolis, called the "New Christianity" had once a chance of becoming the creed of the West.

Various oriental documents, chiefly Syriac and Arabic, which throw considerable light on the Manichee religion, have been published during the last fifty years, but undoubtedly the most sensational discoveries are those connected with the name of Turfan, a district in Chinese Turkestan, northeast of Kashgar, not far from the Siberian frontier. It is a desolate part of the world, which seems to be lapsing into sandy desert after having been fertile in former ages. Various religions had been professed there a thousand years ago, including the Christianity brought by Nestorian missionaries as well as the religion of Mani, but in the end Buddhism seems to have gained the upper hand, and great quantities of Christian and Manichaean writings found their way into the libraries of Buddhist monasteries in the region. Now they are all deserted, the population has dispersed to better watered lands, and European explorers have entered into possession of great numbers of scraps of written material found buried among the ruins. There are fragments in Syriac, fragments in Sogdian (a sort of Middle-Persian dialect), fragments in various Tatar languages, and fragments in Thibetan and Chinese. Some are Christian, many are Buddhist, and quite a large number belong to the Manichee literature. The expeditions which collected them took place between 1902 and 1909, and the results are even now hardly all published. Unfortunately the publications that have seen the light are to be looked for

[1] From 373–382 A.D.

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in four different places, and the student who wishes to see the original texts for himself has to find them in the *Journal Asiatique*,[1] the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,[2] the *Sitzungsberichte* and *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy[3] and of the Petrograd Academy of Sciences.[4]

The great importance of the documents from Turfan is that they exhibit Manichaeism as a living religion, not as a controversial system. There are fragments of hymnbooks, of forms for the confession of sins, of prayers, as well as of regular treatises. But alas, it is a confused débris, a collection of tattered scraps, and unless we knew something of the subject from other sources, it would add but little to our knowledge. As I have said, there is every reason to believe that more discoveries will be made in this region; it is possible even that some day a more or less complete copy of one of Mani's works may be unearthed. Meanwhile an admirable account of the finds in their relation to what we otherwise know of the Manichee literature is to be found in Professor Prosper Alfaric's admirable volumes called *Les Écritures Manichéennes*, which form a quite indispensable guide to the student.[5]

Apart from these Turfan fragments our knowledge of the Manichee religion is derived from accounts and refutations written by opponents. These are all composed with prejudice, and some of them without adequate information, being based upon other refutations, not upon a study of Manichee documents themselves. Moreover, till about sixty years ago, the sources were almost exclusively Greek or Latin. Mani lived in Babylonia, where the native language was Syriac and

[1] E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, *Journ. Asiatique* for 1911, pp. 499–621; for 1913, pp. 99–104, 105–16, 378–83.

[2] A. Von le Coq and Sir Aurel Stein, *JRAS* for 1911, pp. 277–314.

[3] F. W. K. Müller, *Sitz.*, 1904, pp. 348–52; *Abhandl.*, 1904 and 1913; A. Von le Coq, *Sitz.*, 1908, pp. 398–414; *ibid.*, 1909, pp. 1212–18; *Abhandl.*, 1912.

[4] C. Salemann, *Mémoires*, 1904 and 1908; *Bulletin*, 1907, pp. 175–84, 531–58; 1912, pp. 1–50.

[5] Prosper Alfaric, *Les Écritures Manichéennes*, I, 129–38; II, 126–36. Paris, 1918.

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the government was Persian. Most of his writings were composed in Syriac, one at least was composed in Persian,[1] and this helped to give his ideas a barbarous and exotic turn to the Greeks and Romans, and so to us. During the nineteenth century this was to a certain extent corrected by the publication of Mohammedan accounts, of which the most important is the *Fihrist* of An-Nadīm, edited by G. Flügel in 1862. Previously to this our chief sources had been some polemical treatises by Augustine, valuable because he himself had been a Manichee for so long, and the work called the *Acts of Archelaus*. This last professes to give the story of a public disputation between Mani himself and a Christian bishop called Archelaus, held somewhere in Mesopotamia about the year 280, in which of course Mani is decisively worsted. The story is clearly a fiction, composed in Greek; it does not appear to be even based on Syriac documents, nor does Archelaus seem to be a historical personage, being quite unknown to native Syriac literary tradition. But the work is early; it was used by Cyril of Jerusalem in 347, and the author (said to be one Hegemonius, of whom nothing else is known) was clearly well acquainted with the outlines of the Manichaean system. He hit upon the ingenious expedient of making a converted Manichee explain at some length the tenets of Mani, in order that the bishop, Archelaus, might more effectively attack the heresiarch. This section of the work was for long the most systematic description of Manichaeism known, and Epiphanius quoted it verbatim in his *Panarion*—a fortunate circumstance, as only a Latin translation of the *Acts of Archelaus* survives.

The present century has added to our knowledge two works of Christian controversy against the Manichees, which are particularly noteworthy from being written in Syriac. It is likely enough that the dialect used by Mani, who came from Lower Babylonia, may have differed from what we call classical Syriac, which is the dialect of Edessa in Northern

[1] The *Shāpūraḳān*, dedicated to the Sasanian king, Shapur.

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Syria. We do know that the Manichees had a special sort of alphabet, which differs from that in which ancient Syriac MSS are written about as much as gothic type differs from roman. But though the dialects may have differed, both were forms of Aramaic; the difference was certainly not more than that of the speech of England from that of Scotland. These Syriac works therefore are especially valuable, for when they quote Manichaean works we have the actual terms used by the Manichees themselves.

The two works are the account of Manichaean cosmogony by Theodore bar Khoni (or Khonai) expounded by Franz Cumont in 1908,[1] and the two volumes of S. Ephraim's *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, published by C. W. Mitchell in 1912 and 1921.[2] Ephraim's work is very prolix and contains fewer direct quotations from his adversaries than we should have liked, but his date and country make it a document of the first importance. He died at Edessa in 373, so that his *Refutations*, written in the language that Mani also wrote in, date from less than a century after Mani was killed. Theodore bar Khoni lived five hundred years later (he became a bishop in 893), but his "scholia" are valuable because he makes considerable extracts from one of the chief Manichaean sacred books, a work concerned with the origin of Adam and Eve, and known to Augustine as the *Epistula Fundamenti*.

Every religion for purposes of study may be considered in two ways. It has a mythology and a philosophy. Thus in

[1] Franz Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme: Pt. I, La Cosmogonie Manichéenne*. Brussels, 1908. Part II, containing an extract from Severus of Antioch, edited by M. A. Kugener and F. Cumont, 1912, is also important, but it has to do with a document originally Greek, not a Syriac original.

[2] C. W. Mitchell was a young Canadian scholar, who, after taking a brilliant degree at Cambridge, England, had settled down in London, partly in order to be near the British Museum, where the MS of S. Ephraim's *Refutations* (a palimpsest most difficult to decipher) is preserved. He went out to the war as a chaplain and was killed at the Front, near Arras, on May 3, 1917, leaving the second volume of his work unfinished. It was completed by Professor A. A. Bevan and the present writer and came out last year.

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orthodox Christianity the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden may be classed as mythology; on the other hand the story is understood to teach that man was made by God and made good, but that the first man disobeyed and that this disobedience is the cause of pain and evil in human life. This doctrine is a philosophy, which might have been founded on a different story; the story may be historically true or false, the doctrine may give a true account of life or a false account. My point is, that the story and the doctrine, the mythology and the philosophy, are separable in thought.

It is, I think, necessary to make this distinction in the case of a strange and foreign religion, especially one that is separated from us by long centuries, for otherwise we become so distracted by mere externals that we fail to be impressed by what is really of permanent interest. Especially is this the case with the Manichee religion: its mythology is so unfamiliar and bizarre, so utterly out of touch with modern ideas about the external world and cosmic history, that we may easily miss the philosophy which this mythology was supposed to set forth, and thereby make its appeal to so many generations of men incomprehensible.

Of course this separation of the mythology and the philosophy of a religion is merely a division made for convenience, to help to keep our own minds clear. The word mythology has with us Christians an unfavorable connotation: it suggests false tales. The old-fashioned Christian would object to the distinction drawn between the story of Adam and the doctrine of human weakness and depravity, for in his mind the two hang together. And it is certainly true that we cannot understand the Christian philosophy about sin and evil without having learned how this philosophy grew up in connection with the story in Genesis. We must therefore make ourselves acquainted with the Manichee mythology, if we are to understand the terms in which the Manichee philosophy was expressed. It is only when we have done this that we can

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restate their ideas on human nature and destiny in our own terms.

The Manichees, then, began by teaching about the *two principles*, or *roots*, and the *three moments*, that is to say, the *past*, the *present*, and the *future*. The two principles are the Light and the Dark. The Light is essentially Good, orderly, reasonable, kindly. The Dark is Evil, disorderly, passionate, harmful. Or rather it would be more accurate to say that Evil arises by a mixture of the Dark with the Light, and that when such a mixture has taken place, progress toward a better state of things, redemption, salvation, deliverance, is only to be obtained by straining out the Light from the Dark. As for the three moments, in the past the Dark and the Light were separate, but the Dark somehow conceived a passion for the Light, its opposite, and made an assault upon it, whereby a portion of the Light became mixed with the Dark, was in fact swallowed by it. As a result of this mixture of Light with Dark this present tangible world came into being, not being wholly of the Light or of the Dark, but being essentially mixed and therefore evil, i.e., incongruous. In the present the Intelligence, which is an essential attribute of the Light, has contrived a mechanism, whereby the Light is being gradually refined from the Dark and the Dark confined by a wall or prison, so that never again can it overpass its boundary. In the future when this refining process is completed, all the Parts of the Light now imprisoned in men and animals and plants will have been refined away; what is left will be burnt out, so far as it is destructible, and the remainder, being wholly of the Dark, will join the original powers of darkness in their eternal prison.

The two principles of Light and Dark are thus alone primitive; the ultimate cause not only of that which we see around us, but even of the hierarchy of Light, has been the attack made by the Dark upon the region of Light. Evil began by Darkness desiring the Light; it conceived a passion

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for Good and made an assault upon it, it "felt, touched, ate, sucked, tasted, and swallowed it"; it "passionately desired the Light and ate it, and sucked it in and swallowed it, and imprisoned it and mixed it in its limbs."[1] Mani naturally could not explain, any more than could his predecessor, Bardaisan, who had a somewhat similar theory of the beginning of things, how this first disturbance of the eternal order took place, but he seems somewhere to have expressed it, that it was as if the Dark from a far distance smelt and perceived that there was "something pleasant" beyond his region. So Ephraim tells us,[2] but he misses the point when he merely seizes on it to ask how the Light was far distant from the Dark when the two regions lay side by side; Mani's point is that the beginning of Evil is unregulated desire. It was the beginning of Evil, and at the same time it was the beginning of this world of ours.

According to Mani, the ultimate Supreme Good Being, whom he called "the Father of Greatness" had existed from eternity in his five realms or manifestations of Intelligence, Reason, Thought, Imagination, and Intention. With him is associated a kind of Queen of Heaven, called "the Mother of the Living,"[3] but Mani appears to be careful to avoid using any phrase which would imply anything in the realms of Light analogous to sexual generation. The Manichees were strict ascetics, and they regarded the destruction and the production of that which has life as equal crimes. The Father of Greatness does not beget a son, but he calls and the Primal Man is there. This Primal Man (not Adam, but a heavenly being) had not existed from eternity; he is evoked for the purpose of repelling the attack of the Dark upon the realm of Light.

The first combat between Light and Dark ended in the victory of the latter. The Dark struck the Primal Man sense-

[1] So Ephraim, quoting Mani (*Mitchell*, I, xliv and lxxxv).

[2] *Mitchell*, I, lx.

[3] Or "the Mother of Life."

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less and swallowed his bright panoply, consisting of the pure elements of Light, Fire, Wind, and Water. Thus Light was mixed with Dark, and so the substance of this world came into being. But this unaccustomed and unnatural nourishment was represented by the Manichees as weakening the vehemence of the Powers of Darkness, so that their victory did not last long. The Primal Man recovered from his swoon; he called for help to the Father of Greatness, who took pity on him and aided him with fresh Light Powers: "the Friend of the Lights," "the Great Ban," and "the Living Spirit."

Even in a general account of Manichaeism, such as this is, it is necessary to bring in the names of this heavenly hierarchy in order to give the general impression of the world in which the Manichaean imagination moved. In a sense it is animistic. The universe to Mani was not only a philosophical dualism; rather, it was a great drama played by a crowd of supernatural actors, angelic and demonic, and we do not get the right impression of it, if we reduce it to its main principles only.

The Primal Man, now reinforced, "hunted the sons of the Dark and flayed them, and made this Sky from their skins, and out of their excrement he compacted the Earth, and of their bones he forged and raised and piled up the Mountains,[1] and he did all this in order to strain out from them by rain and dew the Parts of the Light that had been mingled in them. Thus our world was constructed, composed of an amalgam that never ought to have mixed. Theodore bar Khoni[2] tells us that it is held in place by five heavenly Powers, evoked for the purpose by the Father of Greatness from his own intellectual essence. They are also named in Greek and Latin sources, with barbarous high-sounding titles, like so many of the beings conjured up by Mani. There were the Splenditenens (in Greek, Phengokatochos), the Rex Honoris, the Adamas Heros, the Gloriosus Rex, and the Atlas Maximus (in Greek, Ōmophoros).

[1] *Mitchell*, I, xxxiii. [2] *Cumont*, p. 22.

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Of these it was the function of the Splenditenens to hold the world suspended like a chandelier, while the Atlas bears it on his shoulders. This last figure was no doubt borrowed by Mani from the common stock of ancient mythological nations, but the Splenditenens seems to be his own invention.[1]

The Sons of the Dark (or the Archons, as they also are called) being thus chained up, a certain amount of the absorbed Light was refined out of them, and from it were made the Sun and Moon and the Stars. But much yet remained in the Archons, and so a new personage was evoked, the Messenger, called also the Virgin of Light, who "manifests her beauty to the Archons, so that they long to run after her."[2] As a result plants and animals were produced on the Earth by the Archons, who at last, fearing that they would lose all the Light they had absorbed, joined together to form a new being, Adam, made in the image of God, i.e., in the image of the Divine Primal Man. Once again their design fails, for Jesus the Brilliant (*zīwānā*)—his precise relationship to the Father of Greatness and the Primal Man is not explained—comes to Adam as he lies inert upon the ground. Adam looks at himself and recognizes what he is, i.e., that he is a being at least partly made of the Light. "Jesus made him stand up and gave him to eat of the Tree of Life. Then Adam looked and wept, he lifted up his voice like a roaring lion, he tore his hair, he beat his breast, and said 'Woe, woe, to the creator of my body, to him who has bound my soul to it, and to the rebels who have enslaved me!' "[3]

So much for the past. In the present, according to Mani, a great mechanism has been contrived for refining out of the world what is left of the Parts of the Light that had been

[1] Mani called the Atlas *Sabbālā*, "the Supporter." The Splenditenens is called *Ṣāfith-Zīwā* by Theodore. I venture to think this meant "Tongs of Brilliance."

[2] *Mitchell*, I, lxi.

[3] *Cumont*, pp. 46 f. Cumont himself (p. 49) regards this striking passage, which he quotes from Theodore bar Khoni, as the actual peroration of the *Epistula Fundamenti*, one of Mani's most widely read works.

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absorbed; the arrangement of this mechanism was in fact the salvation brought by Jesus, when he came on earth and those that saw him supposed erroneously that he was really a man.[1] By this mechanism or arrangement the Light that is separated out is conveyed to the Moon, whereby it waxes for fifteen days, and then when full discharges its load of Light for another fifteen days into the Sun.

Mani seems to have taken over the notion, originally Stoic, that the spirits of the just live on in the Milky Way. Their name for it was the Pillar of Glory (*Eṣṭōn Shubḥā*).[2] It is also called in the *Acts of Archelaus* the Perfect Man, alluding to Eph. 4:13; the redeemed souls are collected in the Pillar of Glory until all the particles of the absorbed Light have been refined out of the substance of the Archons and the Primal Man is perfect again.

The most potent agents in refining out the Light are, of course, the fully initiated disciples of Mani, the Zaddīḳs, as they were called, i.e., the righteous.[3] The Manichee community, like the Buddhists, consisted of monks and laymen, in Manichee phraseology the Righteous and the Hearers. The righteous Zaddīḳs were the only true Manichees, just as the monks are the only true Buddhists. But as I gather from the documents the number of the Zaddīḳs was small, and the highest initiates of all, whom Ephraim calls Ḳephalpāls,[4] seem to have been a mere handful. Certainly they were able to give all their time to their mysterious work, for there was very little else that it was permitted to a fully initiated Manichee to do. They might neither take life nor produce it, whether animal or vegetable, so that agriculture and cooking were as much taboo as murder and adultery. A Zaddīḳ could only eat what had been prepared for him by his disciple; to eat that was not sin, for it would go bad if the Zaddīḳ did not consume

[1] So *Acta Archelai* viii.

[2] The original Syriac term occurs in *Mitchell*, Vol. II, p. 208, l.37.

[3] In Arabic, *Zindīḳ*.

[4] *Mitchell*, II, xcvii f.

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it! It is interesting to notice that women also were permitted to become fully initiate Manichees.[1]

It should be mentioned that there is practically nothing to connect the origins of the religion of Mani with Buddhism. The organization of the Marcionite church, owing to their rejection of "holy" matrimony, was similar to that of the Manichees, and something like it seems to have prevailed even among orthodox churchmen in the Euphrates Valley before the Roman Empire became Christian. In general, the lives of the Manichaean devotees must have been spent in a manner not unlike that of other Christian ascetics in the East; "their works are like our works, as their fast is like our fast," as Ephraim confesses. No doubt they spent much of their time in transcribing and ornamenting their sacred writings, as may be gathered from Augustine and from the remains of very handsome manuscripts recovered from Central Asia. In this they were followers of Mani himself, who "painted in colours on a scroll the likenesses of the wickednesses which he created out of his mind."[2]

As to the future, the Manichees, like the Christians, looked forward to a victorious end of the present state of things. When all the Parts of the Light have been refined out of the base material, Evil, which is the result of the mixture of Light and Dark, will have disappeared. The Earth of Light, in which God dwells and which is itself divine, will be complete and inviolate, and the Powers of the Dark will be confined within their own domain, round which Bān, the heavenly builder, has now built a wall and fence, to be the Grave of the Dark forever, so that never again will it invade the realms of Light and produce another Smudge, such as our present world is, according to the Manichaean view.

[1] *Mitchell*, I, xciii. In the *Life of Porphyry*, bishop of Gaza, written by his contemporary, Mark the Deacon, there is a lifelike account of a Manichee woman missionary, named Julia, who came to Gaza soon after 400 A. D.

[2] *Mitchell*, I, xciii.

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The world, a Smudge; that is the essence of the philosophy which we are considering. It is not that God's good world has been smudged, as the Christians say, whether by the envy of the devil or the weakness of man. The Manichee philosophy is more radical than this; it declares that the world we live in is itself a smudge, the result of a regrettable accident, like the spilling of an ink-pot, and that God's good kindness has been shown not in making the world, but in contriving means for erasing the blot without damaging the original fabric. I venture to think that this uncompromising idea has still a certain appeal, and that it gives the Manichee religion a curious fascination, notwithstanding its fantastic barbarian mythology. There must indeed have been something vital in the preaching of Mani. The missionary impulse, so well maintained for two hundred years, the notable steadfastness in danger and persecution which characterizes the Manichees, prove that their theology, unscientific and bizarre as it is, was yet to them in some respects a satisfaction of their needs, a way of salvation from the perplexities of this painful world. And Mani, too, must have counted for something. If history has any lesson to teach us about new religions, it is that they arise when a system or view of the world, which is not too far away from popular aspiration, is combined with a forceful and attractive personality.

To us Manichaeism is so encumbered with its mythology that we can easily miss those features in it which constitute its real strength. The religion of Mani did explain the presence of Evil in the world we live in, and it did combine practical pessimism with ultimate optimism—perhaps the most favorable atmosphere for the religious sentiment. It is true that the Manichees regarded this tangible world as the result of a regrettable accident, so that no true improvement is possible until it is altogether abolished. As regards this world they were frankly pessimistic; it was bad to begin with and it would go from bad to worse. But they believed that the

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Light was really greater and stronger than the Dark, that in the end all that was good in their essence would be collected together in the domain of Light, a realm altogether swayed by Intelligence, Reason, Mind, Good Imagination, and Good Intention; and though at the same time there would always exist another region, dark and dominated by unregulated Desire, it would only be peopled by beings for whom such a region was appropriate, and they would be separated off forever from invading the region of Light.

Such was the religion of the Manichees, a religion that with all the fervor of new convictions challenged Christianity at the very moment of its triumph over paganism. The challenger did not make good its claim, and indeed, whatever faults we may see in fourth- and fifth-century Christianity, we may be thankful that it did not do so. But I venture to think that the Manichaean philosophy is by no means contemptible; it has a permanent claim to our respect. In the future, when more documents have been recovered and deciphered from the deserts of Turfan, we are likely to have our acquaintance with the Manichee literature considerably extended. It will add to the interest of these documents if we have some sympathetic understanding of the ideas which animate them, ideas which sustained so many generations of pious souls in endeavoring, so far as they knew how, to choose light rather than darkness.

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THE DILEMMA OF SOCIAL RELIGION

CLARENCE MARSH CASE
University of Iowa

I. One seldom-recognized reason for the social conservatism of the church is the fact that church members are implicated in the social order and inevitably judge affairs in the light of their practical interests. Moreover, church members as such possess no superior knowledge of social laws and forces.

II. Yet Christianity itself is an essentially revolutionary program, inasmuch as it counts the happiness of no man more important than that of any other, and permits no special interest to take precedence of the general welfare.

III. Christianity is concerned more with the distribution than the production of wealth, and this interest allies it most closely with the modern social problem, which is one of distribution primarily. Yet the social implication of church members renders it impossible for the pulpit to take radical ground without disrupting the congregation.

IV. The consequence is a dilemma, in which the church has to see her practice as an actual institution continually fall short of her convictions and her commission as an ideal spiritual community.

I

One cause of the socially unprogressive character of the Christian church in recent times lies in the simple fact, too seldom recognized, that it is composed of ordinary human beings who are *implicated* in the existing social order. Contrary to the assumption of many critics of the church, its members are not angelic beings, nor supermen in any sense, except that, in so far as they are true Christians, they are dedicated to the unswerving pursuit of truth and duty, in the spirit of good will toward all men. This, it must be admitted, is an attitude far enough above the prevailing pursuit of selfish individual ends to constitute its exemplars a race of moral supermen, but the advantage here does not accrue wholly to the churches; for not all church members are of that mold, while others of equally consecrated type may be found outside the churches. But for our present purpose we need only to point out that church members are not a band of supernaturally endowed social transformers who possess both the knowledge and the power to solve our social ills. On the contrary, they are hampered by the

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same ignorance that afflicts and hampers the rest of humanity. They live in the same economic and social world and are played upon by the same forces that affect the ideas and conduct of other men. The churchman makes his living by performing a service, just as do all other laborers or salary-receivers. Or he invests his capital and rents his land just as other men do. Again he may be an office-holder, or seek to become one. He desires the respect of his fellow-citizens, just as they in turn covet that of their fellows. When problems of labor and capital, public or factory sanitation, ballot reform, etc., arise, he cannot view them as would that absolutely detached hypothetical being from the planet Mars, but sees them from the standpoint of an employer, laborer, income-receiver, vote-seeker, and a hundred other vital social relationships which color and shape the judgments and attitudes of associated human beings. In short, the church member is *implicated*, bound up, in the existing order, and subject to the limitations which go with such implication.

But this is not to imply that the church has no moral influence over its members; that it is to be reckoned as a mere cipher in social progress. Nor is it to deny for it a divinely significant influence in human history. Its transcendent importance really consists in the new perspective and scale of values which its distinctive outlook lends to life, but for the present we are concerned with its outward fleshly aspect as an association of human beings, and very ordinary human beings at that, regardless of the fact that they, if truly imbued with the spirit of Christ, enjoy a very extraordinary source of moral, spiritual, and social insight.

Furthermore, let us face the fact that even when church members come to realize and acknowledge, despite their own implication in the situation, that social conditions stand in need of improvement, they have no special enlightenment as to the best ways and means for bringing such social changes

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to pass. Christianity, as a program or way of life, inculcates, to be sure, certain general principles and ideals of the utmost importance, but it does not teach men just how to realize those ideals in a complex social order. For such knowledge the Christian must laboriously master the facts and laws of social evolution as gathered together in the various social sciences, such as history, politics, economics, and sociology. The Christian has an incomparable fountain of inspiration, but no magazine of practical wisdom not open to other men. He must study hard and long in return for comparatively slight social wisdom, just as other men have to do. But since the mass of church members, and even many church leaders, have not the time, and sometimes not the inclination, to master the available knowledge, they are not, and cannot become, efficient and trustworthy leaders in social self-direction. In brief, *bewilderment* over a very complex duty is another cause for the socially unprogressive policy of many clergymen, laymen, and churches. Consequently, the most urgent practical task before the churches may be to become study-centers for the intellectual mastery of modern social problems. Social progress will be hastened, if it is to be affected in any degree by human intervention, through the application of scientific knowledge to the problems of human welfare. That is to say, prevision, as Comte phrased it, or seeing *before*, is dependent on seeing *into* the actual nature of the facts of associated life. In this great work the churches cannot hope to lead, so far as the sheer intellectual weight of the task is concerned, but in making that knowledge the property of the citizens at large they might exercise a really important function,[1] especially if they should add to the new knowledge the moral purpose to insist upon its application to social affairs.

[1] This is just what was proposed by Dean A. W. Small in his notable open letter to the Laymen's Movement, on "The Church and Class Conflicts" (see *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXIV, No. 5, March, 1919).

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II

Christianity was, in its very inception, a *radical* movement. A radical, as suggested by etymology and the common use of the word in mathematics, is one who goes to the *roots* of things. Reformers lop off a limb here and prune a bough there but they do not affect the source which determines the life of twigs, boughs, and limbs. But when John the Baptist, the first Christian on record, emerged from the wilderness to announce the coming of the Founder of the new religion, his message was a solemn warning to "flee from the wrath to come," because "now also the ax is laid unto the root of the tree."[1] The time for lopping and pruning was past. A new and radical program was about to be inaugurated among men. That program was the religion of Christ, and it is the present purpose to show that it was just as radically searching as its great herald had announced it to be.

No one has put it better than Professor Perry, whose words we quote:

> Christianity as a social revolution was a protest against the existing order on the part of interests which it did not recognize. I do not mean that these interests were not tolerated; they were, of course, protected, and even given a legal status. But in the reckoning of good and evil they were not *counted*. Women and slaves, the poor, the ill-born, and the ignorant, were instruments which the happy man might use, or incidents of life which might test his charity and magnanimity. These classes rose to overthrow no single institution, but a whole conception of life, or standard of well-being which was defined to exclude them. In paganism, which did not pass with the advent of Christianity, but still lingers as the creed of the very precious souls, humanity is conceived only qualitatively, and not quantitatively. The good of the race is conceived to consist in the perfection of a few, chosen for their superior endowment and fortune. The eminent refinement and nobility of these demigods is substituted for the saving of lives, for the general distribution of welfare and opportunity. The many are to find compensation for their hardship in the happiness of the few. But the Christian principle of atonement was the precise opposite of this: one suffered

[1] Matt. 3: 7, 10.

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that all might be blessed. Christianity looked towards a good that should number everyone in the multitude and endure throughout all time. Now it has since appeared that this was no more than the truth; and that it might have been conceived and executed by the wise men, had they only been more wise. But they were wise only within the limits of their own conceit. Hence it took the form of an assault on the established enlightenment. The many, with their yearning for a universal happiness, with their deep concern for the greater good, and their jealous compassion for all souls, destroyed the narrow eminence of the few. Thus Christianity was a revolution, and not a constructive reform.[1]

As Professor Perry intimates, the "creed of the very precious souls" is not dead, but exists today as a curse and hindrance to social improvement. But Christianity, viewed as a new attitude toward life, was beyond question a revolution, and its social implications are, and were from the first, progressive to the last degree. Christianity taught that God, the true and living God, is the Lord of all classes, nations, and races without distinction. In his sight there are no "very precious souls" because all souls are regarded as infinitely precious. A corollary from this is that no man or class of men can justly exploit a fellow-man. Each is an end in himself. Another is that the happiness of each human is precisely as important as that of any other human being. No matter how limited his capacity may be, the full development of his powers of achievement and enjoyment takes rank in importance with that of every other man. "There is no respect of persons with God." This is precisely the spirit of Ward's "New Ethics,"[2] and since Ward sets it up as the program of applied sociology it is nothing more than the sober fact to say that the program of applied sociology is the program of applied Christianity.

III

It will probably be recognized that the pressing problems which modern society presents to applied sociology and applied Christianity are mainly problems of *distribution* rather than

[1] *The Moral Economy*, pp. 140–41. [2] Cf. Lester F. Ward, *Applied Sociology*.

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of production, if the term is given as rich a meaning as the logic of facts requires. Such usage should be wide enough to include not only distribution of *goods* among consumers, but distribution of *producers* among the industrial processes and the varying posts of honor, authority, and pecuniary reward determined by the division of labor, and the consequent distribution of the social heritage of culture, achievement, and opportunity among all the members of society.

Of course it is understood that the efficiency of the *productive* processes sets, at any given time, the absolute limits of distribution. Since the sum of the social dividend, i.e., the totality of economic goods and services available to be shared by the total population, is far too meager to satisfy all existing wants, it inevitably follows that a lack must be felt somewhere. This may take the form of a great surplus in comparatively few hands combined with a keen shortage on the part of the multitude, as under our present more or less plutocratic arrangement, or it may be exchanged for a less dire but widely spread shortage distributed over the whole population, as might occur under the proposed systems known as socialism and communism. But in either case a deficit is unavoidable so long as society is short of goods and services, as it is likely to be so long as business enterprise remains in its essence an *acquisitive* individualistic process, seeking money values, and only incidentally a *productive* social process bent on swelling the sum total of economic utilities.

Inside the wide limits set by production, however, we repeat that the problems of modern society are questions of social distribution. They bear more vitally on questions of social justice and human aspiration, than on matters of technical efficiency. Now, in so far as they can be shown to be problems of increasing production, religion can claim only an indirect relation to their solution—indirect, possibly remote, but perhaps vital. But to the extent that they are problems of more equitable social distribution, as we hold that they are, the

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principles of the Christian religion assume a place of the utmost significance. For it is the assumption herein that the malady of modern society is above all else due to moral defect, and that there is at hand no cure for it short of such a moral regeneration as is offered by the gospel of Christ.

In putting forward this contention it is not forgotten that a weight of influence is on the other side. For example, so eminent a theologian as Professor Harnack has this to say in opening his discussion of the general attitude of the gospel toward social arrangements:

> The Gospel is the glad tidings of benefits that pass not away. In it are the powers of eternal life; it is concerned with repentance and faith, with regeneration and a new life; its end is redemption, not social improvement. Therefore it aims at raising the individual to a standpoint far above the conflicts between earthly success and earthly distress, between riches and poverty, leadership and service. This has been its meaning to earnest Christians of all ages, and those who are unable to appreciate this idea, fail to appreciate the Gospel itself. The indifference to all earthly affairs, which proceeds from the conviction that we possess life eternal, is an essential feature of Christianity.[1]

This is simply the doctrine of other-worldliness and contentment, which has been so often discussed. It is, however, a beautiful and impressive statement of it, and the large measure of truth it contains is here not only acknowledged, but gladly indorsed, for a general recognition of the beauty and power of such an attitude toward life may yet prove to be the only solution of the protean "social problem." This may be rank heresy from the standpoint of an economic philosophy which necessarily abhors "the simple life," but it seems to the present writer nothing more or less than Veblen's celebrated "Theory of the Leisure Class," inverted and converted into a positive moral antidote for conspicuous consumption, invidious distinction, and every other phase of social racing in the vulgar sense of the term. What is meant by this is that such a spirit

[1] Adolf Harnack and Wilhelm Herrmann, *The Social Gospel* (New York and London, 1917), p. 9.

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of renunciation might, if men were only logical, lead to a radical social revolution, as Professor Harnack recognizes when he adds:

> It is no mere coincidence that from the very beginning this perverted quietism has always had as its counterpart the tendency which I have called radicalism. If indifference towards all earthly matters is to take the place of love in determining our relations with our neighbors, there is at least as much justification for radicalism as for quietism. Therefore let all earthly possessions be forsaken, divided equally, or held in common[1]

But since human conduct is logical only in a reflective sense, and as an afterthought, we need not hope for any such peaceable revolution to come as the result of a deduction, although it might conceivably be reached at the end of a long series of transformations in group practices, ideas, and evaluations. The present aim is simply to show that the key to many social ills is really to be found, upon rational analysis, in the possession of the Christian church. But whether the church will awake to appreciate the transfiguring power in its own bosom, or prove able to infuse with it the social ethics of its time, is entirely another question. However, let us at any rate notice how challenging to Christian ethics the situation has become.

It was shown above that the ax in Christ's teaching was laid to the roots of the tree of selfishness, and of the exploitation which is the characteristic form in which selfishness manifests itself. But all modern social problems, from the world-war down to the pettiest curbstone graft, are simply fruits of exploitation, efforts to live by means of others. Even before the recent orgy of war-profiteering revealed its heart-sickening proportions, it was only necessary to read the daily news columns to realize that, from the standpoint of any worthy moral ideal, our capitalistic society stood daily self-condemned, and that "business versus society" would not be a completely exaggerated view of the social process in some of its most important

[1] Adolf Harnack and Wilhelm Herrmann, *The Social Gospel* (New York and London, 1917), pp. 19–20.

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economic aspects. A whole volume, as everyone knows, could easily be filled with a list of misdoings, oftentimes in high places, whose moral character is beneath contempt, when viewed in the light of so simple and elementary a principle as that of fair play, not to mention good will or the Golden Rule. But it is not necessary to rehearse the sordid details, for every informed person knows that modern society lies under a grave and well-grounded indictment from the ethical point of view.

Yet in the face of this challenging situation, so critical for social religion, it seems evident that the church, as a respectable, sanctioned social institution, comprising in its membership principally the middle and wealthy classes, with their often smug and complacent outlook on social problems, is hardly prepared to take the lead in the reform of social distribution. By a radical preachment on "Labor" or "Socialism" almost any pulpit could split the congregation in twain. While partisans may be quick to seize upon this as a complete admission of the venality of the organized Christianity of our times, that conclusion seems unwarranted. No pulpit dare descend to partisanship, unless it be willing to abandon its higher function of inspiration and guidance along lines of personal and social idealism. While some aroused souls might say that the wholehearted espousal of such an ideal as *socialism* would restore to the churches their vanished sense of a burning and vital mission, lost along with the Messianic hope, it must be pointed out that the church would thereby simply transform itself into a political party, and the worthiest political party conceivable must be, of necessity, narrower in sympathy and less universal in its thought than the humblest Christian pulpit. The church should indeed be, as President Butterfield well says,[1] the ally of every struggling idealism among man, and, we may add, the inveterate foe of every sordid materialism and injustice. If it fails in this, its soul has indeed fled, its glory has departed, and the mournful "Ichabod" might well be inscribed over its por-

[1] Kenyon L. Butterfield, *The Country Church and the Rural Problem.*

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tals. But it can sustain this high rôle only by walking above the dusty scrimmages of partisanship, even at the risk of a seeming detachment.

It is moreover true, after all, that it is in its intimate and vital relation to the *appreciational* aspects of life that religion must offer its greatest contribution to progress. The writer has elsewhere gone so far as to affirm[1] that a definition of progress, satisfactory to reason, cannot even be conceived without taking an attitude of faith in the general drift and outcome of things which is essentially religious, as that term is understood in this paper. But over and above such semi-philosophical considerations, the sense of dignity and permanent significance which religion bestows upon the personal life is a value most unique. It constitutes the supreme "good" of life, for the experience of countless multitudes in all ages bears witness that it outweighs all the lesser goods that the world can bestow. Whoever has felt the uplift that comes with the glimpse of a distant village spire across the horizon, or the solemn but deeply joyous message which broods, whether in lettered stone or entirely inarticulate suggestion, over a country churchyard, has need of no further words in argument. The point we would make here is that such places and experiences simply bring to their highest focus the pervasive influence of ideas and sentiments which have dignified and sweetened at a thousand turns the obscure pathway of life for unnumbered multitudes.

Here then is a value, a real "good" of life, which religion has contributed, and not only must its conservation or sublimation be provided for in any fully rounded theory of social progress, but its transcendent value must be reckoned in without cavil when we attempt to call the Christian church to account. Moreover, it possesses a dynamic *social* value, at least in theory; for just as the moral and patriotic fervor of the world-war easily brushed aside certain economic enterprises and

[1] Cf. "Religion and the Concept of Progress," *Journal of Religion*, March, 1921.

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even large investments as "non-essential," so might the renovated estimate of things incident to a revival of genuine religion in modern societies be expected to render morally intolerable the waste of material and lives now suffered in many enterprises that are equally unessential or even inimical to the only great unending social enterprise, which Ruskin saw to be the production of "as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed, and happy-hearted human creatures." And in the performance of this great social task the supreme importance of that *appreciational* aspect of life which has been emphasized in the preceding sentences is most powerfully impressed by his searching question, "whether among national manufactures, that of Souls of a good quality may not at least turn out a quite leadingly lucrative one?"[1]

IV

The gospel of Christ remains in theory what it has always been—a revolutionary and essentially saving body of truth in its social, no less than in its individual, aspects; but the conclusion indicated here is that the existing *church*, as an organized, socially sanctioned, economically implicated institution, seems to be inherently incapable of demonstrating the social power of the gospel which it is commissioned to preach, so that in all ages its moral energies are too largely spent either in trying to reconvert itself to its original devotion, or to readjust, lubricate, and furbish its complicated machinery. Consequently, the crucial religious question of the hour is always whether the church of Christ can be fully Christianized.

No better example is needed than the recent "drive" within the Protestant churches of the United States, variously known as the New Era Movement, Centenary Movement, Forward Movement, etc. A perusal of their elaborate programs revealed at the outset their conspicuous lack of any essentially *new conception* or *ideal* on any of the great questions that are racking the world today. Their re-statement of ancient truths is fine

[1] *Unto This Last*, by John Ruskin. Essay on "The Veins of Wealth."

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and clear, their plans for readjustment savor well of business efficiency, and their expression of renewed devotion to the Master of Men is in the truest sense as fine and uplifting as it is sorely needed among rich and poor, high and low. But the disconcerting fact which obtrudes itself is that the *readjustment* and *reorganization* held in view are practically all *within the church itself* and do not propose to transform in any important respect the existing social order (or disorder) which, like the demoniac of ancient times, looks to the Master for deliverance from the evil spirits which possess and torment it.

Without further multiplying of words, the experience of the church at large in the present crises seems to point to the conclusion that the nature of institutional development is such that the church as an organized body must always fall short of the church as an ideally projected moral community. The unflinching adoption of the ethics of Jesus as applied to international, industrial, and social affairs would of necessity commit the churches to a genuine radicalism which must rend them, as now constituted, to pieces. The church of the future would then become, like the early Christian community, a band of social outcasts, sustained, not by respectability and other social sanctions, but by the consciousness of a high moral enterprise. But this course would have to be pursued, as in the past, by sacrificing the favor and benefits of this present world for those of a world to come either here or elsewhere. In the latter case it would presuppose a fervency of faith in spiritual values, or at least an eschatological outlook, not congenial to the modern mind; while if an *earthly* kingdom of heaven were sought it would render the church merely like the various socialistic groups, which occupy in the present social order a position very similar in some respects to that of the despised and persecuted communities of the apostolic days of the Christian church. We refer particularly to their uncompromising idealism and the hearty detestation of the privileged and parasitic interests with which they are honored.

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However we may look at it, the price of social acceptability, on the part of the Christian church at least, seems therefore to be a surrender, or at least a partial suppression, of its essentially radical and even revolutionizing principles. If "belonging to church" were to become a real moral adventure again, as in the days of Stephen, Peter, and Paul, those who are in a state of rebellion against the plutocratic iniquities of the accepted order of things would flock to the sanctuary, while all profiteers, and even many merely benevolent beneficiaries of the "system," would withdraw.[1] The social estrangement which is disrupting modern societies would then have cut to the core and split in twain the one institution which, in theory at least, knows no distinction among men. But a religion metamorphosed into a political or class program, however noble and urgently just, must, in the nature of the case, suggest the salt which has lost its savor, and when the particular issue it had espoused at the sacrifice of its universal spirit had given way to a new alignment of life it would soon be clear that the divine birthright had been sold for a mess of pottage.

There seems to be offered at the present moment no escape from this dilemma. Religion, viewed in its twofold aspect, as both inspiration and institution, appears always as the very living word of life, yet always too largely wastes and diverts its inspirational power in the institutional and very human arrangements through which it must of necessity be brought to work. In consequence the Christian church is in precisely the predicament of its great apostle, and may well cry out along with him:

> I know that the law is spiritual; but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I know not: for not what I would do I practice; but what I hate that I do. . . . . For the good which I would I do not:

[1] As actually happened, or was threatened, recently, in connection with the effort of certain commercial interests to silence the social message of the churches. See *The World Tomorrow*, July, 1921, p. 216. However, the *Federal Council Bulletin* for April-May, 1921, shows that the spokesman for these objectors "does not speak for the rank and file of the forward-looking employers of the country."

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but the evil which I would not, that I practice. . . . . For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see a different law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity under the law of sin which is in my members.[1]

As sufficiently shown in earlier passages, this "law of sin" is that of the social impotence which is the shame of the church, and it lies precisely in the fact that her "members" are fallible human beings, so thoroughly and inevitably implicated in the whole social order that they cannot practice that law of disinterested service and pure social justice in which the church "inwardly" delights, i.e., in the person of the true prophets who constitute her very soul. Yet despite this unhappy condition, which justifies only too fully the strictures of her enemies, the conviction remains unshaken that even the faulty way of faithful church-membership is, morally speaking, the true and higher way, because it is the way of self-control and self-discipline as well as the way of a high and sincere, even where largely ineffectual, striving and aspiration, in the social no less than the personal meaning of the terms. And we may still be permitted to hope that there will yet be found within the ranks of organized religion intellectual and spiritual insight sufficient to reduce the moral chasm that yawns between the ethical ideals and the social practices of modern society. This would require, of course, nothing less than a genuine revival of religion, profound enough to renovate the scale of social standards and values now dominating the church and the world. While great religious upheavals have indeed occurred in the past, throwing the nations into turmoil and conflict, as in the "holy wars" of the Crescent and the Cross, they have seldom been able to change the level or course of the folkways and standards that control the daily life of the masses of men—but even such a miracle of grace does not appear to be inherently impossible.

[1] Rom. 7: 15–25.

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THE INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL CRISIS IN CHINA

F. L. HAWKS POTT
St. John's University, Shanghai, China

The "new thought" movement in China is due to the stimulus derived from Western science. Its center is the University of Peking. Closely allied is the new literary movement, which aims to make the spoken language rather than the classics the medium of education. A new and modern literature is thus being produced. It expresses the conception of evolution, and induces a vigorous criticism of the static and conservative Confucian culture. It boldly questions the validity of many established ideals and customs. This critical attitude affects the work of Christian missions. Any appeal to mere dogmatic authority becomes impossible. Christianity must present to critical minds the vital gospel of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men; the ideal of the Kingdom of God with its social message; and the Christian conception of self-sacrifice in contrast to the Buddhist doctrine of self-renunciation.

At present in China we have a striking illustration of the familiar saying in regard to the effect of pouring new wine into old bottles, for what is known as the "new thought" is disrupting the old institutions, and producing anarchical results.

Of course the educated class is the one chiefly affected, but the ideas adopted by this class are spreading, and gradually permeating the whole of society. If we base our deductions on the life of the peasant—the farmer of Shantung, for instance—we might conclude that China, after all, is the same old China. The peasant lives in the same ignorance and poverty as his ancestors, and his material outlook appears to be the same as theirs. Yet even he has begun to get a glimmering of conceptions different from those handed down by tradition, and it is only a matter of time before the new ideas will manifest themselves in social disturbance.

We are all apt to think of social revolutions as beginning with the masses, but on closer examination we find that they have their origin with the educated class. The ideas spread from the top downward, and when they reach the lower strata of society they become dynamic and lead to upheaval.

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The "new thought" movement in China is often referred to as the *renaissance*, but this is not a very accurate description. Renaissance implies the rebirth or reappearance of something that has been possessed before and lost for a season, as, for instance, the renaissance of the Greek and Latin classical literature in the West at the close of the Middle Ages. There has been nothing like that in China in the present revolution. It is not a regaining of anything that had once been influential, but the coming of something that was absolutely foreign and altogether different from what existed before. The present period through which China is passing corresponds more nearly to the age of enlightenment in Europe in the eighteenth century. It is due to the new knowledge obtained by the study of the natural sciences, to the acquaintance with the theory of evolution and the interpretation of everything on naturalistic principles, and to the application of reason and criticism to all existing institutions and problems of life.

The movement in the Chinese language is known by several names such as *sing ssu cho*, "the tide of the new thought," and the *sing wen hwa yuan dong*, "the new civilization movement."

One of the principal sources of inspiration is the National University of Peking. Here the Chancellor Tsai Yuan-pei, a remarkable man, has gathered together a group of men who have received modern education in China, Japan, Europe, and America. Like Oxford in the time of the humanists they are making the University of Peking by their teaching and writing a center of the new movement.

There has been founded in Peking by Mr. Fan Yuan-lieh, former Minister of Education, a society called the "Shang Chih Hsueh Huei," "Society of Progressive Knowledge," which has been instrumental in bringing China into relation with the current of modern thought in Western countries. One of the methods adopted has been the inviting of prominent Western scholars to lecture in China, such as Dr. John Dewey and Professor Bertrand Russell.

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The movement is spread by means of the press, for in a place like Shanghai one can find in the book stores as many as forty-seven magazines, including weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and semi-annuals. All these are pouring new wine into old bottles. Some of them are ultra-radical and advocate the most advanced opinions. A wide range of subjects is discussed, covering such topics as Einstein's theory of relativity and the latest teaching in regard to eugenics. Of the magazines that are most influential among the student class might be mentioned the *Sing Cho* or *New Tide*, and the *Sing Tsing Nien, La Jeunesse.* With the latter Dr. Hu Suh's name is associated, one of the young philosophers of China, who is also a leader in the reform movement for the simplification of the Chinese language.

The new literary movement is closely connected with the intellectual revolution. It consists in the adoption of the spoken language—the *pei-hua*—in place of the old classical style, for literary purposes.

The leaders of the new thought movement in Peking had to overcome the strongly rooted prejudices of the scholars of the old school before they could obtain recognition for the new and simpler form of composition. Vulgate writing, especially vulgate poetry, was regarded with contempt and ridicule as late as the spring of 1919. But the victory has been won. At the last meeting of the National Educational Association held in October, 1919, a resolution was passed recommending that all textbooks in the primary schools and a part of those in the higher primary should be written in the spoken language; and in January, 1920, the Ministry of Education officially proclaimed that beginning with the next autumn the spoken language should be used in teaching Chinese in the first two years of the primary schools.

The use of the simpler and more natural mode of expression of thought has led to a great increase in the literary output. No longer cramped by being obliged to employ a highly artifi-

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cial and archaic instrument, the old literary language, the young students of China are attempting to bring about the creation of a new literature. The *pei-hua* as the literary medium for prose and poetry is obtaining a recognized place, and becoming increasingly more popular. It has been estimated that more than four hundred periodicals are published in the spoken language. This new medium of literary expression is also used in the editorials of many of the leading dailies and in the "supplement" pages for reports of educational and philosophical lectures and the translation of short stories.

In order to appreciate more fully this new intellectual movement it is well to consider for a moment the character of the long-established ethical and social system of China. It owed its foundations to the labors of Confucius, Mencius, and other ancient teachers. It was made to apply to the five principal relationships into which human beings are brought: those of ruler and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and friend with friend.

Confucius entirely disclaimed any originality in laying down ethical regulations, and spoke of himself as a transmitter, not an originator. He held that his teaching had the sanction of antiquity and was absolute in its nature. It was something that could not be changed and would be of the same value for all succeeding generations. Its general character, therefore, is inflexible and static and gives us the explanation of the highly developed conservatism of the Chinese.

As long as China was isolated from the rest of the world her ancient system worked fairly well, and its maladjustments were not apparent. It produced a social equilibrium that was able to resist disturbing influences. Like the Hebrew law it was fenced about by traditions, precedents, and meticulous ceremonial observances, which made it become increasingly stereotyped. Few ventured to employ their critical faculties in regard to it, and all submitted to a rigid orthodoxy. He

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who proposed an innovation was regarded and treated as a heretic and a dangerous disturber of the peace.

Sometimes one hears the Confucian system of morality referred to as pure ethics divorced from religious ideas. This is, of course, a misconception and is partly due to the fact that the average modern Chinese seem more interested in the discussion of ethics than of religion.

The ethical principles conserved and handed down by Confucius rest upon primitive religious conceptions such as the following: Heaven or Shangti is regarded as the principle of order and harmony in the universe, and obedience to this principle (or to him, if we take a personal interpretation) promotes order and harmony. Heaven has endowed man with a moral nature which is good. If a man follows his original nature, he will naturally live in the right relationship with others and there will be "peace under heaven." A high value is placed upon knowledge because by it man comes to know his own nature and discovers how he may reform whatever is amiss in his conduct.

Ancestral worship implies the extension of the filial relationship which exists in this life, back into the past, and makes it one that is perpetual.

From this brief outline we can understand why the social and ethical system of China has ceased to be progressive or to adapt itself to new conditions, and we can realize more fully the revolutionary effects of the new thought.

Science with its theory of evolution makes its appearance, showing that everything has been the result of a gradual development. The critical faculty is aroused, and begins to examine the use and value of general customs and social institutions. The currents of thought from the West flow into the country, questioning the old values, and advocating the reform of old institutions. Everything appears to be thrown into the melting-pot; or to use again the familiar figure with which we began, the new wine breaks the old bottles.

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Some would discard the past entirely and attempt the impossible feat of starting *de novo*.

The family which has been the great social unit in China is threatened with dissolution. The spirit of democracy displaces the paternal idea of government. Freedom of intercourse between the sexes—even free love—is substituted for the oriental subjection of women. Religion is regarded as superstition, and aesthetics are deemed sufficient for the stirring of the higher emotions. A philosophy which is materialistic or naturalistic makes a strong appeal, and is proclaimed as that which will meet China's need in the days of reconstruction.

Dr. Hu Suh in summing up the tendencies of the new intellectual movement in China writes "As I see it, there are three such tendencies, first a movement toward democracy; second a movement for educational reform; and lastly a change in the general intellectual attitude." In regard to democracy he points out that a mistake has been made by the student class in confining their attention too exclusively to political matters, and urges the necessity of democratizing society. To quote his own words:

> We still have the masses to educate, the women to emancipate, the schools to reform, the home industries to develop, the family system to reshape, the dead and antiquated ideas to combat, the false and harmful idols to dethrone, the many, many social and economic wrongs to redress.

Referring to educational reform, he speaks of the influence exerted by Dr. John Dewey by his emphasis on the child's natural powers, on self-activity, and on the social aim of education, and he adduces many evidences of the rapidly growing interest in education manifested by the introduction of popular lecture forums, night and half-day schools, industrial schools for poor boys and girls, and the free schools established by the Students Union.

In regard to the change in the general mental attitude Dr. Hu Suh says:

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It has been justly said that the greatest obstacle to progress in China is the deductive habit of mind; that is, the willingness to accept things on authority, and acquiesce in ideas and ideals without questioning whence they are derived and whether they are true or not. A quotation from the classics is sufficient argument for a national policy, and a spurious saying of Confucius is good enough to justify the existence of any obsolete custom or institution. This habit is the most formidable enemy to innovation and progress. Its best antidote is found in the scientific attitude which seeks to find out truth for one's self and refuses to believe in anything without sufficient evidence of its credibility. It seems that this scientific spirit is beginning to make itself felt in the Chinese intellectual world today. It first shows itself in the attitude of doubt. The question "why" is heard everywhere. Why should we believe in this or that idea? Why should this or that institution still exist to-day? . . . . Truly we are today transvaluating all our values, literary, social, intellectual, and moral.[1]

The spread of the new thought is beginning to have its effect on the work of Christian missions. To a large extent the Christian community has been left in entire ignorance in regard to the currents of modern thought. This has been due to the fact that a large majority of the pioneer missionaries were men and women who were earnest propagators of what is now sometimes called the old theology. One of the firmest articles of their creed was the verbal inspiration and the infallibility of the Bible, and this was handed on to their converts. The danger connected with such teaching was not apparent at first, but now when the Christian Chinese are called upon to face the new thought movement they are apt to find their religious beliefs shaken and to become unsettled.

Unfortunately there is a split in the ranks of the missionaries themselves. The older and more conservative are clinging to the theory of verbal inspiration and to an antiquated theology, and are in bitter opposition to all liberalizing tendencies. They do not perceive the signs of the times and are just as much seekers after infallibility as the ultramontanist

[1] See Article, "Intellectual China in 1919," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, Vol. IV (1919), p. 353.

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in the Roman church. That section of the missionary body which has come into contact with modern thought is alive to the fact that if Christianity is to influence the new educated class in China it must be presented as a rational creed and one that can stand the test of experience.

To return to the present situation in China, we find the new thought movement one that is full of vigorous life and is calculated to have far-reaching results. China is passing through a period which was absolutely necessary in order that once again she may enter on the path of progress. We must avoid the danger of exaggeration and not give the impression that the movement has spread farther than it really has. At the same time we would be blind if we did not see that it is gathering momentum and that very rapidly.

The pragmatic test is being applied to everything. The Chinese influenced by the movement are inquiring in regard to the present social and moral order. What is its origin? What value has it? Should it be retained or discarded? In regard to religion they are asking: Is it necessary? Has its day passed? In regard to the present industrial system they question: Would not socialism or bolshevism be better?

The greatest value connected with the present movement is the growth of a readiness to receive new ideas, and the revolt against the principle of authority to which the Chinese mind has been enslaved for so many centuries. The greatest danger is that it may lead to the adoption of a materialistic or naturalistic philosophy of life—one that will chill idealism and inspiration.

We come now to the main object of this article, the consideration of what the Christian religion has to offer China at the present time. Once more we would emphasize that the propagation of a narrow and outworn theology will be of little value, and that the presentation of Christianity in a dogmatic way will not influence the thinking classes. By a dogma we mean the presentation of a doctrine as something that must

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be accepted on authority as absolute truth and that must not be scrutinized by reason.

The fundamental teachings of Christ are what China needs as well as the rest of the world. It will be found that his teaching is like a treasury from which old and new things may be drawn. In an age of general skepticism, the human heart responds to something that helps to remove doubt and offers light amid the darkness. It is well to remember that one of the reasons for the triumph of Christianity in the western Roman Empire was the clarity and definiteness of its message amid the confused jumble of religious and philosophical ideas.

What is the great message that the Christian religion has to offer to China at the present time? First and foremost, the gospel of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The phrase "the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" is often used glibly without any real perception of its connotation. The fatherhood of God was the truth to which Christ came to bear witness, not only by his teaching but by his life and death. He was the "author and captain of faith," for in the darkest hour of trial, when the forces of evil seemed to overwhelm him, with a faith that could not be destroyed, he persisted in the belief that God was his father.

One cannot read the accounts we have of his teaching in the four Gospels without realizing that this faith permeated all he said. His great desire was to bring men and women into filial relationship with God, and to declare God, not as an absolute sovereign, but as one who cared for each one of his children. The brotherhood of man follows as a necessary corollary and gives us the great conception of the human race as one family. This is the basis of his ethics, and this the principle upon which social relationships are to be developed. In so far as the world has not yet comprehended his gospel, it has not yet become Christian. What we call Christian civilization is still so largely pagan, that it has been said with much

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truth that Christianity cannot be called a failure because it has never been really tried.

This surely is a gospel that China needs. It is the spiritual foundation upon which true democracy rests, and it is a historical fact that the development of democracy and the spread of teaching inspired by Christ have been closely connected. It alone gives us sufficient reason for the belief in the value of the individual and a powerful incentive for seeking the welfare of our fellow-men.

The second great truth to which we would refer is the gospel of the Kingdom of God—the great social ideal of Jesus Christ, the ideal of a society in harmony with God, taking as its highest values righteousness, truth, and beauty, and actuated by the golden rule of loving our neighbors as ourselves. The Kingdom of God has been fittingly compared to an ellipse with its two foci, the love of God and the love of man.

Is the cosmic process meaningless or has it a purpose? A naturalistic philosophy is without teleology. As Dr. F. C. S. Schiller in one of his essays says:

> If there is certainty about any prediction of science, it is surely, as I have elsewhere put it, this, that our racial destiny is to shiver and to starve to death in ever deepening gloom. If the view of mechanical science be the whole truth about the universe, the race is of just as little account as the individual; suns and stars and the hosts of heaven will roll on in their orbits just as steadily and unfeelingly whether we prosper or perish, struggle or resign ourselves to despair.

The ideal of Christ fills us with a noble enthusiasm, assures us that the cosmic process has a purpose and that men may be workers together with God in the gradual realization of this purpose. Without some such belief we are left despondent and without incentive to struggle for social reforms.

We hear much about the social application of Christianity and it is often referred to as a new conception. The church has often been so busy with formulating orthodox doctrine and developing its own institutional machinery that the

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social significance of the teaching of Christ has been obscured. The founder himself, however, gave us a social ideal than which no greater is conceivable. In China where so much is needed in the way of social reform and readjustment, what is to be the incentive? Are expediency or utilitarianism sufficient motives? Will not the great social ideal of Christianity prove of the greatest value?

In the third place the gospel of Christ proclaims the great truth that we must die to live. The Christian doctrine of self-sacrifice differs from the Buddhist doctrine of self-renunciation. The latter implies that we must die to all desire so that finally we may be absorbed in the absolute. The former tells us that through death we pass to life, that through sacrifice of the lower desires comes self-realization, that through sacrifice in the service of others comes the salvation of the world.

Scientists have dwelt almost exclusively upon the doctrines of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. Christianity emphasizes that which has been overlooked. In nature we find in a rudimentary stage the principles of co-operation and vicarious suffering. These are developed in many ways more fully, until we come to the conception of the strong bearing the infirmities of the weak. The great forward steps in the progress of humanity have been rendered possible by the willingness on the part of some to spend and be spent in the service of others. The gospel of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ is the supreme and typical example of the great truth that life comes through death.

China certainly needs this gospel at the present time. It furnishes inspiration for patriotism. Men of unselfish character alone can save China. The criticism leveled at those who are in power is that for the most part they are self-seekers, and that few really care for the uplift of their countrymen and the salvation of their nation. Lastly, Christianity offers to China a spiritual dynamic. As has often been remarked, Christianity is primarily a religion of a person not of a doctrine. It brings

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to bear upon men's lives the spiritual influence of a living Christ, and thus provides a spiritual dynamic. The life of God is mediated to man through one who called himself Son of God and Son of Man.

Hence it is the religion of experience, and one that can be put to the test. It exerts a regenerating force upon character, by bringing men into relationship with the spirit of Jesus Christ "who is the same yesterday, today, and forever." We are sometimes told that what China needs above everything else is a moral reformation. In order to effect this there is an earnest striving on the part of some to revive Confucianism. Others advocate the spread of Buddhism; and a cult of neo-Buddhism has been established. As in the days of the decline of the western Roman Empire, so now in the days of the disintegration of the old Chinese civilization serious attempts are made to resuscitate the old cults and to seek in them the moral force the nation lacks. China will find in Christianity the spiritual and moral dynamic sufficient to promote the true reformation of her people.

These then in brief are some of the things Christianity offers to China. As we have said, above all it is a way of life, but at the same time it is a philosophy of life. As a philosophy, when tried by the pragmatic test, it works, it brings inspiration, it brings harmony and purpose and strength. It is a reasonable philosophy, but ultimately it rests upon faith. It makes the claim that he who makes the venture of faith will not be disappointed, but will come to discover more and more "the unsearchable riches of Christ."

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AN EXPERIMENT IN RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

LAURENS HICKOK SEELYE
Beirut, Syria

This article gives an account of the way in which the students of different religious faiths are enabled to co-operate religiously in the American University at Beirut, Syria. The constitution of the West Hall Brotherhood is given in full. It is a significant expression of the spirit of religious co-operation in a Christian institution.

"Children, I am sorry to say that the Devil gave the heathen in India many religions," was the opening sentence of a missionary pamphlet twenty years ago. Scholars who had been plowing new ground in the comparative study of religions had thrown that rock out long ago. They recognized other ("heathen") religions as equally sincere expressions of man's native impulses to worship, define, and depict the object of his aspiration. But the scientific study of religion was new and not popular; and this more accurate and Christian view of other religions did not spread readily to those who spent fifteen hours a day, devoutly and ardently spreading the cause of Christ in foreign parts. The author of "The Modern Missionary" in a recent number of the *Atlantic Monthly* is one of the few who have a vision of God in terms of the unfamiliar, and at times surprising, practices of the other race's religion. To him the faith of the missionary is not the motive to urge upon others conformity, but a gracious invitation to Christian and non-Christian to learn together of the progressing revelation of God. Dr. Howard Bliss put into actual missionary achievement the belief of every scientific student of religious experience.

It was a radical step. And it is a question how many Christian missionary organizations would tolerate such a creed. But Dr. Bliss declined to accept the leadership of

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his institution until it was freed from what little sectarian control existed. The institution became non-denominational, and he shouldered the responsibility of winning miscellaneous support for a liberal, non-sectarian missionary college. Then came his untimely death.

Missionary work in the Near East has never really touched the Moslems. Under the Turks there were government prohibitions, and it was too dangerous for a Moslem to become converted. Some denominations stressed literalistic, doctrinal interpretations, such as the Trinity, in such a way as to arouse the most direct and hostile Moslem antagonism. Even the Jesuits, who have worked for years in many centers of the old Turkish Empire, limit themselves to indirect work. One of the leading fathers of this order, forty years in the land, remarked to me that there was no hope of religious contacts with Islam. "For," said he, "how can one find any common basis with those who won't accept the Fall of Man and man's consequent need of a Saviour?" Much work and many notable educational institutions were built up under the old Turkish régime; but the response to them, for the most part, came from the subject races of the Empire, Armenians, Greeks, etc. The head of a denominational missionary college said frankly, "I'll have to confess that in my ten years of experience out here I have never been able to make educational contact with the Moslems."

In the light of this situation the work of the institution founded by Dr. Daniel Bliss and developed by Dr. Howard Bliss[1] is peculiarly significant. Last year (1920–21) it enrolled 1,001 students divided as follows: Christians, 490; Moslems, 382; Jews, 66; Druzes, 41; Bahais, 32; a total of 511 non-Christians, yet the institution is frankly and openly Christian. That is, its permanent staff of teachers are Christian men, and the regular daily and weekly chapel exercises are conducted by Christians. Far more than that, these figures mean that

[1] American University, Beirut, Syria.

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young men who never mingle, play, converse, study, or work together in their home villages or cities, here in this university do *mingle*, *play*, *converse*, *study*, and *work* together. No one is more surprised at it than they themselves. The varied activities of an American institution necessitate this association. And out of it grow lasting friendships between great-grandsons whose ancestors were ready to massacre each other. So that during the vacations it is no longer strange to find Moslems and Christians on joint hikes, or even living together.

Like most colleges, this institution had a Y.M.C.A. at one time. Gradually, as the increasing association of students vindicated a thoroughgoing faith in Christian friendliness, the test of membership in this organization became more liberal. Associate membership was subject to its usual weakness, testing intellectual conformity rather than spiritual fidelity. So, during the four war years, cut off from the homeland, under pressure and even hostility from the authorities, with difficulty securing maintenance funds on verbal credit, ministering to those who fell starving in the streets alongside the college wall, busy and shorthanded in the administration of education, the association in worship became freer than ever. Shortly after the close of the war it was felt an opportune moment to make explicit the faith of the college in a liberal, non-proselyting association of students and faculty.

This organization was called "The West Hall Brotherhood," because of the location of its place of meeting in West Hall, the center of the students' social, recreational, and religious activities. In preparing a basis for such an organization this alternative was faced:

Either: write into the Pledge the particular and specific views of the institution as a Christian institution, as distinguished from a non-Christian institution. Friends of this plan said that anything other than this would be "untrue to the Christian missionary motive" of the university. Others felt such a plan would not carry out the original intention,

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namely to build a genuine association of religious-minded men, with no effort at proselytization. The organization would then be only a liberalized and localized "Christian Association" which the majority of non-Christians either would join from insincere motives, such as currying favor with the faculty, or would decline to join for the reason that subscription to such a pledge demanded disloyalty to their own mighty historic religions.

Or: write the membership basis on the lines of a general theosophical creed, making no reference, in any connection, to the specific religious nature and faith of the institution providing the Brotherhood with its home. On the one hand such a plan would furnish a general, common basis for divergent faiths, and make no proselyting demands upon any member. But on the other hand, if every reference to Christianity were omitted, non-Christian members and others might be justified in thinking the university had abnegated its claim to be a Christian missionary institution.

A middle way was found by making the basis of the Brotherhood consist of a "Preamble" and a "Pledge," which are as follows:

THE WEST HALL BROTHERHOOD

Preamble: The American University of Beirut is frankly and openly a Christian missionary institution. In Sunday and weekday Chapel services, in curriculum Bible classes, in voluntary devotional Bible classes, it sets forth clearly its conception of the Gospel message to mankind. At the same time it has become widely known for its sympathetic and respectful attitude toward the beliefs and aspirations of its non-Christian students. Rarely in the world's history have thoughtful men of moral purpose yet of widely divergent religious creeds come together in such numbers and in such spirit of mutual understanding and goodwill. No one in the University would wish to lose the benefit of this inter-religious fellowship and harmony that prevails amongst the student body.

The study of our missionary problems and opportunities has led the University to believe that the great need of the Near East today is to join educated men of moral purpose, but of different faiths, in a united

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effort to develop those spiritual ideas and tendencies which they experience in common. Through such fellowship and cooperation there will be introduced into all the divergent groups a new spirit of growth in knowledge of the truths and forces which lift our common manhood into a living relationship with the Spirit of God and His work in the world. When students mingle together in this spirit and with this aim, they tend to become more sincere and intelligent in their own religious life and more useful citizens in the communities to which they belong, especially as leaders in the great movements of the new era for the moral reform of all social groups.

The West Hall Brotherhood has been established for the purpose of promoting this type of inter-religious cooperation between those of our students, whatever the differences in their beliefs, who seek to honor God, and who wish to help each other to follow the guidance of His Spirit of truth and service.

This University organization is a brotherhood of earnest students who have banded themselves together in order to help each other to enrich their religious experience and to strengthen their purpose to bring men to live according to the will of God. It is believed that a thoughtful, sincere man, whether Moslem, Bahai, Jew or Christain can join this Brotherhood without feeling that he has compromised his standing in relation to his own religion. In becoming a member, no one, whether Christian or non-Christian, is asked to give up anything which he considers important in his religious beliefs or practices. It is a league of religious men invited to meet together by a Christian University which is trying to apply in this special form the Golden Rule of its Master, Jesus Christ.

We quite sincerely hold that each member of the Brotherhood, whatever his religion, can contribute something to such a united effort and each can gain something from it. We will all come to a better understanding of each other's attitude towards God and man. We can help each other to be more conscientious in our personal lives and more helpful to our fellow-men. In such a gathering it would be out of place to discuss the differences between creeds or to point out what may seem to anyone to be defects in the religious systems to which other members belong.

In establishing such a brotherhood the University is no less Christian and missionary than it has always been, and it conducts these meetings in what it believes to be the spirit of its leader, Jesus Christ, and with the purpose that He always had in view in all His public activities. However, each speaker at our meetings will be free to present any posi-

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tive and constructive statement of the supreme forces and principles on which he bases his faith in God and man. The result will be a clearer understanding of the fundamental factors in the religious life of a modern educated man; and more particularly of the ideals and purposes of this University as a Christian University, and of the reasons for its determination to be loyal to Jesus Christ in all that it does for its students and their communities. At the same time the University wishes to make it possible for non-Christians to hold fellowship with us in the spirit of utmost self-respect with regard to their own convictions and group relationships. This is not a new thing in the history of the University, but has always been the spirit of our student religious meetings.

The entire Brotherhood meets every Friday evening, and smaller groups meet on Sunday mornings. Some of these smaller gatherings are for the purpose of direct Bible study, others for the presentation of more general themes of present day importance in the lives of earnest prayerful men.

The practical aim of all these meetings is to emphasize the fact that the supreme need today is for men of character; and that the time is ripe for men of all races and religions to cooperate in the use of everything—thought, energy, possession, and social relationships—in the construction, under God's blessing, of a world of righteousness and human brotherhood.

Through the agency of various committees the members of the Brotherhood are given an opportunity to put these principles into practice in the life of the campus. Thus we hope to come to a better understanding of each other's attitude towards God and also of God's purpose for the world. We will at the same time be forming habits of dependence on God and of unselfish service to our fellow-men.

Pledge: In joining the West Hall Brotherhood I am in sympathy with its purpose as expressed in the Preamble.

I desire to take my part in this united movement for righteousness and human brotherhood; and with God's help I am determined to rid my life of the obstacles and habits which interfere with this purpose of living a sincere, clean, honest and serviceful life.

As a practical aid in keeping this determination strong I expect to practice meditation and private devotion, and also to attend the Friday evening meetings.

I will take part in any work of the committees in which I can be of service.

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Thus, in the Pledge, no man joining the Brotherhood is required to "become Christian"; and, by the Preamble, all grounds are removed for thinking that the University has given up its faith as a Christian missionary institution or has become merely a society for the cultivation of ethical emotion.

What is probably the most remarkable proposition is the explicit statement in the Preamble that the institution inaugurates this Brotherhood for all religions not as an indication that it has substituted a general, universal religious philosophy for its historic Christianity, but because *religious association constitutes the true nature of Christianity.* In such a situation, with such students, the Christian thing to do is not so much to "make them Christians" as to provide a way of learning from God by common prayer, song, testimony, and worship. The only way to make the spirit of Christ supreme throughout the world is to practice the spirit of friendship, holding back and hiding nothing, and taking a chance on the results which that spirit will accomplish. At least such is the faith that founded the West Hall Brotherhood.

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CURRENT EVENTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A Scientific Substitute for the Doctrine of Tithing.—It is generally recognized that while the doctrine of tithing represents the sound principle of deliberately setting aside a definite percentage of one's income for philanthropic purposes, the proposal that all individuals, regardless of income, should contribute one-tenth is neither practicable nor just. A very elaborate study of the problem of giving has been made by Paul and Dorothy Douglas and Carl S. Joslyn in *What Can a Man Afford?* published as a supplement to the *American Economic Review*, December, 1921. The study includes the examination of the data which are available in regard to living expenses, the various family budgets which have been proposed by economic experts, the figures on benevolent gifts taken from the exemptions claimed on this score on income tax returns, and other items. The results of the inquiry are tabulated in tables indicating what may reasonably be expected in the line of giving, ranging from one-tenth of 1 per cent in the case of the minimum living salary of $1,250 up to 27 per cent for incomes in the region of $100,000. Emphasis is also laid on the desirability of investments which serve to enhance the amount of capital without which civilization cannot advance. Percentages of investment are also represented on a graded scale. This study, correlating the problem of gifts to the church and to philanthropies with all the other needs of humanity, is an unusually valuable contribution to a broad understanding of personal obligations. It might very well be carefully studied by pastors, and its use recommended, not simply to increase a sense of responsibility for the support of the church, but also to introduce a wholesome budget system of administering the family income in all directions.

Does the Golden Rule Administer Itself?—Widespread publicity has been given during the past year or more to the experiment which Mr. Arthur Nash made in Cincinnati in organizing his clothing industry according to the Golden Rule. The reports made public seemed to indicate that the Golden Rule in industry was a distinct financial asset. An article by S. Adele Shaw in the *Survey* for March 18 gives the results of a careful expert investigation of the Nash shops. It was discovered that, trusting wholly to the Golden Rule, Mr. Nash had not provided for any form of organization among the employees. He

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believed that where the Golden Rule is in force there are no grievances, and hence no necessity for committees of adjustment. As a matter of fact, the investigator discovered that the workers did have certain grievances and that owing to the lack of organization it was extremely difficult to discover any way in which the grievances might be brought to the attention of Mr. Nash. Again, a comparison of the wages paid in the Nash shops with wages generally in the same industry indicates that the Nash employees are not receiving more than the average wage paid in the industry. The fact that Mr. Nash took over one of the worst sweatshops in the city made it possible for him to increase wages enormously as compared with the standards in force when he took the shop, without bringing them to a higher rate than was paid in shops which had responded to the pressure of demands from the wage-earners. It would seem that even the Golden Rule cannot be left to work itself, but that the careful planning of organizations for the adjustment of relations is as necessary in a Golden Rule shop as in any other.

The Death of Professor Wilhelm Herrmann.—For thirty or forty years the most notable exponent of the Ritschlian theology has been Professor Wilhelm Herrmann, who taught in the University of Marburg. His recent death will be felt as a keen loss by the hundreds of students who have felt the unusual stimulus of his lectures. Professor Herrmann combined in a rare degree the qualities of keen intellectual analysis and religious fervor, and was a powerful influence in establishing the religious value of a genuinely scientific spirit. His best-known work has been translated into English under the title *The Christian's Communion with God*. His numerous critical writings made him a constant factor to be reckoned with in the development of theology in Germany.

The Death of Professor Williston Walker.—In the death of Williston Walker, March 9, 1922, at the age of sixty-one, not only has Yale University, but also the theological world of America, sustained a distinct and irreparable loss. He taught first at Bryn Mawr, then in Hartford Seminary, 1889–1901, and finally as successor to Professor George P. Fisher in the chair of church history in Yale, where as teacher, author, counselor, and administrator he contributed without stint, not alone to the higher life of the University, but also, and more particularly, to the field of ecclesiastical history, in which he was a tireless and indefatigable student and investigator.

His writings include *The Reformation* (1900), *John Calvin* (1906), *Great Men of the Christian Church* (1908), *The History of the Christian*

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Church (1918, probably the best one-volume church history in the English language), as well as valuable interpretations of the history of his own denomination, viz., *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (1893), *History of the Congregational Churches of the United States* (1894), and *Ten New England Leaders* (1901).

But apart from the fame of high scholarship and literary achievement, Williston Walker will be held in loving memory by associates, pupils, and friends who have had the rare gift of his friendship, and have shared the atmosphere of his unhurried, untroubled, beautiful soul.

A Modern Theory of Guardian Angels.—Winston Churchill expresses his ideas on immortality in the April number of the *Yale Review*. Under the title "An Uncharted Way" the author attempts to prove a life after death by certain effects that we experience in this life. The writer maintains that "one who has what is called the religious experience in any intense degree is brought into contact with mental forces of a power hitherto unimagined. Such a one understands then that the visible world is part of a more spiritual universe from which it draws its chief significance." There is in this experience something akin to that creative feeling which we call inspiration. There are times when we feel the power and presence of this productive force, but we know not whence it came or whither it went. Invariably we ask, What is the source of such an expression of energy? The author answers this question by saying that individuals in the unseen realize themselves by giving energy in will, emotions, and intuitions to persons in this world. "Individuals in the unseen retain and perhaps acquire interests in persons here whose lives they wish to mould, to whom they desire to give opinions or ideas." They are "the right hands" who, when conditions permit, supply us with that creative energy which we call inspiration. By prayer or wishing the conscious mind also draws strength from a "right hand" that is supplying it. In concluding his theory of immortality the writer says, "If we act as if immortality were true, we gain more and more abundant life." Such action will inspire and vitalize us in this life and, if there is another life beyond the grave, we will not arrive there in a state of separation from our friends until our unbelief is overcome, but shall at once enjoy the blessings of fellowship and friendship.

The Religious Inadequacy of Creeds.—One reason why creeds are growing more and more inadequate is because they lack reality in relation to personal experience and also in relation to other epochs than those in which they were formulated. It is on this ground that many earnest

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Christians have refused subscription, and that later ages have revised, conventionalized, or ignored creeds. "A deeper objection to formal creeds," says the editor of the *Congregationalist* of March 30, "is their lack of definite relation to human needs. Their contents and expression alike are dominated by the speculative and the critical. It is this that marks them so far below the declarations of faith contained in the teaching of Jesus. There is hardly a word of the Master's teaching that sounds outside the range of definite human need. God is defined in terms of his relationship to the soul. It is doubtful if there is a word regarding his absolute being, or of metaphysics, divorced from ethics and salvation." Likewise if the needs of humanity were ever before our minds, the elaborateness and exactness of theological dogmas would be exchanged for a simple and refined interpretation of God in the soul's own language and experience.

Defining Human Nature.—What is the characteristic mark of human kind? An answer to this inquiry is given by Cassius J. Keyser in the January number of the *Hibbert Journal*. Dr. Keyser is professor of mathematics in Columbia University and consequently speaks as a mathematician. He feels that a right conception of the nature of man is prerequisite to the solution of the great world-problems. Our generation has inherited two concepts of man. "One of them is biological or zoölogical. According to this conception man is an animal—a kind of species of animal. It is this misconception that has marred our social life. If this idea is continually retained, our ethics will be in the future what it always has been in a large measure—a zoölogical ethics, animal ethics, the ethics of tooth and claw, the ethics of strife, violence, combat, and war. The other conception of man which must be relinquished is the mythological conception. Here man has strictly no place in nature. He is neither natural nor supernatural but both at once—a kind of hybrid of the two." Suffice it to say that if we humans do not constitute a perfectly natural class of life, then there never has been and never can be a human ethics having the sanction of natural law. Then our ethics will continue to carry the confusion and darkness produced by the presence of mythological elements. "A natural view of life shows us that plants constitute the lowest order of life. They can transform basic energies of the soil, but they cannot move in space. They constitute life-dimension I. Animals also transform the energies of sun, soil, and air, but they have the power to move. They constitute life-dimension II. Human beings can move in space, but if that were all, they would be nothing more than animals. Years ago when they

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appeared on this globe without guiding maxims, precedents, science, art, philosophy, or instruments, they initiated the creative movement called civilization. This creative power the animals have not. It is this distinction that man needs to meditate upon in order to get an ethics that will be human." And a genuinely human ethics will give him a freedom in accord with natural laws, and a righteousness that will not contravene these laws.

Making the World Better.—"The war is too much with us," says General Booth in the March number of the *Review of Reviews*. "We have won almost everything but peace and pursued every line but gratitude." Peerages and pensions and promotions, monuments and mandates and votes of thanks, leagues and conferences and referenda, campaigns in favor of tariffs and reparations and the rest—all these may be well enough in their way. But we have not yet seen the peace that has come to us in its true light. "The peace in its way seems as great a test as the war and if we neglect to make ourselves worthy of it, it will certainly not come our way in its fulness of opportunity again." It seems as if many consider the coming of peace a pass into the whirlpool of pleasure. And a lowering of the civic currency is assisting this dangerous craze for pleasure. "But pleasure rather than happiness—which is a very different thing—means extravagance; extravagance breeds debt, and debt breeds crime." This passion for pleasure will not make the world better. It is a disease which must be remedied. General Booth finds such a remedy in self-denial. "I think," says he, "if the people went in for less pleasure and more mutual service, they would enjoy life ten times more than they do. Pleasure such as I have discussed soon wears out its welcome, and the appetite grows as the food loses its flavor. But practical altruism grows sweeter and more attractive every day." Its power for making the world better is unlimited.

Is the Mind a Separate Entity?—"Science and Religion" is the title of an article in the February number of *Harper's Magazine* in which Mr. Charles P. Steinmetz discusses the possibility of the existence of a separate entity called mind. In the past, chemists accepted as true the equation $2H_2$ plus O_2 equals $2H_2O$. "Innumerable times it had been experimentally proven by combining 4 parts of hydrogen and 32 parts of oxygen into 36 parts of water vapor. Today this has been corrected and the equation now stands: $2H_2$ plus O_2 equals $2H_2O$ plus $293{,}000J$. Chemists now recognize that the transformation of energy is coincident with the transformation of matter. Every time the

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experiment is made this energy makes itself felt as flame, as heat and mechanical force. Now this means that the transformation of matter is dissoluble from the transformation of energy. But when mental activity occurs, chemical and physical transformations accompany it, and are coincident with it. Now if for a hundred years the first equation was considered complete until we found that one side was lacking, the question may well be raised: Should not the second equation be written $2H_2$ plus O_2 equals $2H_2O$ plus $293{,}000J$ plus X, involving all three entities, matter, energy, and mind? We have no satisfactory means of recognizing entity 'X' except in those rare instances of high intensity when it appears in a mental process. But entity 'X' may have many forms in which it is not recognized even as the flame was not recognized as the entity energy for a long time. Assuming then that mind were a form of the entity 'X', how would this bear on the problem of immortality? Just as energy and matter continually change their forms, so entity 'X,' would continuously change, disappear in one form and reappear in another." The writer conludes by saying that since entity "X" cannot be conceived as existing permanently in one and the same form, the permanency of the ego—that is, individual immortality—would still be illogical.

The Social Translation of the Gospel.—"For every Christian life taken seriously there is a task of translation. Not only those who teach Greek and Hebrew are translators. The men who constructed our systems of theology have been rendering history and experience into a different language. The builders of cathedrals were translators of the gospel. And now for many years there has been a demand for another translation—the social translation of the gospel." So writes Henry J. Cadbury in the *Harvard Theological Review* of January. And what the writer emphasizes is not so much the word "social" but the word "translation"! The gist of this translation may be stated thus: Jesus' attitude was to the problems of his time as the Christian's attitude should be to the problems of our time. This means that we must study the problems of Jesus' time, the attitude of Jesus to them and the problems of our time. Some of the factors that have been so translated and may help us to deal soundly with the perplexing questions of our day are:

1. The moral earnestness of Jesus. Jesus' teachings deal not primarily with theology but with conduct. In contrast with some theologians today Jesus' emphasis was not on the speculative but on the moral. Both implicitly and explicitly he stands for moral values.

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2. Jesus contributes to our social questions a distinctive method. He resolutely rejected as of Satan the adoption of evil means for a good end, and though it pointed to the way of the cross, he felt bound to follow God's thoughts rather than men's. But nowhere is his method so unique as when he deals with evil. He thought that evil could be overcome with good. He desired not the punishment of the wrong but the making right of him who was wrong. Jesus dealt not with symptoms but with diseases. And this is the index to the social translation of the gospel today. It is a translation that requires loyalty to the spirit of Jesus.

Ancient Wisdom Needed in Modern Times.—An article on evolution by Mr. Bryan which appeared in the *New York Times* of February 26 drew forth a significant reply from Mr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History. In this connection Mr. Osborn calls attention to the attitude of St. Augustine, who in the fifth century was more advanced in liberality toward science than many present-day defenders of literal interpretation. Mr. Osborn quotes a passage where St. Augustine says: "It very often happens that there is some question as to the earth or sky, or the other elements of this world . . . . respecting which, one who is not a Christian has knowledge derived from most certain reasoning or observation, and it is very disgraceful and mischievous and of all things to be carefully avoided, that a Christian speaking of such matters as being according to the Christian Scriptures, should be heard by an unbeliever talking such non-sense that the unbeliever perceiving him to be as wide from the mark as east from the west, can hardly restrain himself from laughing." As has often been noted, the Fathers in the early church would have been far less disturbed by the doctrine of evolution than are some modern defenders of the faith.

Tolstoy's Quest for Truth.—Alexander Kaun, a member of the Slavonic department of the University of California, has written a very illuminating article on "The Last Days of Leo Tolstoy," in the March number of the *Atlantic Monthly*. He bases the article on some unpublished documents recently released from the secret archives of Soviet Russia. The writer gives us a closer view of the personality of Leo Tolstoy. His life was a constant pursuit of one "hero" who had attracted him since his childhood, boyhood, and youth—Truth. Every detail in his life and work illuminates the difficult road which he followed in his quest of this "hero." After his excommunication from the Russian church, he wrote a dignified reply to the Holy Synod which was

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characteristic of his ever-growing conception of truth. "I began by loving my orthodox faith more than my repose" ran the conclusion to his reply to the Holy Synod; "then I came to love Christianity more than my church; and now I love Truth more than all else in the world. And for me Truth still coincides with Christianity, and in the measure in which I profess it, I live calmly and joyously, I approach death." These words are very significant in the light of many tragedies through which Tolstoy passed. And among these his domestic tragedy with Countess Tolstoy is not the least significant and instructive. It is particularly this personal Golgotha of his that reveals the meaning of this quotation from one of his writings: "As the sensation of pain is a necessary condition for the preservation of the body, so is suffering a necessary condition of our life from birth till death."

The Universality of Life in Space.—"The Multiple Origin of Man" is the caption of an article by W. H. Ballou published in the April number of the *North American Review*. In connection with the theory of the multiple origin of man the writer says: "Nor is it essential to hold that life evolved on this earth. Is it not more reasonable to admit that life is universal throughout space, on planets fitted for it, and during a period which includes the whole Infinite of time? That being so, small forms of life, such as one-celled organisms and even some many-celled types, could easily reach this globe, borne on wandering bodies. There is ample proof, succinctly stated by Lord Kelvin, that there was an era when the earth was in such a position in space that climatic conditions were favorable to living organisms, arriving here on meteorites. He also found that living organisms flourishing in the long warm tails of comets, were landed when the earth was enveloped in such tails. Hahn, who examined cross-sections of chondrites with a microscope, found just such fossilized organisms. The great litholite which fell near Knyahinya, Hungary, proved a veritable mine of fossil forms. They have been tabulated as sponges, corals, crinoids, etc. Thus Hahn established the universality of life in space." It must be remembered that this little bit of an earth is only one of a billion worlds, perhaps with animal and vegetable life. Human conceit has too long assumed that all the orbs in space exist only for the delectation of mankind. An appreciation of the magnitude of the universe and the limitations of human knowledge will make for a humility which ought to go far to prevent dogmatism.

Are We Intelligent Enough to Preserve Civilization?—That the mental and moral disorder of the world may be due to the fact that

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one-half of our population are children mentally is suggested by an article by Cornelia James Cannon which appears in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February. Mrs Cannon analyzes the results of the army tests applied during the war. These intelligence tests were applied to 1,726,966 officers and enlisted men. Of the white men tested 47.3 per cent were rated at a mental age of twelve years or less—that is, as morons. Of the entire negro draft, 89 per cent were graded at the mental age of twelve years or less. Taking blacks and whites together, it is apparent that a large percentage is of the moron type. The same proportion found in the 1,726,966 probably obtains for our whole male population. Of all the foreign born 46 per cent were rated at the mental age of nine years or less. Our mentality is probably not lower than that of other nations, and we may not be worse off than other generations; but we evidently have a great problem upon our hands. What can be expected when a majority of our population have the appetites, passions, and brute strength of adults and the mentality of children? No wonder that we have been witnessing crime waves, rebellion against established standards, self-indulgence, and irresponsibility. The reform and salvation of the world rests upon the small percentage of men and women of superior intelligence.

New York's Church-Hotel.—According to present plans a unique structure will be erected in New York upon the site where the Metropolitan Tabernacle now stands. The building will be a seventeen-story hotel, with a church occupying part of the first three floors, a school for missionaries on the roof, and guest rooms in the rest of the combination building. There is to be strict supervision of guests so as to insure the highest moral tone of life in the church-hotel. It will cater mainly to church members, of whatever denomination they may be. The new church-hotel no doubt will meet the real need, and out-of-town guests will probably find it an inviting place to stay.

How Can India Be Educated for Self-Government?—The question is being faced quite frankly by many leaders in Indian thought. K. T. Paul, the national general secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in India, suggests (*Young Men of India*, May, 1921) that a fertile field lies near at hand which may be cultivated through a widespread system of adult education. He shows convincingly that the education of the young is not sufficient to enable India to face her responsibilities in the immediate future. There must be some way of developing the present generation of adults to an intelligent appreciation of their problems and duties,

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that they may use their best powers for the welfare of the community and the empire.

Mr. Paul suggests that there are three existing social organizations which may be made effective in promoting adult education: viz., (1) the co-operative society, (2) the theater, (3) the weekly rural market. It is significant that all three of these have a strong community emphasis that would tend to train for social responsibility in an admirable way. At the same time all these are the natural expressions of Indian life and not importations from the West. The whole program suggested by Mr. Paul shows a keen understanding of India's needs, and an intense eagerness to see her take her place as one of the great democracies of the world. It is worthy of the most careful consideration by all who are interested in this great empire of the East.

The Lynching Infamy.—That our nation's conscience is awakening to see some of the evil and injustice it has permitted within its borders is evidenced by our changing attitude toward lynching as a method of dealing out justice to offenders against society. Charles Frederick Carter's discussion of "The Lynching Infamy" which appears in *Current History* (March, 1922) sets forth some interesting facts regarding our changing attitude toward this evil. There has been a steady decrease in the number of lynchings for the last thirty years. In 1892 the number was 208 and in 1921 they numbered 63. The number for the decade ending with 1921 when compared with the decade ending with 1901 shows a decrease of 58.6 per cent. Congress has begun an effort to aid the states in preventing further lynchings. On January 26 the House passed a bill the purpose of which is "to assure persons within the jurisdiction of every state the equal protection of the laws, and to punish the crime of lynching." The bill provides a heavy penalty for participants in the offense and requires the county in which a lynching occurs to forfeit $10,000 to the family of the victim. If this bill becomes a law, mob rule may become distinctly discouraged.

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE THEOLOGY OF AN ANGLICAN LEADER[1]

In his *Outspoken Essays* Dean Inge says that the author of this work is "the strongest man in the English church . . . . has at present an influence in the Anglican church which is probably far greater than that of any other man." A judgment from such a source whets our curiosity to ascertain to what use this writer will put his influence. This is the first of three volumes which he intends to write for "Restoration of Belief"—belief in God, belief in Jesus Christ, and belief in the Holy Spirit and in the church. At the completion of his task, if the critics contest his conclusions, he will issue a general defense in a fourth volume. At the outset, he confesses to three predispositions: the right of free thinking, a conviction of God as the Living God of the prophets and Jesus, and a leaning toward Catholic sacramentalism. In this work he deals with grounds of belief in God, revelation, the prophetic faith, and historical religion as reported in the Old and New Testaments. His argument for the being of God leads him to the God of the Hebrew prophets and of Jesus, for whom he claims personality, absoluteness, transcendence, and essential goodness and love. Personality is defined in terms of the human consciousness. God is the Absolute Being, self-limited only by his own nature and the creation of free spirits. He is transcendent as the Absolute Creator, prior to the world and independent of it. Revelation is a real and direct communication of truth to the Prophets and Jesus. Free will is affirmed in accord with the traditional notion—something which science can neither deny nor ignore. Christianity is a "historical religion," but in spite of critical, scientific, or philosophical considerations, this fact in no way prejudices acceptance of miracles and in general the supernatural. The religion of the Old Testament, as independent of historical criticism, stands upon a different footing from the New Testament, whose message is centered upon the person of Jesus Christ and in particular his birth from a Virgin, his corporal resurrection on the third day, and his ascension. This position is substantiated: first, by miracles not as arbitrary violations of the world-order but as aiming at the restoration of an order violated by

[1] *Belief in God.* By Charles Gore. New York: Scribner, 1921. xvi+300 pages. $2.25.

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sin—events adequately authenticated by trustworthy testimony; secondly, by the stories of the miracles in the New Testament which are to be accepted with the same confidence as if they were reports of ordinary events; even the Pastoral Epistles have a valid claim as authentic. A yet more radical and decisive argument in defense of the miracles is the freedom of God interpreted in the light of human free will. Thus one may summarize the essential contents of the book. It will doubtless bring "aid and comfort" to many who are disturbed at the inroads made by historical criticism and the scientific world-view upon the traditional conception of God. However, belief in God as here presented has yet far to go ere it will be at home in the modern mind. The modern mind which the author seeks to constrain by his argument cares more for truth than for tradition, and prefers to adjust its beliefs to reality rather than to force reality to an equivocal defense of "Catholic" beliefs. For such a task as this the scientific temper is an absolute prerequisite; nearly every contention of Mr. Gore is in sharp conflict with the settled convictions of responsible thinkers trained in historical and scientific methods. Barring a change of mind he will follow the three volumes with a fourth in reply to his critics.

CLARENCE A. BECKWITH

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

SEEBERG'S HISTORY OF DOGMA[1]

Professor Seeberg, of the University of Berlin, has completed the new edition of his history of dogma, a noteworthy achievement. It is no mere revision of his *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (Vol. II, 1898), which for years has been accessible in English. He has re-written the entire work and expanded it to nearly four times its original length. Increased space has made the book more readable. The stream of exposition is, however, occasionally blocked by floating ice in the shape of Latin quotations from the sources. Judiciously chosen, these extracts inform men too busy to refer constantly to *opera omnia*. Just as before the time of source books the ponderous footnotes of Gieseler's *Church History* served as a mine of quotations, so Seeberg's laboriously documented pages furnish specimens of the treasures which may be dug out of the works of the Fathers, the Scholastics, and the Reformers.

[1] *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte.* Von Reinhold Seeberg. **Vierter Band,** erste Abteilung: *Die Lehre Luthers.* Zweite Abteilung: *Die Fortbildung der reformatorischen Lehre und die gegenreformatorische Lehre (nebst alphabetischem Register über alle vier Bände).* Leipzig: Deichert, 1917, 1920. xii+393; xvi+395–986 pages.

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The book is not intended for beginners; but both its style and its scale render it doubly useful to advanced students and to teachers. The ordinarily adequate bibliographies and the faithful footnotes make this volume more useful to the investigator of details than is Harnack's *History of Dogma*. Precisely in the medieval and reformation periods, where Harnack's latest edition is relatively attenuated, Seeberg is well-nigh plethoric.

Seeberg was brought in 1898 from Erlangen to be a counterpoise to Harnack at the Prussian capital. He is a representative of the party called *modern-positiv*. He has distinguished himself by his studies in later scholasticism, such as his monograph on *Die Theologie des Johannes Duns Scotus* (1900). The direct fruit of this interest he manifested in 1913 in his third or medieval volume, which, apart from the antiquated history of Schwane, is no doubt still the most detailed presentation of the theological development of the Middle Ages.

The fourth volume, which lies before us, contains approximately 420,000 words and falls into two parts. The first is the most comprehensive recent treatment of Luther's teaching, and pays special attention to the scholastic background. The second portion traces the development of Lutheran orthodoxy to 1580, and that of Reformed orthodoxy to 1675. The lengthy discussion of Roman Catholic doctrine ends with the Vatican Council. The closing twenty-five pages Seeberg devotes to "the confessional types as the goal of the development of the history of dogma."

We rejoice that the Christian faith and intellectual courage of Professor Seeberg are undaunted. We trust that in spite of high costs it may be possible to have the present edition, which is practically a new book, put into English. In that case it would be well for the new translator to adopt a procedure different from that followed by Dr. Hay, who translated the blocks of source-material distributed throughout the text, without giving *in extenso* in the footnotes the actual language of the documents. Should the author revise the text prior to translation, he will perhaps wish to modify his remark about the Treaty of Versailles, which he defames on page 643 as an "attempt to murder a great people," for which he holds the ethical spirit of Anglo-American Calvinism is in part responsible. Cant in public life, of which he complains (*ibid.*), is not confined to democracies influenced by English Calvinism. It may be less frequently employed by autocratic governments which can act without stopping even to delude the consciences of their obedient subjects; but occasionally autocrats have concealed under ethical phrases the actual *Staatsraison*.

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Seeberg believes that this his greatest work will remain for some time the latest attempt at covering the entire field of the history of dogma. He holds that prior to attempting another synthesis it will be necessary to promote many special monographs which either cover the more distant regions, persons, and periods, or follow single concepts down through the entire length of their development. These researches, he believes, will confirm and render more evident the fundamental lines which he and others have already discovered; but they will probably also show hitherto unsuspected eddies in the main currents of thought. As instances of the type of investigation which is desirable he mentions the works of Grabmann (*Die scholastiche Methode*, etc.) and those of Clemens Bäumker and of his school in the history of medieval philosophy and theology. Among Protestant studies he specifies Karl Heim's *Das Gewissheitsproblem in der systematischen Theologie bis zu Schleiermacher* (1911) and Hirsch's monograph on Osiander. Let us hope that these suggestions may bear fruit in England and America, in spite of the fact that Seeberg, to judge from his bibliographies and footnotes, is almost entirely unaffected by the many excellent English and American contributions to the history of Christian thought.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE PRINCIPLES OF MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE[1]

Students of the history of Christian missions who have had occasion to peruse earlier volumes by this author, viz., *The History of Missions in India* (English transl., 1908) and *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (English transl., 1910) will not need the added evidence furnished by this informing and stimulating work that in the field of the science and history of missions Dr. Richter occupies a pre-eminent position in present-day German Protestant scholarship. The qualities which have rendered his earlier volumes invaluable to the student of the subject, breadth of learning, lucidity of thought, mastery and organization of material, catholicity of spirit, and balance of judgment are found again in this voluminous work. Intellectual honesty and the spirit of fairness dominate its pages. We of Anglo-Saxon heritage can well forgive this rugged Teuton if at times his soul flames out in protest at the practical embargo placed upon German missionary agencies within

[1] *Evangelische Missionskunde.* By Julius Richter. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1920. 463 pages.

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British dominions, particularly in African territories formerly held by Germany, but now parceled out among the Allies. It *does* seem, as Dr. Richter says, that agents of the heavenly Kingdom ought to have been immune from expropriation and internment. Perhaps they might have been, had all been utterly and patently above political intrigue.

Apart from a brief introduction in which reference is made to the output of missionary literature of the informational sort which is basic for any science and history of missions, the work falls into four main divisions, the biblical basis of missions, the theory of missions, missionary apologetic, and the history of missions, the latter theme, as we might expect, constituting the major part of the work. The missionary idea is traced through the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, assumed (in contradistinction to Harnack) in the universalism implied in the teaching of Jesus, and is found incarnate in the life and work of Paul.

The theory of missions involves a consideration of the task, viz., the enlistment of the non-Christian world, both heathen and Mohammedan, in the Christian movement; the agencies to be employed as regards both organization and material equipment; and the methods to be used, including mastery of the languages of non-Christian peoples and their use in preaching and the production of a Christian literature, the development of Christian education, catechetical instruction, the founding and nurture of the native church, the creation and development of native leadership, and finally the attitude of the Christian constituency to ingrained heathen social institutions, such as ancestor-worship, caste, polygamy, and slavery. The theory of missions further takes into account the fact that the missionary movement is determined by three factors varying in intensity in different communions: New Testament standards, ideas and practices of the church in the homeland, and the specific need of the field itself. It also takes into consideration the pressing question of the relation of the mission to the native church, together with the problem of denominational competition and co-operation. In a word, the theory of missions is ever growing and unfolding out of the practical experience of those engaged in the missionary undertaking.

Missionary apologetic deals with the relation of Christianity to the non-Christian religions. It is imperative both from the standpoint of the church in the homeland, if it would understand the problem and the opportunity of world-evangelization, and also from that of the missionary who seeks to win the non-Christian world. It involves the understanding of the psychology, philosophy, and history of religion. On the one hand it deals with the animistic religions of primitive peoples, and on the other hand with the far more difficult problems involved in the highly developed religions of Eastern Asia—Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucian-

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ism, Taoism, Shintoism, and Islam. In both instances the method is essentially the same: the analysis of the religious inheritance, the discovery of basic ideas, and the relating of these, as far as possible, with universal religious needs and aspirations of mankind and the fundamental spirit and teaching of Christianity. This study involves, in the case of the oriental religions, consideration of the literatures of India, China, and Islam, the philosophical, ethical, and religious implications of the same, together with some appreciation of the personalities of their founders. Here our author shows fine discrimination, not alone in his analysis and criticism of these great faiths of the Orient and the contrast they present, but also in his appreciation of the points of contact which they offer to Christianity.

In his outline of the history of missions, Catholic and Protestant, Dr. Richter has compassed a difficult task in the most satisfying manner conceivable in 250 pages packed full of information. The author passes rapidly from the causes of the dearth of missionary interest in the Reformation period to the beginnings of modern Protestant missions as seen in Pietism, Moravianism, and the movement inaugurated by William Carey, ushering in the nineteenth century with its complex of missionary agencies, and the mobilizing of the forces of the church in Europe and America for the conquest of the world. In kaleidoscopic fashion there pass in review before the reader the various political units of Africa, Asia, Australia, Oceania, and America, wherever Christian missions have made impact with the non-Christian world. Account is taken of the land and its people, its languages and religions, its peculiar problems, the history of the Christian movement both Catholic and Protestant, together with the most recent available statistics. The volume is well supplied with footnotes introducing the reader to a comprehensive missionary bibliography, including available literature in various modern tongues. Unfortunately as a result, no doubt, of unavoidable circumstances existing in Germany just now, this very valuable volume is printed on atrociously poor paper.

HENRY H. WALKER

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

A PLEA FOR BEAUTY IN RELIGION[1]

In these confused times, when searching questions are being raised regarding both art and religion, it may be that at least a part of these inquiries will be answered, not by a study of either subject separately, but by an analysis of their mutual relations. We find points of remark-

[1] *Art and Religion.* By Von Ogden Vogt. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921. ix+257 pages. $5.00.

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able similarity in their characteristics and in the type of experiences which they awaken in us. In their historical development they have been intimately associated. Consequently a separation of these two necessities of human existence means serious loss to the potency of each.

Von Ogden Vogt in his book *Art and Religion* presents a discriminating consideration of art as a primary and necessary factor in the religious reconstruction of the new age. "In a general way," he says, "the great lack of Protestantism is not intellectual nor moral but artistic, not ethical but cultural." He points out that a wide range of art has become dissevered from the institutions of religion. "The ugliness of many present-day religious forms repels those to whom beauty is a genuinely spiritual satisfaction." Therefore "religion cannot complete her reformation until she has squared her experience not only with Scientist and Moralist but also with the Artist . . . . so that every trained leader in religion will be more aware of the universal hunger for beauty, and more capable of utilizing this almost unlimited asset for the religious ends of his task."

The writer uses his analysis of the mutual needs of art and religion as a basis for definitely constructive suggestions regarding ways in which the arts may contribute to religion. Some of these are the following; Art can aid in the presentation of symbols and sacraments so as to help us in seeing that these are more than they seem to be. Religious education may include as one of its essentials a training in observation of the beauty of nature and of the arts. "To help young lives to see and enjoy beauty is to help them to apprehend God." Rituals of worship become vitalized by conforming to aesthetic demands. Hundreds of churches are "devoid of the artistry of worship and of devotional life. . . . . Many an outsider would like to come in if he could find a place where his whole nature could be satisfied." We wish that in discussing the topic of religious education the author had given more detailed suggestions regarding the improvement of the pictorial illustrations which are generally used. Pictures provide the minds of children with images sometimes distinguished and sometimes sadly commonplace, which have a powerful influence over the ideas which they are intended to illustrate.

By pointing out that as a factor in church unity the arts are important, the writer emphasizes a point too often overlooked. Fellowship in common moral effort and a reduction to a minimum of creedal agreement are prominent factors, but "the unities of feeling are more profound than those of thought and more stirring than those of work. Thought often divides, feeling unites. If people can be led to share a common emotional experience they have already been touched by the welding fire. One of the resources for the creation of such experience is art.

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. . . . Part of the pressure toward church unity, therefore, and one of the great aids toward its coming, is not economic or practical, but artistic."

In the discussion of church architecture an especially significant consideration is that regarding structural tone, the general atmosphere produced by the architecture and furnishings. The tone may be that of too great austerity or on the other hand of the merely physical peace of comfortableness. In the attempt to beautify there is also the constant danger of introducing a merely superficial stimulation of the senses. There must be a degree of austerity and restraint, a suggestion of the supremacy of spirit over flesh.

The closing chapter deals with the future church which will "set forth the oneness of life, not only theologically and ethically, but also aesthetically" and "will heal the breach between religion and the ancient categories of truth, goodness, and beauty."

The main conclusions of the author are suggested by the following quotations:

"Religion would not long attract people in an advancing civilization if it should cut away the rhythmic forms of hymns and songs, the artistic excellence of diction and rhetoric, and the stately dignity of noble buildings. Many people turn to art instead of to religion for rest and refuge, for recreation after the moral struggle of practical life. A work of noble art is in itself, by its composure and perfection, a peace giver, a restorative, a sanctuary for the moment inviolable. How much more would men turn to religion if the great composing faiths could be set forth so triumphantly in noble and sensible forms as to restore the joy of salvation."

"It is the attempt of every work of art to approach perfection in its own medium. Its effect is to shame carelessness and imperfection. The assistance of various arts can be brought to bear upon the worshiper in church in such a way as to help him to be reverent and to display to him the larger cause of religion over against which his own life may be seen to be unsatisfactory."

The message of this book to churchmen is important and greatly needed. It will promote a recognition of the fact that the arts of the painter, decorator, architect, musician, and liturgist are languages which speak with particular potency to many. In the large number who are affected by them they awaken strong preferences for or aversions to places and occasions. They re-enforce or nullify the spoken words. The book, moreover, makes an appeal broader than its announced intention. Its sound philosophy makes it a distinct contribution to the literature of aesthetics.

WALTER SARGENT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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BOOKS RECEIVED

[The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length]

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

CANNEY, MAURICE A. *An Encyclopaedia of Religions.* London: Geo. Routledge & Sons, 1921. ix+397 pages. $10.00.

A comprehensive dictionary of religious terms covering the whole field of the history of religions.

CROOKE, WILLIAM. *Islam in India* (New Ed.). London: Oxford University Press, 1921. xl+374 pages.

A revised, rearranged, and enlarged edition of a work originally published in 1832 dealing with the religious customs of the Moslems of South India. Dr. Crooke's extensive knowledge of India has made this edition of the old work a trustworthy source of information regarding Moslem faith and custom in India as a whole.

DE VAUX, CARRA. *Les Penseurs de L'Islam.* Vol. I. *Les Souverains, L'Histoire et la Philosophie Politique.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1921. vii+383 pages. Fr. 12.50.

The first of a series of five volumes which will give an appreciative insight into the political, intellectual, and religious life of the Moslem Empire. The author does not attempt a complete catalogue of the thinkers of Islam but selects representative individuals. This volume deals with the rulers (beginning with the Abbassides), the historians, and the political philosophers.

DE VAUX, CARRA. *Les Penseurs de L'Islam.* Vol. II. *Les Géographes, Les Sciences Mathématiques et Naturelles.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1921. 400 pages. Fr. 12.50.

The second of a five-volume work dealing with the creative minds of Islam. This volume is devoted to the scientists and covers the fields of geography, mathematics, mechanics, astronomy, medicine, natural history, mineralogy, and alchemy.

FARNELL, LEWIS RICHARD. *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. xv+434 pages.

A comprehensive presentation and scientific interpretation of data respecting the worship of the dead and deification of the human being among the Greeks throughout the whole course of their history.

MCGOVERN, W. M. *An Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.; New York: Dutton, 1922. iv+233 pages. $3.00.

An attempt to familiarize the general reader with the thought-forms of the Buddhism of China and Japan. A brief sketch of the history of Buddhism is added.

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WIDE, S., and NILSSON, M. P. *Griechische und römische Religion* (Gercke-Norden, Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft, Bd. II, Heft 4). Leipzig: Teubner, 1922. 215–316 pages. $1.30.

Interpretation of the origins of the Greek and Roman religions in the light of archaeology; and a reinterpretation of their developments.

YAMABE, S., and BECK, L. ADAMS. *Buddhist Psalms.* Translated from the Japanese of Shinran Shōnin. New York: Dutton, 1921. 91 pages. $1.35.

A new volume in the valuable "Wisdom of the East" series presenting a translation of the devotional writings of the great twelfth-century leader of Amitabha Buddhism in Japan.

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

BUCKHAM, JOHN WRIGHT. *Religion as Experience.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 128 pages. $1.00.

Essays by a devout, open-minded mystic, who recognizes frankly that religion must face the facts of natural science, history, and psychology, but who persuasively contends for the reality of religion as an experienced relationship to an Infinite Personality.

GRASS, KONRAD. *Linien idealistischer Weltanschauung.* Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1921. 77 pages. M. 12.

A popular exposition of an idealistic philosophy, culminating in an earnest plea for the supreme place of Jesus as an interpreter of life. The author writes from the University of Dorpat, sadly shaken by the war, and is specifically concerned to combat materialism and bolshevism.

HOLMES, EDMOND. *All Is One.* New York: Dutton, 1922. 115 pages. $1.90.

An argument for a Higher Pantheism based upon a personal conviction of its truth achieved in a mystic experience.

JONES, HENRY. *A Faith That Enquires.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. x+278 pages. $2.00.

The Gifford Lectures for the years 1920 and 1921. The thesis of the book is that critical, exacting inquiry is to be heartily welcomed in the field of religion, for the fundamental affirmations of religious faith are emphatically reasonable. "Let a man seek God by the way of pure reason and he will find him." The type of religious philosophy thus reached is an Absolutist idealism with strong emphasis on the supreme value of moral activity.

SEEBERG, ERICH. *Zur Frage der Mystik.* Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1921. 46 pages. M. 9.

A contribution to the solution of the problem of mysticism. This essay presents a careful analysis of typical representatives of Christian Mysticism of the seventeenth century.

WELLS, WESLEY RAYMOND. *The Biological Foundations of Belief.* Boston: Gorham Press, 1921. ix+124 pages. $2.00.

A suggestive volume, made up largely of articles previously published in psychological and philosophical journals, interpreting the significance of beliefs in terms of behaviorism. The biological value of beliefs may be thus investigated without the complication of the question of metaphysical truth.

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WRIGHT, WILLIAM KELLY. *A Student's Philosophy of Religion.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xii+472 pages. $3.75.

Intended as a textbook to guide students, this volume studies first the historical expressions and forms of religion, then its psychological interpretation, and finally its philosophical problems. It is written in an objective spirit with positive sympathy for religious values. It is a pioneer volume in a field already assuming great educational importance.

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

GOGUEL, MAURICE. *Introduction au Noveau Testament, Tome III. Le Livre des Actes.* Paris: E. Leroux, 1922. 376 pages. 6 fr.

A concise statement of current critical opinions on the various problems of "introduction" connected with a study of Acts.

HARRISON, P. N. *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles.* London: Oxford University Press, 1921. ix+184 pages. 12*s.* 6*d.*

An effort to reconstruct, mainly on the basis of linguistic considerations, the genuine Pauline fragments that are supposed to have been incorporated in the Pastoral Epistles, whose final composition is assigned to the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.

MOFFATT, JAMES. *The Approach to the New Testament.* London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921. New York: Doran, 1922. 240 pages. $3.00.

The author outlines the characteristics of the New Testament writings, sketches the history of the New Testament in the church, and defines the task of the historical student with concrete examples. The book is intended to help the modern man to a right use of the New Testament in relation to the questions of our own day.

MOULTON, R. G. (Ed.) *The Modern Reader's Bible for Schools: The Old Testament.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. ix+536 pages. $2.50.

This volume presents the text of the Old Testament in abbreviated form and arranged according to the literary analysis worked out by Dr. Moulton. In so far as it leads to a better acquaintance with the Old Testament it will of course render valuable service; but the editor's literary arrangements must not be taken too seriously.

PETERS, JOHN P. *The Psalms as Liturgies.* Being the Paddock Lectures for 1920. New York: Macmillan, 1922. 494 pages. $4.00.

An introduction to the Book of Psalms, stressing their liturgical use, together with a new translation of and brief comments upon each psalm.

SMITH, J. M. POWIS. *The Religion of the Psalms.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922. ix+170 pages. $1.75.

A brief statement of the leading religious sentiments and ideas found in the Psalter. It is written with a view to the needs of the intelligent layman.

SMITH, ROBINSON. *The Solution of the Synoptic Problem.* London: Watts & Co., 1922. viii+299 pages. 10*s.*

A second but not extensively altered edition of the same work that was reviewed in the *Journal of Religion*, I (1921), 655–57.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

BAUMGARTEN, OTTO. *Religiöses und kirchliches Leben in England.* Leipzig: Teubner, 1922. iv+122 pages. $0.80.

An attempt to analyze the religious life of England and to discover what elements therein contributed to the defeat of Germany.

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An English Translation of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan, 1921. 15 pages. 3*d.*

A reprint, with slight revisions, of an earlier English translation by Bigg.

GRÜTZMACHER, R. H. *Kritiker und Neuschöpfer der Religion im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert.* Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1921. 92 pages. M. 18.

Brief interpretations of the achievements and the significance of Keyserling, Leopold Ziegler, Blüher, Chamberlain, R. Steiner, Scheler, H. Scholz, and A. Hauck.

LEISHMAN, JAMES FLEMING. *Matthew Leishman of Govan.* Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1921. 259 pages. 10*s.* 6*d.*

A biography of Matthew Leishman (1794–1874), throwing valuable light upon the evangelical movement in the Established Church of Scotland and the circumstances connected with the rupture in 1843.

MASON, A. J. *Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921. li+316 pages.

A new English translation based upon fresh textual study of these ascetic writings which the translator is disposed to regard as genuine works of Macarius.

MOORE, HERBERT. *The Dialogue of Palladius Concerning the Life of Chrysostom.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921. xxv+213 pages.

The importance of this document for students of the life of Chrysostom makes this new English translation exceptionally valuable.

ROSENBERGER, JESSE L. *Through Three Centuries.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922. xii+407 pages. $2.50.

A well-written biographical study of Nathaniel Colver, Charles Kendrick Colver, Susan Esther Colver, and Jesse L. Rosenberger. Considerable light is thrown upon phases of local Baptist history and the development of the University of Chicago. A useful bibliography is appended.

STROHL, HENRI. *L'Evolution religieuse de Luther Jusqu'en 1515.* Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1922. 7+174 pages. Fr. 7.50.

A study of Luther's convent experience, the influence of Staupitz, of his trip to Rome, and of Augustinianism. A bibliography of Luther literature between 1883–1900 is given.

DOCTRINAL

BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS. *In His Image.* New York: Revell, 1922. 266 pages. $1.75.

Lectures delivered at Union Theological Seminary, Wilmington, North Carolina, on the James Sprunt foundation. The lecturer defends the authority of the Bible, which is to be accepted as a final court of appeal; attacks the doctrine of evolution as contrary to Scripture and subversive of faith; defends the deity of Christ; and sets forth the values of the Christian life. The lectures are in Mr. Bryan's well-known rhetorical style, and are racy reading, whatever may be thought of the critical validity of his position.

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CROSS, GEORGE. *Creative Christianity.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. 164 pages. $1.50.

The Nathaniel W. Taylor lectures delivered at Yale in 1921. As the title indicates, Christianity is interpreted as a creative spiritual movement in contrast to the conception of a religion bound to conform to certain officially fixed standards. The application of this principle in the realm of New Testament interpretation and in the field of Christian doctrine is worked out with great insight and suggestiveness.

DOUGLAS, C. E. *The Redemption of the Body.* London: Faith Press, 1922. iii+70 pages. 2*s*.

Four lectures defending the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, prefaced by a somewhat whimsical review by Hakluyt Egerton of the attempt by Mr. Douglas to secure the condemnation of Mr. Major (editor of the *Modern Churchman*) for his rejection of the doctrine of bodily resurrection.

DROWN, EDWARD S. *The Creative Christ.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. 167 pages. $1.25.

Professor Drown in this exposition retains the vocabulary of the traditiona Christology, but seeks to avoid the abstract metaphysics and the controversial aspects of the doctrine. Christ is the unique human person whose life so completely expressed the moral purposes of God that he is the creative source of religious life in his disciples. The incarnation is a spiritual reality.

GALER, ROGER SHERMAN. *A Layman's Religion.* Boston: Universalist Publishing House, 1921. 111 pages. $1.00.

A series of short, wholesome discussions on various aspects of religion, attempting to interpret the activities and aims of Christianity without the entangling complications of too much theology.

IHMELS, LUDWIG. *Wer war Jesus? Was wollte Jesus?* Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1921. 66 pages. M. 8.

A revised public lecture aiming at edification rather than critical discussion.

IHMELS, LUDWIG. *Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi.* Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1921. 46 pages. M. 6.

A defense of belief in the resurrection of Jesus mainly on the ground of its religious worth.

MACKINTOSH, H. R. *The Divine Initiative.* London: Student Christian Movement, 1921. 103 pages. $1.25.

A little book giving the substance of lectures given in London at a school for missionaries on furlough. It interprets religion as the response of a divinely created spiritual nature in man to the revelation of God given in Christ.

MAJOR, H. D. A. *A Resurrection of Relics.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922. xv+91 pages. 2*s*.

A reply by H. D. A. Major to a charge preferred against him relative to the doctrine of the resurrection, in which a brief survey is made of the views held by outstanding Fathers of the Church—Origen, Clement Martyr, Augustine, Jerome—and representative Anglican clergymen of today—Maurice, Gore, Henson, and others.

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PEAKE, ARTHUR S. *Christianity, Its Nature and Its Truth.* New York: Doran. xxii+298 pages. $2.50.

A tenth edition of a book which has had an unusually wide reading. It is an apologetic of a distinctly conservative type, written in charming style, and dealing explicitly with most of the difficulties which conservative theology must face in an age of criticism.

SCHAEDER, ERICH. *Die Sündlosigkeit Jesu.* Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1921. 40 pages. M. 6.

Two addresses at a church conference in Jena in April, 1921. The sinlessness of Jesus is shown to be a historical fact on the basis of the Gospel records. This sinlessness is shown to be essential if Jesus actually brings the power of God for our salvation.

TEMPLE, WILLIAM. *The Universality of Christ.* New York: Doran, 1922. 144 pages. $1.25.

Four lectures delivered at the Conference of the Student Christian Movement at Glasgow in January, 1921. They consist of closely reasoned philosophical interpretations in which the ultimate reality is discovered to be the God of Christian faith, and Christ the revelation of God.

VEDDER, HENRY C. *The Fundamentals of Christianity.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xxiii+250 pages. $2.00.

An exposition of the teachings of Jesus and of Paul, with an attempt to discriminate between historically incidental phases of doctrine and the vital content. The author takes sharp issue with those who insist on a literalistic use of Scripture and who identify the fundamentals of Christianity with certain doctrinal tenets open to serious criticism. He insists that Jesus alone is the standard by which to test Christianity.

WILLIAMS, HORACE BLAKE. *Fundamentals of Faith in the Light of Modern Thought.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 181 pages. $1.25.

A well-written popular exposition of central aspects of the Christian religious experience in which disputed theological matters are excluded and the argument developed on the basis of undeniable spiritual values.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

BENTON, RITA. *Shorter Bible Plays.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 135 pages. $1.25.

A book splendidly prepared mechanically with good paper, print, and illustrations, showing how to use the dramatic impulse in religious education. The following are worked out for use in pageantry with costume designs and stagecraft all explained: "Noah's Flood"; "The Proving of Abraham"; "Moses in the Bulrushes"; "Up, Up from Egypt to the Promised Land"; "The Call of Samuel"; "David and Goliath"; "The Judgment of Solomon"; "The Good Samaritan"; "Manger Service."

BETTS, ANNA F. *The Mother-Teacher of Religion.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 290 pages. $2.00.

The fundamental difficulty which confronts all people who are trying to provide for the adequate development of the religious life of children and youth is the lack of some uniformity in the foundations on which they are to build. Mrs. Betts would have religious education begin with the infant and continue as steadily during the first

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three years of life as afterward. Her book is full of helpful suggestions for the cultivation of attitudes and the development of religious concepts upon the basis of which future religious education may be soundly built. Her suggestions of books on supplies are particularly valuable to the mother who does not know where to turn for such assistance as she needs.

GRANT, FREDERICK C. *The Life and Times of Jesus.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 164 pages. $1.00.

The Teacher's Manual for *The Life and Times of Jesus* by Frederick C. Grant. The book shows how to proceed in handling the materials for the class. The work is still based upon the informational psychology approach with the emphasis on "the pupil's acquisition of correct and useful knowledge of the life of Jesus and the times in which he lived" with the hope that there will result the development of right attitudes, ideals, and standards of living.

KNOTT, LAURA A. *Student's History of the Hebrews.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 413 pages. $2.00.

A set of sixty-two lessons covering the history of Israel down to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The results of modern criticism are accepted. The lessons are in each case closed by a short list of questions. Twenty colored maps and sixty half-tone illustrations, most of them from photographs by Professor I. J. Peritz, add interest and freshness to the treatment.

REIZENSTEIN, JENNIE. *Rabbinic Wisdom.* Cincinnati: The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1921. vii+155 pages. $1.50

A collection of stories and parables from the rabbinical writings. They furnish interesting illustrative matter for the inculcation of moral and spiritual truths. The book is especially adapted to use in Jewish schools, but would bring fresh interest likewise into Christian classes.

RICHMOND, MARY E. *What Is Social Case-Work?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1922. 268 pages. $1.00.

A very readable and stimulating description of social case-work as "personality" engineering. The author causes one to feel the very heart-beat of the friendly relations essential on the part of the case-worker. She looks upon case-work as developing "personality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment." The author gives a number of examples of social case-work showing that "by direct and indirect insight, and direct and indirect action upon the minds of clients, their social relations can be improved and their personalities developed." Social case-work demands scientific understanding, genuine social skill, and a heart to serve. One of the best features of the book is the analysis of Miss Sullivan's methods with Helen Keller. Religious educators will get much from this little book.

SELLIN, ERNST. *Das Alte Testament und die evangelische Kirche der Gegenwart.* Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1921. 103 pages. M. 14.

A brief sketch of the Old Testament religion from the point of view of its value in the religious education of the Protestant church.

STEVENSON, J. SINCLAIR. *Sheila's Missionary Adventures.* London: James Clarke & Co. 180 pages. 4s. Boston: Pilgrim Press, $1.50.

An attempt, in story form, to help the modern boy or girl to enter sympathetically into the actual everyday life and work of the missionaries in India, and to see how much fun and adventure lie hidden there for those who care to look for it.

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STOUT, JOHN ELBERT. *Organization and Administration of Religious Education.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 287 pages. $1.50.

The author, formerly an active public school administrator and then a professor of educational administration, is now the professor of religious educational administration at Northwestern University. With this background, he applies the experience of public education to the problems of religious education. The church is studied as an instrument of social service. The author sets forth the aims of religious education, the problems involved in an adequate program, analyzes the task of organizing the community for religious education, giving representative plans now in use with officers needed, qualifications, etc., evaluates the community week-day school movement, giving examples of the varied experiments and problems involved, sets forth the influence of the week-day movement on the present church school, gives a splendid treatment of the administration, training, selection, and supervision of teachers. The book is a summary of religious educational effort to date and a prophetic statement of the administrational problems involved. It marks a distinct advance in the religious educational development in the United States.

PERSONAL AND PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

DARBY, JAMES E. *Jesus an Economic Mediator.* New York: Revell, 1922. 256 pages. $1.50.

A popular book expounding in various aspects the thesis that Jesus furnishes the way in which all clashes of interest may be adjusted so as to give to every man and every class of men what is morally right. Idealistic and enthusiastic, the author passes lightly over the technical difficulties in the way of translating good motives into actual social reconstruction.

DRESSER, HORATIO W. *Spiritual Health and Healing.* New York: Crowell, 1922. xiii+314 pages. $2.00.

Another book by this leader of "New Thought" setting forth the philosophy of sound health and spiritual wholesomeness through the practice of right thinking in terms of a mystic relationship to divine power.

HOBHOUSE, L. T., and OTHERS. *Property, Its Rights and Duties.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xxiv+243 pages. $2.00.

A new edition of the valuable discussion of the historical evolution and moral aspects of the idea of property. L. T. Hobhouse, Hastings Rashdall, A. D. Lindsay, Vernon Bartlet, A. J. Carlyle, H. G. Wood, and Henry Scott Holland were contributors to the original volume. An additional essay by W. M. Geldart on "Some Aspects of the Law of Property in England" appears in this edition.

HUCKEL, OLIVER. *The Habit of Health.* New York: Crowell, 1922. 128 pages. $1.00.

Wholesome suggestions for the cultivation of good psychic attitudes in the interests of both mental and bodily health.

PARKS, LEIGHTON. *The Crisis of the Churches.* New York: Scribner, 1922. xxx+256 pages. $2.50.

A stirring appeal from a great preacher. Dr. Parks, rector of St. Bartholomew's Church in New York City, writes with refreshing candor and insight. He completely repudiates the exclusive conception of the church so commonly asserted by Anglicans. He warmly commends the full validity of non-episcopal ministry. After this cordial attitude, his defense of the peculiar and necessary mission of his own church is thought-provoking and wholesome.

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PYM, T. W. *Psychology and the Christian Life.* New York: Doran, 1922. xii+175 pages. $1.50.

A clearly written book intended to show how some of the results of modern psychology can be profitably employed both by individuals seeking a wholesome spiritual attitude and by ministers in their "cure of souls." The applications are all familiar to the psychological expert, but are here explained in so simple a fashion as to bear out the author's assertion that psychological control is just a reinforcement of common sense.

ROBERTSON, JAMES ALEX. *Concerning the Soul.* London: James Clarke & Co. 256 pages. $2.25.

A fascinating book, setting forth in popular style the dignity and the spiritual reaches of personal consciousness. Literature, history, and everyday experience are laid under tribute, and the mystic suggestions of deeper religious living are unusually potent. The chapters are not formally sermons, but the content is preaching at its best.

MISCELLANEOUS

GEISTER, EDNA. *It Is to Laugh.* New York: Doran: 1922. 141 pages. $1.25.

Another book of games and stunts by the well-known author of *Ice-breakers.* It is full of suggestions sure to make any party of unacquainted people soon feel the warmth of an enjoyable social group.

A GENTLEMAN WITH A DUSTER. *Painted Windows.* New York: Putnam, 1922. xxi+229 pages. $2.50.

Brilliantly written sketches of the character and the religious attitudes of several of the leading figures in church circles in England. It is the ecclesiastical counterpart of *The Mirrors of Downing Street.*

THOMPSON, E. J. *Rabindranath Tagore, His Life and Work.* London: Oxford University Press, 1921. xi+112 pages. 2*s.* 6*d.*

This little book is undoubtedly the best critical estimate of the great Bengali poet and seer that has yet appeared in English. It is an introduction to the message and meaning of Tagore.

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THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION IN CHINA

PAUL HUTCHINSON
Shanghai, China

The fact that China is now passing through a far-reaching revolution in the realm of ideas and ideals, sharpens the antithesis between conservatives and progressives. This antithesis extends to the realm of missionary activity.

The missionaries of the past generation, and their converts, were usually conservative. The Bible Union of China was formed to maintain the conservative position against a growing liberalism. The platform and activities of the Union are given and the important phases of its campaign against liberalism are noted. The ideals of the rising generation in China are such that a missionary program of fixed doctrines and institutions will find no sympathetic response. The conservative movement, faced with this situation and also with the strong sentiment against creating a breach in the missionary ranks, confronts a difficult task.

That jovial philosopher, W. M. Gilbert, once called upon Sir Arthur Sullivan to set to music the observation that, so far as the population of the British Isles was concerned:

Every little boy that's now alive,
And every little gal,
Is either a little Conservative
Or a little Liberal.

And that seems about as deeply as we can penetrate into that problem. *Why* we are conservatives, or *why* liberals, many have tried to discover. And the sum of their wisdom is about equal to that of the quatrain: we are born that way.

Thus, if you take seven thousand people from any country or group of countries, you will find that part of them fall into the liberal category and part into the conservative. Even if you try to guard against this, by choosing your seven thousand from a restricted group, conforming as nearly as possible to

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one mental pattern, you will still find that, in a little while, the group divides itself into those who are radical in their adherence to your shibboleth, and those who are not so radical.

There are times, however, when our inborn conservatism or liberalism comes easily and strongly to the surface. Plunge us into some great period of history and we automatically range ourselves on opposite sides of a line that, previously, we had hardly known existed. So the Reformation on the Continent divided Erasmus, the conservative, from Luther, the liberal. And in England it divided the Puritan who conformed from the Puritan who refused to conform.

Such a period is now upon China, and it is doing strange things to the seven thousand Protestant missionaries at work in that land. China is in revolution. The revolution began with the reforming edicts of the Emperor Kuang Hsü, issued in 1898 and immediately repealed. It mounted through the troubles of the Boxer year (1900), and it caught the attention of the world when it dethroned the Manchus in 1911. But the real Chinese revolution is just getting started. If, five hundred years from now, some ambitious historian tries to emulate the feats of Mr. Wells or Dr. Van Loon, it is likely that he will write that the movement which changed the civilization of a quarter of the world's population had scarcely begun its operations ten years after the end of the empire.

In such a period of revolution, the distinction between conservative and liberal is bound to be emphasized. And this is the more true in China because of the far-reaching nature of the revolution that is taking place there. The real Chinese revolution, as the West has yet to learn, is in only a minor degree political or military. It is concerned with the bases of the national life, and among these religion is coming in for its necessary review. So that in the religious realm, as well as in many others, men in China today find themselves taking a conservative or liberal position.

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That is true in Buddhism. It is true in Confucianism. It is true among Christians. What is to be the religion of the new China? The missionary has offered Christianity. But, asks a mind newly awakened to discover the implications of the gifts offered it, what *is* Christianity? And at once the conservative and the liberal interpretations appear. Any reading of the literature that this has called forth (as, for instance, the Bulletins of the Bible Union of China) shows how surprised most of the missionaries are at the separation that has threatened them, but how, considering it at length, they have come to remember that it was always, in essence, there. "Why, we have always been either conservatives or liberals," these men seem to be saying. "But we are just awakening to the significance of that fact!"

Let us bear in mind another element that enters into such a situation, no matter where it arises. When your movement reaches that certainty of success that justifies its being called a revolution, it guarantees for liberalism in all fields a period of advance. In every field of human interest in China today old things are passing and all things are becoming new. But that very advance on the part of the progressives stirs up the conservative. In *The Winter's Tale* the shepherd says to his companion, "Thou mettest with things dying; I with things new-born." The conservative in a changing order, with his love of the thing-that-has-been, is bound to meet with things dying, and the sight of their death rouses him. The trouble is that he is frequently so roused by the sight that he dashes out to do something before he is quite sure what has died.

Out of such a condition, with its resultant sense of strain, has come the movement that is of such significance to the Christian enterprise in China. And because China is a major mission field, of peculiar importance in the formation of a Christian world-order, and offering remarkable opportunities to the Christian message just now, this conservative rallying deserves attention in all parts of the church.

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MISSIONARY CONSERVATISM IN CHINA

It is astonishing how deeply rooted are the conservative theological positions in such a field as China. The missionaries of the past generation (giants, many of them) were in large part conservative, having come to their work at a time when conservatism seemed the only alternative to a Christianity so emasculated as to be worthless, and never, either in their reading or during their furloughs, having found any basis of understanding with such a liberalism as began to be popularized by men like Henry Drummond or George Adam Smith. (The chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bible Union of China made the statement two years ago that he had never heard of George Adam Smith!)

These great pioneer missionaries raised their converts, and particularly those designed for the native ministry, by hand. The missionary's study was the theological seminary, and the student was given the missionary's system of doctrine to digest. Those who have had experience with him can testify to the attainments of the Chinese as a memoriter scholar. As a result, there is within the Chinese church, a great body of preachers, particularly among the older men, who are as rigidly conservative in their doctrine as were the monks of the Middle Ages. The honor paid age in China insures these men a great influence in the Chinese church. They have been largely responsible for a type of effort that has evolved the common Chinese term for Christian preaching: *kiang tao*, to expound the doctrine.

In addition to this deposit of conservatism, handed down by a generation of missionaries now almost, although not quite, gone, there is the constant reinforcement of the conservative elements made by certain missions and denominations. The largest missionary body in China is that of the China Inland Mission. No one would deny the mighty pioneer work done by that body, yet it must be acknowledged that its doctrinal basis is as conservative as could be imagined,

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outside the oft-called "freak" missions. Only a few years ago the China Inland Mission declared it impossible to hold fellowship with any not believing in the eternal damnation of all men who had not, before death, accepted Jesus as a personal Savior! Many of the missions from Continental Europe, and some from England, are practically as conservative as the China Inland Mission. The missions sent out by churches located in the southern part of the United States are generally conservative. The Lutherans, wherever their origin, seem to be so. The very small missions and the independent missionaries are almost always of this nature. And in the ranks of all the missions—for missionaries have generally been chosen by the large boards because of their spirit rather than their doctrine—there are men and women who hold tenaciously to the platforms of the past.

The conservative spirit is nurtured, moreover, in the summer resorts frequented by the missionaries. The summer season lasts from early in June until the middle of September, during which period a large part of the missionary body is concentrated in a handful of mountain or seaside resorts. Conferences abound. It is probably possible, although I have never made a personal test to insure the truth of this statement, to go to a meeting of some kind during every day of one's vacation. It is my observation that the general atmosphere of these conferences is conservative. For some reason, people with a conservative bent seem to enjoy a multiplicity of meetings, and so, naturally, have a great deal to do with their nature. There are exceptions, to be sure. A few summers ago Henry Sloane Coffin, and last summer Harry Emerson Fosdick, stood out in these summer gatherings. But I think it undeniable that the general influence of these, with their days of prayer for the conversion of the Jews and similar meetings, has been to give the conservatives a group sense. It was at one of these summer resorts that the Bible Union of China was formed.

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Conservatism received further support a few years ago from the Stewart Evangelistic Fund of Los Angeles. This fund, which has been set up by the same parties who financed the publication of the series of *Fundamentals* in this country, stands for the rapid proclamation of the gospel throughout China. It is very conservative in its definition of what the gospel is, and concentrates its attention on vocal preaching. However, it has provided sums for the distribution of portions of the Scriptures and other literature, for schools engaged in training Christian workers, and for summer conferences. It has financed, either in whole or in part, the visits to China of prominent conservatives, such as R. A. Torrey, W. H. Griffith Thomas, C. G. Trumbull, and M. G. Kyle. It is not connected with the Bible Union of China, and up to the close of 1921 its representative in China, J. H. Blackstone, had not joined that movement.[1] But the appropriation of this large sum (several million dollars, it is reported) for a purpose of this sort must be regarded as having done much to crystallize the conservative sentiment.

I have mentioned the visits of certain conservatives. It has been stated that without these visits the Bible Union movement would never have taken form. About that there will be differences of judgment, although the Bible Union itself has said: "The source of the idea was inside and not outside the Chinese missionary body" (*Bulletin No. 3*, July, 1921). Certainly, however, these visitors did much to encourage what Dr. Thomas has insisted was only a recognition of a division that already existed. Dr. Torrey is quoted as having said at a meeting held in Kuling, China: "Get into the Bible Union, and be an active member when you do get in" (*Bulletin No. 5*, December, 1921). One missionary leader has testified that when he asked Dr. Thomas to avoid speaking in such a manner as to promote division among the missionaries, Dr. Thomas declared it high time that such division took place.

[1] Since this article was written, Mr. Blackstone has joined and been elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Bible Union.

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All these visitors have sent back to the countries supporting the missions descriptions of the havoc being wrought by liberal missionaries in China. A liberal, following in their footsteps, has no difficulty in reporting havoc wrought by the conservative visitors.

These elements, then—the conservative inheritance, the conservative missions and missionaries, the conservative summer gatherings, a heavily financed conservative propaganda, and a succession of forceful conservative visitors—combined to bring to birth the Bible Union of China. It dates from the first days of August, 1920, and it recalls Kuling, the principal summer resort for Central China, as its place of origin.

THE BIBLE UNION OF CHINA

In a series of meetings held at Kuling that summer Dr. W. H. Griffith Thomas spoke on "The Authority of the Bible, Inspiration, Old Testament Criticism, Evolution, The Place and Power of Scholarship, and The Lord's Coming." Later he gave a series of lectures on "The Person of Christ, The Death of Christ, The Resurrection of Christ, The Bible, The Church, and Christian Experience."[1] Anyone familiar with the work of Dr. Thomas will know his position on these points.

Following the lectures by Dr. Thomas meetings of various groups of missionaries were held, until there emerged an organization, to be known as the Bible Union of China, with a membership of about four hundred, under the leadership of a Committee Ad Interim. Half of the thirty members of this committee were members of the China Inland Mission or the Southern Presbyterian Mission. Later, the movement was carried to other summer resorts, and a campaign to secure additional members undertaken.

At the Kuling meetings that first summer a statement of doctrinal basis and program was drawn up, and it was to this

[1] Cf. "Modernism in China" by Dr. Thomas in the *Princeton Theological Review*, October, 1921.

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that the first members subscribed. Much criticism was aroused by the manner in which the doctrinal basis was described in this document, as well as by one of the purposes announced, and the publication of the statement in certain papers was described as a breach of confidence. Since that first statement has been held to have been "confidential and for members only," and since I do not wish to take any unfair advantage in a discussion of this kind, I will not reproduce it, although the changes made in the later, and now authoritative, document were of real significance.

As Dr. Thomas traveled about China interest in the Bible Union spread. However, there was a noticeable holding back on the part of many leaders, and a meeting was held in Shanghai in November, 1920, at which the statement of doctrine and purpose was revised, and the movement provided with a leadership calculated to inspire more confidence among the missionary body. This statement of November 25, 1920, remains authoritative, although it is still called a "tentative statement." Evidently even "the faith once for all delivered to the saints" has its changes. The official form reads:

Being convinced that the state of both the Christian and non-Christian world demands unity of purpose and steadfastness of effort in preaching and teaching the fundamental and saving truths revealed in the Bible, especially those now being assailed, such as, the Deity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, His Virgin Birth, His Atoning Sacrifice for Sin, and His Bodily Resurrection from the Dead; the Miracles both of the Old and New Testament; the Personality and Work of the Holy Spirit; the New Birth of the Individual and the necessity of this as an essential prerequisite to Christian Social Service:

We affirm our faith in the whole Bible as the inspired Word of God and the ultimate source of authority for Christian faith and practice;

And unitedly signify our purpose "to contend earnestly for the faith once for all delivered unto the saints."

To this end we express our desire to join with others of like mind in seeking to carry out the following Program:

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1. Prayer: To pray that God may so direct this movement as to arouse the Church of Christ to its deep need of a firmer grasp on the fundamentals of the Christian faith and a fresh realization of the power and sufficiency of the simple Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, the preaching and teaching of which has been blessed of God since the beginning of Missionary work.

2. The Bible: To promote the circulation, reading, and study of the Bible, trusting that its Divine Author will use this movement as a testimony to its integrity and authority.

3. Literature: To prepare and circulate literature and textbooks witnessing to the fundamental truths of the Bible.

4. Personnel: To present to our Home Boards and supporters the vital importance of accepting for missionary service only such candidates as accept the truths referred to above.

5. Educational Institutions: To stand firm for faithful teaching of the whole Bible as of primary importance in the work of all Christian schools and colleges; and also by deputation work, conferences, and special lectureships, help forward local effort in emphasizing the fundamentals of the Christian faith.

6. Theological Education: To promote sound teaching in theological seminaries and Bible schools and to seek means by which able exponents of the faith may reach the present and future leaders of the Chinese Church.

7. Evangelism: To forward all measures in Christian enterprises which make for the deepening of their devotional, evangelistic, and missionary spirit.

A careful study of this document will show that it is much like those drawn up by other "fundamentalist" bodies. Any person of conservative tendencies can sign it, and it is so worded that those who would declare disputed matters, such as the imminent bodily return of the Lord or the second blessing or the ability to speak with tongues, fundamental can join without being told, in so many words, that the Bible Union does not agree with them. In fact, were it not for the inclusion of the miracles of the Old Testament, and perhaps also the virgin birth, in the list of "fundamental and saving truths" I am sure that an enormous majority of the Protestant missionaries in China could sign the declaration.

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With this as its standard, the Bible Union has gathered its strength. Outstanding conservatives, such as J. Walter Lowrie, secretary of the China Council of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, and Mr. D. E. Hoste, director of the China Inland Mission, have given it a temperate leadership. There was, about a year ago, one little ripple on the calm waters when officers of the Union called in question the right of one woman, a prominent literary worker, to belong to their body. It seemed that it might be necessary to erect an authoritative standard of interpretation to protect the authoritative "statement," but the issue was avoided. At the close of 1921 the Union had about seventeen hundred members, or about 20 per cent of the missionary body. The largest single group in the membership was, naturally, that from the China Inland Mission, who contributed about a quarter of the whole. After the China Inland Mission the largest representation is from the Lutherans, but the former outnumber the latter sixty-two times. The Presbyterians supply the third largest body of members.

The activities of the Union have been the cause of much discussion. Various preliminary statements aroused the fear that an effort would be made to control future missionary gatherings, and in order to appear free from all political ambitions the Union has had to avoid the very appearance of evil. So some things have not been done that would have aroused the greatest enthusiasm among a certain type of conservatives. The meeting of the National Christian Conference in May, 1922, will give final evidence as to whether or not the movement intends to use political means to attain its ends.

Bulletins issued by the Union tell of work being done by committees on literature, both of a general nature and for use as textbooks in theological seminaries, on Bible-study, on evangelism, and on membership. In literature the principal effort seems to be to publish a translation of Dr. Orr's *Inter-*

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national Bible Dictionary to take the place of the version of Hastings' that is already in the market. Posters, containing scriptural texts, are prepared for cheap distribution. The publication of the Bulletins seems in itself about as concrete an activity as any. At the beginning of this year a letter was sent to all mission boards advising them as to their future practice in sending workers to the field. This letter has not yet been made public.[1]

There has been talk of asking the mission boards to erect schools in which the conservative viewpoint would prevail. Aside from the fact that there are now schools in China where, because of the faculty personnel, the conservative viewpoint does prevail, it is hardly likely that the boards, if approached, will care to commit themselves in such a manner. About two years ago it was reported that the Stewart Evangelistic Fund would build a school for the training of Christian workers, in which the fundamentalist viewpoint would certainly have been maintained. But after conferences with large groups of these conservative missionaries, Mr. Blackstone found them so unable to come to an agreement in the matter that the project has been, at least for the present, dropped.

THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT DURING THIS PERIOD

It must not be forgotten that during the same period while this conservative reaction has been gathering form the movement within the Christian body as a whole has been liberal. The activity of the conservative minority testifies to this.

There has been, for instance, the rise of the Young Men's Christian Association. The men sent to China to lead this work have been progressive in nature, just as the methods they

[1] The letter was published in full in *Zion's Herald*, April 19, 1922. It is very long, and consists partly in an apology for the existence of the Bible Union, and partly an attempt to prove the liberal missionaries "denying the authority of the Holy Scriptures and also the great evangelical truths taught therein regarding sin and redemption." "Such teaching," this letter charges, "is fraught with the greatest danger to the Chinese church, threatening indeed, in the future, its very existence."

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have followed, with their emphasis upon the social applications of the gospel, have been progressive. The Chinese response has been gratifying. The Y.M.C.A. reports, after twenty-five years of work, about seventy-five thousand members, active and associate, and an influence out of all proportion to its numbers. Recently, the Y.W.C.A., always more liberal than the male organization, has come to duplicate among Chinese women the work that the Y.M.C.A. has done among the men.

There have been the union institutions. Mention of a union institution before a conservative is something like the traditional red rag waved before a bull. In the Bulletins of the Bible Union, in the articles of Dr. Griffith Thomas, and in the speeches of Dr. Torrey you may find evidences that the union institutions in China are liberal, and that they must remain liberal because there is no way of requiring adherence to any one body of doctrine in a school supported by churches with differing doctrinal bases. Yet the union institutions are in China to stay. Dr. John Dewey is reported to have warned the mission boards that they had not more than ten years in which to make the Christian schools able to withstand government competition, and the Boards are determined to do this by pooling their resources in commanding institutions. "The union universities and theological schools in China are a great menace to the future of the church in China," Dr. Torrey stated in a recent speech. With such a judgment it is well to contrast the words of one of the wisest missionary leaders, Dr. Arthur J. Bowen, president of the University of Nanking:

> We hear considerably, in these days, of criticism of missionary colleges and universities to the effect that they are "Godless" and teaching "higher criticism"; that they have little value to the Church, being non-evangelistic and non-productive, to a large extent, of ministers; and that they absorb too large a proportion of missionary personnel and mission funds. This seems to be the age of criticism, perhaps we might

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call it "lower criticism," fault-finding, unkind attitudes, emphasis on shortcomings and differences. Mission schools and colleges, through their teachers and administrators, are as human and as inadequate as other institutions and persons. I doubt, however, if a more vigorous or a more hopeful type of Christian life and teaching exists on the mission field than obtains in our Christian colleges in China. . . . . For honesty of purpose, for devotion to truth, for earnest desire for the spiritual salvation of these young men, and for a sane and constructive understanding and application of the teachings of Christianity, these teachers cannot be surpassed on the mission field. That there are problems and difficulties involved in the great task, no one denies—but there are quite as great and serious problems and difficulties in the so-called evangelistic work. Moreover, the results will compare as favorably for Christianity in educational work as in any other, to say the least, in China where education is so highly regarded.

I have been interested in inquiring from several of the leading missionary colleges and universities as to how many of their non-Christian students have become Christians during the school year 1920–21. I find that the total from seven institutions is 445, which is about one-third of the non-Christian body of students in these schools. Over one-half of the whole student body in general is Christian. These students have deliberately, most of them after some years of study and a fair knowledge of what it involves, chosen of their own free volition to follow Christ. In all of these schools there is absolutely no compulsion except that of love. A student's standing and treatment is in no way adversely affected by his not deciding during his course to become a Christian. . . . . As in our colleges at home, where one student receives harm to his religious life and faith from his college teachings and experiences, ten are literally "reborn" and made new creatures, greatly enabled to serve God and their fellow-men[1].

Union efforts of all kinds have a liberalizing tendency, for the rallying of different bodies to secure great ends tends to sink such divergences of detail as there may be and concentrate on essentials. Christian effort in China is noted for its encouragement of such union movements. Within the past two or three years these have begun to appear among the Chinese Christians, and there have arisen complaints concern-

[1] *Annual Report*, University of Nanking, 1921.

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ing the too-liberal teaching sent broadcast by the Chinese publicity secretary of the China-for-Christ Movement. At least one American denomination, the Southern Baptists, alarmed by the liberal tendencies that seem inevitable under such conditions, has rigorously excluded its missionaries from participation in all union efforts.

Another indication of the growth of liberal sentiment is to be found in the independent Chinese churches that are gaining strength in certain Chinese cities. These congregations have no relation to any missionary society, and frequently contain in their membership leaders of the indigenous church. While the tone of the preaching heard in them depends to a large extent upon the individual ministers, yet the influence of these independent churches has been distinctly liberal.

The missionary body has grown with great rapidity in recent years. A certain part of this growth has contributed to the conservative strength, but a larger part has been liberal. Increasingly the leading mission boards are requiring a high type of preparation from their candidates. It is seldom that they send out evangelistic missionaries without both college and theological degrees. Educational missionaries with advanced degrees are sought. The medical missionary is a man with the best training. And a preponderating part of this group is committed to the liberal position. It could hardly be otherwise.

One other source of gain to the liberal movement during recent years has been the coming to the fore of young Chinese leaders. Many of these have been educated abroad; some are the product of the mission colleges of China. The way in which they are assuming leadership is remarkable, and desperately frightening to the conservatives. A large majority of these men are liberals, bringing into Christian circles the same spirit that the "New Thought Movement" (to be mentioned later) is spreading throughout Chinese society as a whole.

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GROUNDS UPON WHICH THE BIBLE UNION HAS BEEN ATTACKED

The organization of the Bible Union of China has produced much discussion within the missionary body. Many have been the charges leveled against the Union, which soon found itself upon the defensive.

It was at first decried as a producer of division among men facing a superhuman task. When Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer was in China, speaking at one of the summer resorts, it is said that he was asked, by a radical premillennialist, to speak on Christ's second coming, it being known that Dr. Zwemer holds with that school. But Dr. Zwemer, seeing the outcome of such a speech, refused, saying, "Why should I speak on the second coming when we are surrounded by so many millions who do not even know that Christ has come a first time?" Dr. Zwemer was wiser than some who followed in his footsteps. When the Bible Union was formed, after an insistence upon teachings that men today look at in differing lights, the first move was to place before every missionary in China its statement, in order to find out whether the missionary should be classed as orthodox or otherwise. The refusal of many whose conservatism was established to be ticketed in that manner rendered the census incomplete, but the tendency toward division has been clear. Thus, in a statement by the director of the China Inland Mission, Mr. D. E. Hoste, telling "Why I Have Joined the Bible Union of China," and distributed by the Union, the author says that he held back for a time because "It is obviously most desirable that, so far as possible, we as a missionary body in this country, should present a united front in the face of prevailing materialism, moral evil and erroneous beliefs. Hence, one shrank from a step which might hinder or set back the work of drawing the missionaries together, in which progress had been made during recent years." Some have seen in this threat of division in the missionary ranks the most dangerous feature of the Bible Union program.

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Again, the Union has been charged with a lack of candor. It has been stated that a declaration of "fundamental and saving truths" had no right to employ therewith so indefinite a formula as "such as, the Deity of our Lord," etc., etc. The "such as" may mean so much that does not appear on the surface. Does it, for example, mean a belief in the imminent personal return of the Lord? It is probable that a large majority of the members of the Bible Union are premillennialists. Most of them are ardent premillennialists, and premillennialism is the one doctrine, together with literal inspiration, on which they can quickly become aroused. But from the first the Bible Union has been careful to avoid any facing of the question of the second coming. It has sought safety here in silence, and so has been, some say, less than completely candid.

Again, the charge was made that the Union intended to set afoot a heresy hunting campaign throughout the Christian institutions of China. That the charge had some basis is to be seen in such a program as that laid out by its Committee on Educational Institutions, which proposed

> That this Committee seek to acquaint itself with the nature of the religious instruction in our various schools, especially in its bearing on the fundamental principles of the Christian doctrine. . . . .
>
> This seems a large program for a small committee, but in presenting this plan it was pointed out that the Committee would largely act as a clearing house and that those who were members of the Bible Union or those interested in it and who were also connected with the institutions could make such inquiries as were necessary of the different institutions.[1]

The implications of such a program are clear. That it is under way is proved when supporters of the Bible Union, writing for American periodicals, can quote parts of lectures alleged to have been given in classrooms in China, word of which would never have reached them had the heresy hunt not started.

[1] *Bulletin No. 1*, January, 1921.

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Again, the Union has been charged with a tendency to credit unfounded charges. It is a serious business to start the heresy hunters on their way, for the discrimination between true evidence and untrue is not an easy matter, and the proclamation of unfounded charges may work untold harm. For example, any person familiar with the degree of accuracy with which students take notes in a classroom will agree that some measure of caution is desirable before making charges based on such evidence. Yet a large part of the "proof" of unsafe teaching in mission institutions is, when analyzed, seen to be reports of what a student has said to one missionary that another missionary has said in the classroom. Dr. Griffith Thomas uses a large amount of this kind of evidence in the apologies for the work of the Bible Union which he has published in America. In the most extensive of these I find one case on which I can check:

> These are the words of another leading missionary, writing to a friend of mine in America: Dr. Thomas has doubtless told you something of the effects of such destructive propaganda. . . . . Dr. Tewksbury of the China Sunday School Union reported that he picked up a student's lecture notes in a certain large mission school and found in it that the miracles of Jesus were divided into three classes. Of the first it was said: "These miracles are without historical foundation"; of the second: "These miracles are doubtful"; of the third: "These miracles may be accepted as genuine."

Note the course of this "evidence." Dr. Thomas gives it to the American public on the authority of a "friend." The friend received it in a letter from a "leading missionary." The missionary states that "Dr. Tewksbury reported" it. It is not made clear whether Dr. Tewksbury reported it to the leading missionary, or whether the leading missionary just heard that Dr. Tewksbury had reported it to someone else. And Dr. Tewksbury "picked up a student's lecture notes" and discovered the fearful thing! Honestly, what does any man in this long line to the American public think "a student's

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lecture notes," unsupported, unexplained, incomplete, are worth in such a case? Any person who ever kept a class notebook can answer that question. Moreover, it is to be remembered that this student was a Chinese, hearing a lecture in English, and even with an unusual grasp of the foreign language, not fully at home in it. I asked the teacher in question about the incident, for it has been widely used by the Bible Union. To drop all anonymity, he is the Rev. W. F. Hummel, and he was teaching in the department of religious education in the University of Nanking when the alleged division of the miracles of Jesus took place. Professor Hummel stated that he had been placing before his class various conceptions of the miracles, as advanced by various teachers. There were many of these. The group quoted by Dr. Thomas was among them. Professor Hummel did give it to his class, and it went into their notebooks, but *as the theory of another teacher with whom Professor Hummel did not agree!* No one ever came to him to check up on the matter. His next knowledge of it was when it was sent out as evidence of the unsound teaching in mission colleges. This may seem too small an incident to be worth so much space, but as an example of some things that have accompanied Bible Union activity it is of value. It shows why the Union has been accused of a readiness to credit unfounded charges.

Moreover, the Bible Union has been under suspicion of having political designs. There is no question but that, at its formation, some enthusiasts pressed for a program that contemplated securing control of all missions and missionary gatherings. Since the members of the Union stand in such a decided minority to the missionary group as a whole, such a government by the dictatorship of the minority could only be secured by methods such as have not been usual among Christian workers. But the charge is as yet unsubstantiated.

Personally, none of the foregoing accusations carry as much weight as the declaration that the whole method of

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approach of the Bible Union proves a total failure to grasp the significance of these days in China. That is not a spectacular charge, but, fundamentally, it seems vastly more devastating. Jesus upbraided his contemporaries in the Jewish church for their failure to discern the signs of the times. Is it possible that the Bible Union is guilty of the same blindness? To answer that question we must consider China at this hour.

THIS HOUR IN CHINA'S HISTORY

We have already traced the main stages in China's revolution. Since 1911, with the overthrow of the Manchus, it has generally been thought of as political and military. The truth is that, while such factors remain, there has been at work, since early in 1918, a revolution of a totally different and more far-reaching nature. It is a revolution in Chinese *civilization*, and it began in the return to the primacy of the scholar marked by the Student Movement of 1918. For a few months the Student Movement was largely political, but it has shifted its emphasis until now it pays almost no attention to politics, at least as a primary interest. With hundreds of papers and magazines championing its point of view, with the eager attention of the five million students who are so largely to influence the next fifty years, this movement is the one element of fundamental significance in China today. It cannot be better described than in the words of Dr. A. J. Bowen:

> These men (students who have studied abroad), together with the most alert and volatile students in the universities and colleges of China, now form considerable of a group, united on a liberal program for China, covering all phases of thought and life. They have a wide and, on the whole, sympathetic hearing through the many excellent publications that they issue, many of them in the common spoken language, the "peh hwa" as contrasted with the "classic" form of writing so highly revered through the ages. In addition to original essays and articles, they also translate the very latest and most pertinent

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western writings, scientific, social, and socialistic, philosophical, religious, and anti-religious—anything new and striking and "modern" that has stimulated their minds and that will stimulate the mind of China. The great ideal and objective is social and political reform and betterment for China on a very democratic basis. *A very searching and critical attitude pervades the movement.* The foundation principles of Chinese life, of the family, of filial piety, of the ethics of the "five relations," of marriage versus "free love," of religion in general, and Christianity and Confucianism in particular, are subjected to the frankest debate and criticism. So also are all western institutions and practices, and fortunately there is no very great tendency to adopt the institutions of the West without thorough adaptation to China's conditions and needs. *All questions of authority, whether in home or in state or in religion, have become more or less confused with questions and practices of autocracy and its oppressions and class distinctions.* Conservatism, in any form or in any realm, is considered a mark of the old and effete civilization, and as one, at least, of the causes of China's backwardness. Liberalism and modernism are invariably associated with progress, with science, and the results of the scientific spirit of the West, and above all with democracy and self-expression.

That a good deal of this thinking and discussion is sophomoric and considerably oblivious of the real consequences for China of the reforms and changes advocated does not in the least detract from its significance or importance. Much of this discussion is on a very high intellectual plane indeed, and if it could be read by scholars and thinkers of the West would very greatly enhance the good opinion of the West for the Chinese mind for clear and constructive thinking. It is a real awakening of the mind. China, through her younger scholars, is beginning to think as never before, and is thinking in terms of the twentieth century, and with an entirely forward looking attitude.[1]

Dr. Bowen goes ahead to quote a series of questions drawn from recent Chinese periodicals, as showing the tendency of present-day Chinese religious thought. The list has been compiled by Dr. C. H. Hamilton, of the faculty of the University of Nanking, and might be extended indefinitely:

Is religion necessary at all?

Will not education and the general enlightenment of a community gradually eliminate religion from society?

[1] *Annual Report*, University of Nanking, 1921. The italics are mine.

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Cannot the fine arts give to man satisfaction which religion is supposed to give? (This is the contention of the chancellor of the National University.)

In what way, if at all, is the morality of a community dependent on religion?

Does China need Christianity?

In what ways, if at all, are the native religions defective?

Is Christianity in a position to supplement the native religions?

Is not Christianity retarding modern progress, especially progress in forming scientific habits in the solution of problems, by asking men to accept such statements in the Bible as the story of creation, the virgin birth of Jesus, and such creedal doctrines as trinity, resurrection, etc.?

Are not such practices in Christian churches as public prayer, sacrament, and baptism, reactionary from the point of view of a scientific ordering of life?

In face of the persistent missionary movement in China, what should the Chinese people do?

How can the Chinese prevent the loss of elements in Chinese civilization, which, though "alien" to Christianity, seem desirable?

Such are the questions that are passing through the minds of the molders of China's new day. An investigation conducted by Dr. R. Y. Lo and myself (reproduced extensively, in full in *The Chinese Recorder* and in carefully selected extracts in the *Bulletin* of the Bible Union, as well as elsewhere) showed clearly that questions of this nature are as rife among students in mission schools with conservative faculties as elsewhere. Yet to these the Bible Union comes with a dogma of literal inspiration extending equally to all parts of the Bible and declares this to be the only sure basis for a Christian faith! Is it any wonder that a leader who stands in the midst of all this movement, and appreciates its significance, such as President Bowen, should say:

It is to be regretted that at the same time with this intellectual awakening on the part of the young Chinese there has, in certain quarters among the missionaries, developed during the year an undue emphasis, one is inclined to think, upon the more conservative aspects of our beliefs, upon the more literalistic interpretations of the Scriptures; a

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tendency to define for all twentieth century Christians what are all of the fundamentals, and insistence for all upon "the faith once delivered to the saints," with too much stress on the "once."

Bishop L. H. Roots, of the Protestant Episcopal church, in speaking of this "New Tide of Thought," named it as one of the important reasons for holding a National Christian Conference in 1922, and then admitted that "The Chinese church and the missionary body are as yet only barely aware of this great movement." Alas, that seems to be true.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE "NEW TIDE OF THOUGHT"

China is passing through a period of rebirth that will take a century or more for its completion. It is immensely significant that, so soon after this revolution has started, it should have found in the educated classes the leaders. The men who will make the China of 1950 and after are the students who are providing subscribers for the almost five hundred publications of the "New Tide of Thought" today. How is Christianity to influence them?

The Bible Union has a clear-cut program. It sets up a theory of biblical inspiration, together with a group of typical dogmas, all of which it holds illustrative of its definition of supernaturalism, and it declares that the way to win China for Christ and his kingdom is to induce Chinese to accept this standard.

The liberal missionary has a different approach. He sympathizes with all seeking after truth, and the fundamentals for him are that the quest shall be free, that it shall be thorough, that it shall face the deep needs of the human spirit and of society. He knows that such a quest will lead to Christ, and "this is all we're seeking."

Dr. R. A. Torrey, in a speech recently delivered in Chicago, after dealing with China's political and social troubles, declared that the missionaries who approach their work in that kind of spirit are "China's greatest peril." But the Chinese student

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who studies the Bible Union program, and accepts it as the authoritative missionary standard, says, "Missionary Christianity is worn-out Christianity." And the latter judgment seems to me one more to be feared.

The whole question of the relation of modern Christian teaching to converts on mission fields goes far beyond China. In a recent magazine article a writer well acquainted with the work of one mission board has this to say of the situation in Korea:

> The doctrines taught and received by the Koreans with the most docile confidence, are inhospitable to many even of the elementary teachings of modern science, and defy the conclusions of enlightened Christian theology and the accepted philosophy of Christian civilization. The shock to the Korean mind, as it realizes Korea's need of the varied modern sciences and as it comes into contact with the intellectual currents of Christian society is bound to be staggering. How far an intellectually quickened Korea will or can retain its Christian faith is a very serious question. Certainly the doctrines promulgated by the missionary policy so far pursued must be in large part discarded, just as they have been discarded by Christian civilizations which have utilized the findings of modern science and its principles of social organization. The transition in Korea will prove the more tragic since the discovery must be made by the people sooner or later that the Christian teaching first given them deliberately turned them away from light which was already abroad, and that their missions promulgated doctrines as fixed and final which were already generally repudiated by the civilization the missionaries were credited with representing.[1]

The Bible Union would have the Christian enterprise in China adopt the same course that has been followed in Korea, and to the extent to which it succeeds in doing this will the judgment uttered in the same article be true: "The democratic movement of today in China is fast leaving the missionary leadership behind."

WHERE WILL THE REACTION END?

What is the future of the Bible Union of China to be? Already it has shown wisdom by freeing itself from any control

[1] J. E. McAfee in *The Christian Century*, October 27, 1921.

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by that "lunatic fringe" which Mr. Roosevelt said surrounded all movements. In the first meetings of the Union some men were prominent in making plans and holding offices who have already been relegated to the background. And the real leaders—such as Dr. J. W. Lowrie, Mr. D. E. Hoste, Mr. E. G. Tewskbury, Dr. A. P. Parker, Miss S. J. Garland—have quickly changed the belligerent atmosphere that marked the beginning. The seventeen hundred members are as varied as any group of that size would be. But their consecration and piety must be recognized. They are good people.

Now that the Union is working to keep the peace in the missionary ranks the time will come the more quickly when the one contribution that they have to make will be appreciated and appropriated. That is the warning against the dangers of overinstitutionalizing the *missionary* effort and slighting direct evangelistic effort. The large increase in evangelistic work in all missions during the last year shows that this message is being heeded. The Bible Union will not have been wholly a loss if it saves the missions from fastening upon China institutions so extensive that the Chinese church can hardly hope in this century to take them over.

But the Union cannot hope to win the confidence of the most vital elements in the Chinese church. These are too much moved by the "New Tide of Thought," and they will go their own way toward the indigenous control of the Christian enterprise that is coming into view. It will be a way far different from that marked out by the Union.

The Bible Union has disavowed its desire to bring about a positive breach in the missionary body, with resultant struggle.[1] In so doing, it has doomed itself to a future of innocuous desuetude. If the things for which it stands are really "funda-

[1] In the letter to the mission boards the Bible Union apparently serves notice of the adoption of an aggressive policy: "We have thought best to inform you directly of our united purpose to 'contend earnestly' against confusion and discussion as regards the authenticity and integrity of the Scriptures and the content of the message of salvation we have been commissioned to take to the Chinese people."

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mental and saving" they are worth moving heaven and earth to obtain. To say that they are "fundamental and saving," and then to say that you will do nothing drastic to insure their acceptance is to doom yourself to the old round of holding meetings to be attended by those who agree with you, preparing papers to be read by those who accept your premises and never dissent from your conclusions, and going around and around in a harmless circle that makes you feel that you have delivered your soul and leaves the general situation much as you found it. And that, unless there are radical changes in program, is to be the future of the Bible Union of China.

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THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION[1]

EDWARD L. SCHAUB
Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

Motivations to the psychology of religion have come from numerous sources. Of these the most important are: (*a*) the desire for larger and more significant achievement—in religious education, for example, or the training of religious workers, or the promotion of a truer understanding and a wider sympathy between differently minded individuals and groups; (*b*) the need of psychological analyses in connection with philosophical and historical investigations of religion and with the various problems of anthropology, sociology, and the history of culture; (*c*) the "feeling of wonder," as Plato called it; "the craving of our understanding to know the laws of phenomena," to use the words of Comte. These motivations likewise furnish an insight into the spirit that animates the psychology of religion and also into the nature of its tasks.

Because of the wide differences that prevail, section two of the paper undertakes a survey of the sources from which religious psychologists have derived their data, of the methods and points of view they have adopted, of the conceptions of mind with which they have operated, and of their assumptions or conclusions regarding the relation of the psychology of religion to theology and philosophy.

Finally, a general appraisal is offered, followed by the mention of a number of problems to which it would appear that religious psychologists should now address themselves.

I

"Knowledge and human power are synonymous, since the ignorance of the cause frustrates the effect. . . . . That which in contemplative philosophy corresponds with the cause, in practical science becomes the rule." With this aphorism Francis Bacon gave formulation, in his *Novum Organum*, to a

[1] This paper, prepared at the request of the Editor, aims to suggest something of the spirit, methods, achievements, and present problems of the psychology of religion, with the thought of broadening the orientation and clarifying the perspective of those as yet only vaguely familiar with this field. In the space available it will be impossible to review, or even to make a comprehensive survey of, the literature of the subject. Where the course of exposition conveniently allows, however, references will be made to such of the more readily accessible publications (especially in English) as deal significantly with large or numerous aspects of religion and will therefore be of vital interest to the general reader. An extensive alphabetical bibliography, together with a very helpful topical bibliography, are now available in Coe's *The Psychology of Religion* (University of Chicago Press). Other lists of related writings may be found in Pratt's *The Psychology of Religious Belief* and King's *The Development of Religion*.

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then relatively novel conception of the nature of genuine knowledge. Today, indeed, the phrase "Knowledge Is Power" has received wide currency because of its adoption as the motto or advertising slogan of numerous educational institutions. But it should not be overlooked that it was the emergence of the conception expressed, together with the changes it involved in the methods of acquiring truth, that signaled the dawn of modern thought. Thenceforth truth came to be sought and formulated in such ways as to have direct applicability to practice. Hence the quest for knowledge gained impetus from the desire for achievement. Earlier modes of interpretation still continued. Yet a new era was inaugurated: that of scientific inquiry. Inductive investigation disclosed uniformities and laws; and through their utilization desired ends could be attained much more securely and economically than through the crude, haphazard methods of trial and error or rule of thumb.

This distinctively modern procedure, however, gained headway in other fields long before it was turned to the advantage of religion. Strange as in certain respects it may seem, man's curiosity has always been focused on things distant—on celestial bodies, the objects of the physical environment, and their origins—long before it was aroused by the things closer than hands or feet, such as the moral experience or the religious life. So also it was not until a relatively late stage of development that any carefully thought-out and systematically executed attempt was made to control or develop the latter along lines consciously evaluated as reasonable and desirable. Even so, these attempts in their beginnings encountered strongly intrenched opposition. In connection with matters of lesser significance, it was readily conceded that no effort of intelligence should be spared; indeed, vigorous and sustained thought was regarded as no less a moral duty than industry, persistence, conscientiousness, and other prerequisites of large and permanent success. But

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in the sphere of religion it was long felt by the rank and file of ecclesiastics and of traditionalists that the search for accurate, scientific knowledge or its methodical application is an affront to the deity. The increase of religion in individual and institutional life was thought to lie in the kind providence of God. Yet not entirely. Man might, and should, co-operate so long as he did so more or less thoughtlessly, that is, without utilizing empirical observation of a scientific sort for the discovery of methods adapted to securing results whose value was determined by an appeal to experience.

The psychology of religion, however, has enjoyed a rapid development and has time and again been vindicated by its fruits. A survey of its origin and its growth would make it entirely clear that a practical motive has throughout been potently operative. In the early eighties of the last century, G. Stanley Hall, having reported numerous sudden changes, both physiological and psychological, that dramatically proclaim the advent of adolescence, proceeded to set forth the lessons to be drawn by those concerned with the development of character. From the very outset he, with a number of students whom he inspired, regarded their tasks, in truly Socratic spirit, as maieutic. Under the pressure of genetic psychology, and shortly thereafter of the psychology of religion, conceptions regarding education and training in religion and morals rapidly underwent far-reaching transformations. The methods at present proposed, and increasingly pursued, diverge so widely from those of a generation ago that one might safely refer to the latter as having been revolutionized. This advance—for such it unquestionably is—must be credited largely to those who have laid bare the fundamental characteristics of personal growth and of religious experience, just as, in turn, the scholars in these fields received zeal from a consideration of the bearing of their studies upon the matter of supreme moment to mankind. A clear idea of the shift in religious viewpoint and activity which followed in the wake of the attempt to under-

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stand religion through observation and psychological analysis may be gained by referring to an early work of Coe's entitled *Education in Religion and Morals;* and a comparison of this work with the same author's recent book, *A Social Theory of Religious Education*, will bring out vividly the rapidity with which the newer methods of procedure have furthered our knowledge of religious processes.

Turning to Bridges' *The Religion of Experience* we find another significant ministry of the infant science of religion. The author is impressed by the need of "a principle which shall bind together *all* the members of the nation, and, in time, all the nations of the earth." Realizing that this calls for the discovery of "some fresh standpoint from which the doctrines and disciplines of all faiths may be seen in a new light and re-valued," he is led to inquire concerning the needs "which have urged men into religious fellowships, and induced them to elaborate the various inadequate philosophies called theologies, and the numerous systems of worship, prayer and sacrament." With a knowledge of these needs he hopes that there may come some suggestion for meeting them by means "upon which there could be the same kind of practical agreement as there is in regard to the findings of physical science." Whatever may be one's judgment concerning the possibility or desirability of the precise objective that Mr. Bridges seems to have in mind, one may confidently expect that, with the increase and diffusion of psychological knowledge, religion will become less and less spiritually divisive. Bigotry, conceit, dogmatism, sheer intolerance, will wane. Understanding cannot but foster that mutual respect and sympathy which is demanded of the truly righteous and is basic not alone to fruitful co-operation but likewise to every other form of satisfactory human relationship.

The contributions which the psychology of religion is capable of making to this great cause, as well as to that of religious education in the widest meanings of this term, doubt-

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less exceed our most hopeful imaginations. Moreover, there are few problems connected with the promotion of religion that may not receive illumination through psychology—to mention but a single additional one, the training of religious workers. Yet here as elsewhere it would be a matter of deep regret if scholars allowed questions of a too immediately practical urgency to deflect them from more general investigations looking toward the discovery of fundamental principles.

It is inadequate, as we have seen, to think of the psychology of religion exclusively in connection with religious education. Only less so would it be to regard its various utilitarian aspects as exhaustive. Factors of a different sort have likewise played a formative rôle, contributing to both its problems and its spirit. Not infrequently it is said that the psychology of religion is essentially a product of the twentieth century or that it dates back, at furthest, less than three decades. This statement is true only if we are referring to it as an independent, empirical science. Religionists of all times and places have given spontaneous utterance to their impulsions and experiences; and, as rational beings, they have engaged in description, interpretation, and theory. Simple statements of psychological import occur wherever there is religion, and even so sophisticated a doctrine, for example, as *timor fecit deos* trails back into the hoary past. Critical, self-conscious psychologizing appeared almost as early as theology and the philosophy of religion. By the time of Hume, Kant, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Feuerbach, psychological analysis was regularly developed or psychological theory appealed to in connection with such problems as the origin of religion, the basis of religion in the life of the individual, the primary trait or traits of religious experience, the relation of religion to morality and to art, and the significance of its ideational and doctrinal aspects. Ever since, philosophical interpretations of religion have tended to build on phenomenological foundations involving a vast deal of a psychological nature.

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In the meantime various social sciences found it difficult to move hand or foot without recourse to psychology; at the least, they operated, more or less unconsciously, with assumptions requiring psychological examination. Historians of religion, as well as of culture generally, anthropologists, and sociologists found religion to be one of the strongest and most pervasive social factors. Whether we turn, therefore, to those movements on the continent exemplified by the *Zeitschrift fuer Voelkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* or to such monumental British works as Tylor's *Primitive Culture* or Frazer's *Golden Bough* or to the monographs on the cultures of particular peoples, we note how multitudinous and inescapable were the facts which claimed attention and yet were unintelligible without a psychological analysis of concepts and practices of a religious sort. Thus the investigation of social phenomena generally, as well as of religion in both its philosophical and its historical aspects, generated problems and developed theories which prepared the way for a psychology of religion thoroughly independent in its procedure and possessing a technique of its own. This emancipation, however, did not and cannot involve release from all connection; the responsibility and the necessity for full co-operation remain. Pratt has indeed very recently insisted on leaving such questions as that concerning the origin of the belief in God or gods to the "anthropologists and the historians, not to mention the theologians, the sociologists, and the philologists," holding that the psychologist's problems are "the less speculative and more hopeful ones." A more tenable position, however, is adopted by Mueller-Freienfels when he holds, in his *Psychologie der Religion*, that the psychologists too must deal with the whole range of social phenomena; though not concerned to determine what were the particular facts—the specific details of the cult of a certain group, for example—or even with a description of the facts as such, they are concerned with the psychological factors underlying them and with exhibiting

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their psychical necessity. Surely it is safe to say that social scientists require the assistance of the psychologist in interpreting religious facts; and the psychologist depends upon the historian, anthropologist, and sociologist for a knowledge of those specific, concrete data without which intelligent procedure is in many cases quite impossible to him. Fine products of such activity on the part of psychologists are presented in various chapters of Ames's *The Psychology of Religious Experience* and of King's *The Development of Religion*. Among the works of the social scientists that stand out are Marett's *The Threshold of Religion* and a study by Durkheim translated under the title, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*.

But he who seeks a fairly complete view regarding either the origin or the present character of the psychology of religion must bear in mind still a further consideration. Plato remarked in the *Theaetetus* that "the feeling of wonder is the genuine mark of the philosopher for philosophy has its origin in wonder." This observation is not without point with respect also to science and all accurate knowledge. Wundt has called attention to the fact that it was not until curiosity was sufficiently keen to be aroused not solely by the exceptional and startling but also by the usual and the commonplace that magical conceptions became displaced by those of natural law. Carlyle has characteristically said that "the Man who does not wonder, who does not habitually wonder (and worship), were he President of innumerable Royal Societies, and carried the whole *Méchanique Celeste* and Hegel's Philosophy, and the epitome of all laboratories and observations with their results, in his single head . . . . is but a Pair of Spectacles behind which there is no Eye." To understand the spirit of the psychology of religion, then, one must appreciate the point of two remarkable sentences of Comte's:

> However great may be the services rendered to Industry by science, however true may be the saying that Knowledge is Power, we must

never forget that the sciences have a higher destination still; and not only higher, but more direct—that of satisfying the craving of our understanding to know the laws of phenomena. To feel how deep and urgent this need is, we have only to consider for a moment the physiological effects of *consternation*, and to remember that the most terrible sensation we are capable of, is that which we experience when any phenomenon seems to arise in violation of the familiar laws of nature.

It is not without significance that the early studies now definitely thought of as inaugurating the psychology of religion, and the first volume thus entitled (Starbuck's *The Psychology of Religion*, 1900) centered pretty much about the phenomena of conversion. True, these are intrinsically attention-arresting and at the time were essential elements in evangelical religions which constituted a significant as well as a vociferous factor in American life. To understand why conversion so early became an object of study, however, we must bear in mind that prima facie, as also in current belief, it seemed, while a matter of experience, nevertheless to lie on the yonder side of anything explicable in terms of psychological or other scientific laws. Indeed, the query was often raised whether it did not represent an exception to or a violation of such laws. The scientific mind could not but regard this as a clear challenge; and to the challenge the investigations of Starbuck and Leuba were an earnest and vigorous response. Now, religious experience in general seems to stand apart in its depth and significance, and many of its aspects and expressions, besides conversion, seem genuinely unique. Hence it has been an object peculiarly stimulating to the theoretical interest as this is described by Comte. Supplementing the curiosity that in general impels to a search for facts and their relations is the concern to exhibit the relevancy of scientific method throughout the entire range of human experience.

II

The motivations and hence the character and the tasks of the psychology of religion are, as we have noticed, complex.

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Manifold too are the sources from which it derives its data, and numerous the methods of approach or points of view it adopts, as well as the conceptions of mind with which it operates. Diverse views have also developed with respect to the relation of the psychology of religion to philosophy and to theology. Let us briefly consider these points in turn.

In their search for data Starbuck and the earlier writers very naturally turned to living experiences. For, concerning these, direct information could be obtained, and from the outset empiricism has been the watchword of psychological students of religion. So they circulated as widely and representatively as possible carefully prepared lists of questions, the answers to which they analyzed with the purpose of reaching generalizations as well as of detecting differences. Though the questionnaire would seem to make facts available at first hand, many objections have nevertheless come to be urged against its use. Attention has been called to the difficulty of avoiding "leading" questions and of securing replies genuinely representative, since the distribution of the forms is after all geographically, linguistically, or culturally restricted, and only those individuals having certain interests will respond—and these perhaps only in part (for a variety of reasons), or in unclear or stock terms, or inaccurately, due to language or memory limitations or to lack of experience in introspection. Obviously the method is not satisfactory in the case of children and numerous other groups; interpretation, moreover, is hampered by the insufficient information which the replies yield concerning the personal characteristics, life-history, and cultural environment of the respondents; and the questionnaire affords the basis for little more than statistics and a certain limited description, causal or other relationships lying quite beyond its power to illumine. A very interesting attempt to supplement the questionnaire is reported in Coe's *The Spiritual Life*. Through personal interviews, doubtful points were cleared up; through scrutiny of the

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respondents and conferences with their friends and associates, objective evidence was obtained as to the item of temperament; various facts relating to their suggestibility were ascertained through hypnotic experiments. Thus light was thrown upon certain conditions underlying the heterogeneity of religious experiences. James supplemented the questionnaire in still a different way. Individualist that he was, yet also convinced that the ordinary run of experience tends simply to reproduce the current temper and ideas, he believed that the essence of the religious spirit is best discovered in the persons of religious dissenters and innovators, of prophets and reformers, of mystics and enthusiasts. Autobiographical and other records portraying these unique religious characters were freely used, along with the reports of living individuals, for the masterly interpretations in *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* Though with far less appeal to historical eccentricities, it was to individual experiences that Höffding likewise turned for his material for the psychological section of his profound *Philosophy of Religion.* The data for Stratton's *The Psychology of the Religious Life,* on the other hand, were supplied by the literary expressions and other monuments of religion. These were considered by the author to exhibit the spirit not merely of their creators but also of their adherents far more objectively and instructively than confessions, autobiographies, or responses to specific questions; for they are spontaneous expressions arising from situations when men, instead of being self-conscious, are "themselves," "off their guard." Ames, on the other hand, has turned primarily to the customs and ceremonials of groups, with a predilection for those of simpler cultures; while Durkheim has chosen the path of very detailed and intensive study of a single region, Australia. Fielding Hall's *The Soul of a People* is a penetrating description based on a careful, sympathetic observation of the living beliefs of a single people. Wundt and his followers have acted on the conviction that a significant psychology of religion must be

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a phase of a psychological interpretation of the development of human culture; its data, therefore, must be objective, social facts as reported especially by anthropology and sociology. To a greater or less extent, of course, every writer finds, if not data, at least the keys of comprehension within his own experience; and the impressions gained through his personal associations have doubtless always furnished much important material. Strictly speaking, moreover, perhaps no student of the problem has confined himself to but a single source of facts. Yet there are the wide differences in emphasis which we have indicated, and, for the sake of completeness, perhaps mention should also be made of the eclecticism which characterizes especially the most important recent contribution to the literature of the field, Pratt's *The Religious Consciousness*.

Our citation of the various directions to which psychologists of religion have turned for their data has already furnished glimpses of divergent points of view. In his instructive book on *The Sources of Religious Insight* Royce took exception to James's conception of religion as an individual possession. From a different angle a similar attack was made in Coit's *National Idealism and a State Church*. James was only the most prominent representative of a large group who, whether under the influence of the questionnaire method, of the prevailing theology, of popular belief, or of the regnant psychology, regarded religion as primarily a phase or part of isolated streams of consciousness, as an experience of selves thought of as more or less monadic. To the same point of view belongs the conception of religion as instinctive—a psychological counterpart to the doctrine of personal salvation. Even prior to Royce, Wundt had assailed this position. Religion, like language, he contended is not an expression of an individual consciousness but the product of community life. Where, as in the case of Christianity, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism, there are religions which seem to have personal founders, these have all built on earlier foundations and with

material derived from social sources. Hence the psychology of religion was for Wundt a phase of folk-psychology, and its proper method he believed to be genetic. Durkheim went to even greater lengths in differentiating collective from individual consciousness and in referring to the former not merely religion but everything of universal or trans-subjective import. The individual as such he regarded as but little, if anything, more than a body: at any rate, that which distinguishes him from the beasts he held to be the soul, and this he described as a mode of social or collective consciousness become incarnate. Because of Durkheim's able following among French thinkers and of the impress of his fundamental conceptions upon such important studies as Jane Harrison's *Themis* and Cornford's *From Religion to Philosophy* a real need was met when Webb subjected the doctrine to a searching criticism in his *Group Theories of Religion*. American writers have in the main not been inclined toward exaggerated emphasis upon the social origin or character (as distinct from function) of religion. Most ably and boldly of all, Ames and King have insisted that religion arises from within a social matrix, through a differentiation of social practices and associated sentiments and ideas. Common needs and efforts and socially controlled behavior lie at its basis. Indeed, religion is defined as "the consciousness of the highest social values" and not infrequently seems identified with morality in the sense of social righteousness. It is not always clear, however, whether this means the values associated with that which is most indispensable for the social life or the values socially regarded as supreme: those which are supreme *for* or those which are supreme *to* society. And upon this hinges a further important issue. For only in the latter case could one, with Höffding, associate religious with cosmic feeling, or, with Pratt, unhesitatingly recognize that religion involves belief as well as attitude, and that this belief relates to the existence of a being or of powers having ultimate control over the destinies of man.

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With respect to the general conceptions of mind, similar divergencies have appeared. By some, mind is regarded as an existential complex; and the endeavor is made to determine its constituent elements and their relationships. This structural analysis has been attempted also in the case of religious experience. Much more fruitful, however, have been those efforts which have treated mind after the pattern, not of anatomy, but of physiology. Functionalists describe psychical processes as emerging in response to life's needs and as developing, at least initially, under the control of natural and social selection. Conation thus becomes basic; ideation is the child of necessity and finds its justification and its worth in the services it renders. Religion too is said to have its origin in the disparity between man's needs and the conditions in which he finds himself. Ceremonials, designed or adapted to mediate social satisfactions, are its essential features. God thus becomes not so much an object of meditation or creed as a power that is used. Changes in circumstances and hence in social values become the factors that cause the twilight of the gods of old and the evolution of all religious beliefs and forms. For the careful elaboration of this functional interpretation, great credit belongs to Ames and King, and to numerous other writers instructed and inspired by them. It has been contended, however, that biological conceptions and utilitarian biases have kept these scholars from a just appraisal of the theoretical and contemplative aspects of religious experience; moreover, that they have failed to realize that, though thinking and worshiping were in their beginnings (largely, would it not be truer to add?) subservient to the demands of life, they in time became ends in themselves and thenceforth developed along relatively independent lines under the guidance of self-critical reason and consciously evaluated ideals, creating new insights and values, as well as ministering to those already attested. This suggests the advantage of a genetic and empirical treatment which, recognizing that thoroughgoing modifications occur

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in the history of the race as of the individual, and guarding against the temptation to impose some favorite theory upon facts, faithfully observes typical levels of evolution (as all phenomena) and describes them in their own terms. In its more characteristic manifestations, mind seems not a psychophysical instrument or function but a principle of conscious aspiration for the attainment of a more rational, universal, and perfect selfhood. This conception, though of course common in idealistic literature and recognized now and again by psychological students of religion, still awaits systematic employment toward the interpretation of man's religious interests and activities. Psychoanalysis has not as yet added greatly to our knowledge of either the mechanism or the dynamics of religious phenomena but not unlikely it too will in the near future have valuable contributions to make. Of behaviorism, in its extreme form, little should be expected. The development of social psychology, on the other hand, augurs well for those concerned to understand religion; and, in time, general and abnormal psychology will speak with greater confidence concerning what is commonly referred to as the subconscious and the coconscious, thus clarifying many problems in connection with which there is as yet little unanimity among religious psychologists.

Wide differences of judgment are being expressed relative to another matter of the very first importance: the relation of the psychology of religion to theology and philosophy. For the functionalist, theology and all branches of philosophy are but phases or departments of psychological investigation. From a radically different viewpoint—that of Positivism—Leuba has vigorously argued, in his *A Psychological Study of Religion*, that theology cannot claim serious consideration until it becomes a branch of psychology. In marked divergence is James's contention that psychology not merely permits the holding of "over-beliefs" but itself opens the way to the belief in a supernatural order that exercises an influence upon

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human life through the avenue of the subconscious. Macintosh, on the other hand, argues that God is a direct object of experience and manifests himself immediately to consciousness. Hence he concludes that theology is capable of development as an empirical science. Indeed his volume on *Theology as an Empirical Science* is a fearless attempt to deal with religious doctrines in this manner. Much more commonly, however, it is still held that phenomenological description belongs to psychology; but that psychology, while privileged and competent to deal with every department of human experience, has a distinctive procedure and objective which preclude it from either solving or pronouncing insoluble or unmeaning ontological and metaphysical questions. The more final, comprehensive interpretation of religion, especially as involving existential implications, falls, it seems safe to assert, to the task of philosophy.

III

Psychologists have placed beyond all doubt their competence to illumine the nature and mechanism of religious processes, and the time is at hand when all who have a practical concern with the latter should familiarize themselves with the psychological literature. The cursory way in which we have been compelled to refer to complexities and diversities in respect to character, problems, material, method, and viewpoints may leave the impression that the psychology of religion is in a state of utter and hopeless confusion. But such is not the case. Rather is it true that there is a free and abounding life which has taken varied expressions. This fact only a rigid formalist could deplore. Exploratory movements are greatly to be desired, especially in new fields. It should be remembered, moreover, that in the general and parent science of psychology the lines are still sharply drawn, not alone in respect to particular issues but also with reference to fundamental theory: structuralists, functionalists, behaviorists, self-

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psychologists, and psychoanalysts are all still actively vying for the dominance. And few of the phenomena to be dealt with are as complex as those of religion.

If seriously studied, the psychology of religion should deepen insight, rationalize conceptions, refine appreciation, and promote achievement. Certain doctrines and methods may indeed lose their glamor when they are questioned as to their significance in concrete, experiential terms. But surely this is as it should be. The substitution of knowledge for unthinking credulity, and of analytical rigor for the acceptance of facts as simple, may seem disturbing. But experience and religion become all the richer thereby. If the belief that religion is the expression of an innate human faculty or instinct is displaced by real understanding, that is, by some knowledge of the complex factors that do underlie it and that shape its growth, both the naturalness and the inevitability of religion are the more firmly established. The results of psychological study have set into clearer light the fact that religion is not creed but life in its loftiest reach; and they have likewise shown that all man's conscious powers—cognitive, emotional, and conative—enter into its structure. In religion, they have set forth, man possesses a deep sense of personal worth yet likewise the most intimate interrelation with his fellows. If religious efforts and progress were carefully directed by these scientific confirmations of the insights of the finest religious spirits, much, certainly, would be gained.

There are many important questions to which workers in the field of the psychology of religion should now address themselves. Of these we would venture to suggest as significant and timely the following:

(1) What factors underlie decay (*a*) in historical religions and (*b*) in the religious experiences of individuals? What leads to indifference and what to hostility toward institutional religion? How numerous are "non-religious" people? These problems of negativity have not as yet received due attention.

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Nor have those connected with religious dogmatism and intolerance. (2) What may be done to protect and foster genuine individuality in an age when press, platform, and pulpit conspire with a multitude of other factors to impress individuals with the *vox populi* or the *vox dei*? The church has developed an enlightened conscience which today pretty much restrains it from exposing men, women, and children to the crowd or mob spirit of shallow revivalism or emotional debauchery in any form. But in its more subtle modes the influence of the crowd-mind in religion, as throughout all of life, is today alarmingly powerful. How prevent those dire consequences of a conventionalization, popularization, and standardization which today interfere with the vigorous growth of an essentially personal and individual life? (3) On the other hand, are we sufficiently mindful that, however careful may be the nurture of the youth or the cultivation in them of socialized attitudes, individuals are destined to find places in existing economic, political, educational, ecclesiastical, and other institutions whose pressure upon the activities and minds of individuals is enormous, if not completely dominant? How may our religious programs become more social in the sense of exhibiting more direct concern for such a conversion of institutions as will make them co-operators in the fostering of spirituality? (4) What importance should be attached to personal decision, the self-conscious adoption of principles, the choosing this day whom one would serve, in distinction from that growth which, as more or less without the presence of self-conscious volition, is relatively continuous? (5) On all sides it is now contended that, in the case of children, the religious aim should be conservation and not redemption. Granting the error of the latter ideal as traditionally held, is the supplanting ideal entirely adequate? To bring out the point, let us assume that through proper education or training the individual may "develop"—or for that matter "acquire"—traits free from selfishness. Is the same true of self-will?

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A negative answer is implied in the studies which Baldwin and Royce have made of the rise of self-consciousness. Hence it is that in his *Problems of Christianity* Royce insists on the fundamental validity of the doctrine and the ideal of redemption. Further psychological investigation is imperative. (6) In general, are we excessively dominated by a prejudice for universal as distinct from particular aspects, by likenesses as distinct from differences, by continuities as distinct from novelties? Do our genetic descriptions sufficiently recognize that new facts, relations, values, and capacities emerge in individual as in racial evolution? And as a consequence are not our aims in many respects unhappy? Danger lurks in the attempts to find the key to complex and developed religion in the forms that are simpler and relatively primitive. The biological standpoint is too often maintained when the relations under discussion are social. Lower forms of social life are treated without thought of those more profound, mutually self-conscious, ethically and emotionally pervaded associations possible to man. Thus aspirations are not roused to their highest possibilities and even ideals tend to superficiality.

So much is clear: The psychology of religion has enjoyed a vigorous growth. The scope of its problems has steadily widened. In viewpoint and method, it has manifested rich diversification, reflecting both the interests of individual scholars and great originality of thought. Its contributions alike to scientific knowledge and to the promotion of religion pure and undefiled have been substantial. Yet these are far from exhausting its possibilities. Those who are conversant with its history look forward with confidence to its future; and its present status is certainly such as to justify the highest optimism.

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THE MOTIVE OF THEOLOGY

GEORGE CROSS
Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, New York

This article discusses the relationship between the aim of science and the aim of theology.

Science, in the large sense, is seeking to understand the universe as a coherent and unified whole. But this aim is an ideal rather than an actual achievement. The progress of science rests on will rather than on mere knowledge.

This means that in pursuing science the world is actually subdued to the interests of man. It rests on ethics, requiring the co-operation of human wills. It points to the future for its full realization.

These considerations bring the ultimate end of science into close harmony with the aim of theology, which seeks to interpret the ultimate control in the universe so as to promote human, ethical, and forward-looking interests. "The ultimate interest of science and the interest in God are one—the interest in human betterment, human perfection, human salvation."

To speak categorically, the motive of theology lies in our human interest in God. The character of this interest is the thing now to be explained. For its existence is undisputed. From the earliest stages of human life to the present nothing has had a deeper meaning for men and nothing has stirred their emotions more profoundly than the thought of some such being as we seek to designate by the name *God*. The purpose of theology is exhausted and its task completed in the exposition of this ineffable name. In saying this, however, we are not determining in any degree the peculiar character of this interest or its relation to other interests. At the outset of our discussion the question arises: Is the interest in God distinct and isolated from all other interests—common and secular—that men pursue? Or is it at bottom one with those interests that operate along the common highway of life?

The very term *theology* reminds us that in it we are undertaking a pursuit that seeks to proceed according to the principles of human thinking and submits itself to those ordinary tests to which thinking on any subject whatsoever must be

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subjected. If it is to be something beyond an excuse for indulging in whims and fancies, if it is a serious effort to give to the idea of God a significance in relation to everything that happens in our lives or confronts us as we view the world and the men that live in it, then theology is an attempt to unfold a body of knowledge that shall be valid for all who place themselves in such relations as give them access to it. Our question now becomes more definite—Is the interest in God identical with the desire for knowledge?

A negative answer is promptly given to this question by many, and a superficial view of the matter would seem to justify it. Surely, it will be said, the attitude of soul which is assumed in the act of worship, for example, is fundamentally different from the mental action that occurs in the working out of a proposition in geometry or the discovery of the time of a transit of Venus across the face of the sun. It may be, however, that the contrast owes its vividness to a want of a thorough appreciation of the significance of the common effort to attain to knowledge of anything whatsoever. It may be that the failure to bring these two acts together in unity is a consequence, not of an exalted estimate of worship so much as, of a low conception of the worth of the knowing act. A finer appreciation of the desire for knowledge might disclose its truly religious character. The search for knowledge may turn out to be an act of worship.

The presence to our consciousness of an object hitherto unknown is invariably the signal—to the child and the man alike—for an effort to relate the new object to what was known before. Until this is done the new object is not really known. Indeed, until this is done the reality or adequacy of the prior knowledge is made uncertain The attempt at a new construction of a body of knowledge becomes indispensable. But we do not proceed very far in the new undertaking before we discover that the unexplored regions into which we are trying to enter are interminable. The desire

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for knowledge is insatiable. Nothing is known completely until all things are known in their entirety. There is no stopping place this side of omniscience. The object that ultimately presents itself to our inquiring intelligence is the whole world. All knowledge has the world in mind.

The difference in the ways in which this truth is apprehended and in the methods by which this end is approached constitutes the difference between the "scientific" and the "unscientific" pursuit of knowledge. To the man of unscientific mental habits the world exists as a vague somewhat, half-unconsciously conceived and in independence of his personal thought or of all thought. To the man of scientific habits, on the contrary, the world is no alien territory but it is the sphere of his mental, as well as his physical, activities, and for this very reason it has meaning for him. To such a mind the world exists to be known, while for the other type of mind it may seem just the vast unknown, and whether it is to be known or not is not clear to him.

Their ways of approach to the object of knowledge differ correspondingly. They differ as the ordered differs from the unordered. The unscientific mind gains its knowledge in a haphazard fashion. It works without any clear recognition of the truth that the validity of one's conclusions respecting any single object depends on their harmony with, and their complementary relation to, a systematic knowledge of other objects. The man of scientific mind, on the contrary, aims at discovering the *laws* of existence. He cannot admit the final possibility that these laws may be violated. The presence of disharmony or even the lack of harmony in the world would mean, to him, ultimately the destruction of the world. He is not content to gain a sum of knowledge. He assumes that knowledge of many things is possible only if there is a unit of knowledge. He must construe that unity by bringing all the materials of knowledge under the constructive action of his thought. In his investigations he is definitely aware

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that his task is to know the world from within, that he must mentally organize the processes that go on in seeming independence of his thought or of all thought.

A similar contrast appears between the theological and the non-theological view of God. To the latter God exists in some sense but the meaning of his existence for thought remains uninterpreted. He stands apart from all else. Mystery surrounds him. The marvellous, the uncontrolled, the unnatural, the unaccountable, are his most befitting symbol. Whatever he may be he is Not-man, he is Not-the-world. Man, the world, is not-God.

The theological attitude toward God is different. God is, to be known. He is not alien to the native processes of our minds. The laws of our thinking have their seat in him. His relations to us are not mysterious in the sense of being unknowable but only in the sense that our knowledge of them is progressive and incomplete. Neither is the world alien to him. Its processes are not separate from the movement of his thought. His relations to us are, therefore, ordered, regular and constant. The most befitting symbol of him is the orderly, the natural, the intelligible, the significant. His name is familiar and is to be pronounced with assurance.

The question that now rises is, whether the action of the scientific mind as it seeks to interpret the world and man and the action of the theological mind as it seeks to interpret God to itself are to be identified. Are the truly scientific view of the world and the theological view of God at bottom one? That is to say, Does the quest of science, when it is carried out to the end, turn out to have the same character as the quest for God? Or putting it reversely, is it the interest in God that furnishes the interest in the universe? Is the motive of theology the ultimate impulse of science? If so, then science too is a sacred thing, an act of worship.

In order to answer our question it is necessary that the scientific impulse be given further consideration. On the

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instant that a strange or unaccounted-for object strikes upon the attention we become mentally restless. The appearance of the new fact is the occasion of this restlessness, but the source of it lies deeper. The eagerness to locate the new phenomenon, to set it in its true place so that we may pass from it to the whole complex of facts known to us before it broke upon our view, the unwearying efforts to construe it in relation to all else disclose the presence of an original, almost unconscious, assumption that all that is exists to be known. Everything is to be made to stand in some kind of ordered relation to our intelligence. All objects of human cognition are to be conceived, in the end, as standing in such ordered relation that in their totality they constitute an organized whole, an intelligible unity, a world. A careful analysis of scientific investigation will show that it is controlled by the determination to work out this capital assumption. Without it there would be no science. That is, all scientific research is an attempt to vindicate this assumption by mentally constructing the unity that was presupposed at the outset. This is the first discovery we make in answer to the question asked a moment ago.

We can hardly have failed to note, however, the striking fact that the manner in which science proceeds to work out the assumption seems to be out of harmony with the assumption itself. Our "scientific" procedure seems somewhat arbitrary. For, instead of taking the world as a unit we proceed straightway to break up the field of study into numerous sections in which we arrange groups of objects selected on the basis of their common possession of certain characteristics to which we desire to limit attention. These separate groups contain the materials which are worked up in the various special sciences. Each of these goes its own gang. Indeed, one might almost say that each of these is pushed to the limit obliviously of the others—for the time, at least. Thus in the very activity which is supposed to effect mentally the

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unity of all things this unity is broken in pieces—to the alarm and confusion of the uninitiated—and then each of these groups, more or less arbitrarily selected, is treated as itself a unity. Science becomes the sciences. Each is aggressive and pushes out in efforts to appropriate territory heretofore counted as pertaining to the preserve of another. Notwithstanding, the fact that these groups continually overlap and that each feels itself impelled to push on to the final solution of the riddle of the world rises up as a reminder that the primary assumption of an ultimate unity of all things lies latent in the consciousness of the scientific student. It is, in truth, this particular form of consciousness that operates all the while and the seemingly arbitrary division of the entire array of facts is understood to be only a matter of convenience and in order to avoid confusion, until the various inductions may be co-ordinated and the approach made to the ultimate interpretation, with fuller assurance that the unity is real. All scientific processes, therefore, arise out of our capital assumption. The unity of all things is an intellectual ideal that calls for its own realization. The world must be annexed by our intelligence. Every new collocation of materials and every new discovery of a law that operates in them marks an advance. There is no stopping-place short of the ever beckoning, ever receding end when the world shall lie organized in the human consciousness.

Now, if theology professes to set forth a knowledge of God, in what manner can this (religious) knowledge be distinguished from the knowledge whose aims and methods have been roughly described in the foregoing? To what different end does theology seek to come? If the religious thinker, in the presence of his own religious experiences and activities and of those religious phenomena that he thinks he observes around him, finds himself assuming God as the supreme reality that gives meaning to them all, just as the man of science finds himself assuming the world as the supreme reality without

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which he can give no meaning to the facts he observes, must not the religious thinker proceed to group and relate and interpret the religious facts until they present themselves to his mind as an ordered whole according to the methods which are used by the scientist? Most certainly, if religion is to have a clear meaning to him. Just in so far as this is accomplished, and no farther, has the latent fundamental assumption, or consciousness, of God obtained interpretation and worth. This is the direction in which religious knowledge must move. In this case the ideal of knowledge that is progressively realized in the soul is called God, as in the case of natural science it is called the world.

The striking thing about all this is that the body of facts considered in both instances is ultimately identical. Neither the religious thinker (or theologian) nor the scientist is at liberty to leave out of view in the end any single fact, as if it were of no account for his purposes. To the religious man all facts, whether of the outer world or the inner life, are to be viewed as having religious significance; while to the man of science all facts must be viewed eventually as natural and as having cosmic significance. The two realms are coterminous and equally inclusive. For the religious man all things are to be unified ultimately in God, and for the man of science they are to be unified in an intellectually conceived world. Are there then two ultimate unities? Neither religion nor science can rest content with an ultimate dualism and, in despair of finding a deeper unity underlying this division, there seems, for the instant, no alternative to the conclusion that God and the world are ultimately equivalents.

If, in order to escape this conclusion, it is insisted that there is, nevertheless, a separate series of facts, such as the exercise of religious faith, repentance, hope, love, forgiveness, which have a distinctively religious character and on that account there may be a special science of religion alongside other special sciences and making on its part a special contribution to our

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knowledge, it is to be granted that this is true. But if this special science is called theology, this can mean nothing more than that theology, like astronomy or biology, becomes a stepping-stone to a final science, a philosophy yet to be, that will include all the sciences. Or, if in the effort to avoid placing theology on a level with the natural sciences and to secure for it a realm which the sciences cannot invade, it be contended that theology has to do with facts of a distinct and higher order made known to our intelligence through superintelligent or subliminal processes that reveal the forces of another world whose meaning is entirely different, we are still no better off. For, in the very act of making themselves known to us these higher forces become domiciled in our natural mental world and make themselves subject to the methods of science. Nor is there any relief to be found in the supposition that religion comes to us solely in the mystical experience and is therefore not amenable to the requirements of our common intellectual activities. For while this view seems to leave religion intact and distinctive, it really makes religion meaningless and at last sentences theology to death by making its task impossible, or else, by denying to theology the competency to explain religion, degrades it to the level of a profane science with no motive peculiar to itself. The man who is interested in this sort of religion is likely in the end to discard both science and religion as a clog to the soul.

Before yielding to the disheartening conclusion to which we seem to have come it may be well to inquire whether the trouble does not lie in a defective interpretation of the motive of science. Certain characteristics of the scientific movement deserve more attention than they commonly receive. One of these is the liberty we take with the objects of perception when we separate them into groups to suit our convenience in the pursuit of knowledge, as mentioned above. When we separate the data of astronomy from the data of biology, biology from chemistry or physics, and physics from

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psychology, we may seem to be simply adjusting our intelligence to the facts, the methods of procedure in each case being prescribed by the specific character of the material. But this is not the whole truth of the matter. It is equally true that we adjust the materials to the operations of our intelligence. The action in question appears to be more or less arbitrary. The divisions are more or less for convenience as we seek to master the secrets of the universe. One might well ask, By what right do we declare that the world shall yield to us its secret and by what right do we arrange its phenomena conformably with our mental preference or special mental purpose?

The more this matter is looked into the more impressive it appears. The process of knowledge is seen to rest on a kind of affirmation on the part of the knower to the effect that the world of objective reality shall be subject to the interpretative and constructive activity of our minds. When this declaration is pushed back to its final foundation we find it to lie in the sweeping avowal that *there shall be a world for us*, for the phenomena that meet our sense become for us a world only in so far as they are construed into unity by our mental action. *The knowing act carries us back to a legislative enactment of the human will.*

Will is the controlling force in the knowing process. The ability of the ordinary student to compass and organize a body of knowledge on any subject depends upon the steady concentration of energy along a single path, upon his ability to hold himself to the task of mastering a confused assembly of facts that challenge his powers. Will-power is the driving force. When we look back over the long course by which the human mind by a labor prolonged through the ages and by a careful treasuring of results, in order that coming ages may inherit the acquired wealth, has built up its systems of knowledge, we can see that this age-long pursuit of the ideal unity into which, as we believe, all things are to suffer them-

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selves ultimately to be built is just one unbroken affirmation of the human will. There is and can be no cessation of this action, no subsiding into mere receptiveness. No sooner do we reach a temporary resting-place in the severe task of comprehending the universe by building up a great body of facts into a unitary whole than we find our conclusion disturbed by the irruption into the area of our knowledge of some recalcitrant phenomenon that refuses to become a part of the new-found whole, the new order. Instead, however, of desisting from the attempt we find ourselves immediately affirming the determination that the mass of realities shall become for us an organized and consistent whole, and we proceed to reconstruct our world in such a manner as will give to the phenomenon in question an orderly place in it. That is to say, we decree that there shall be a world for our intelligence and we proceed doggedly to construct it.

In so far as this is effected it is accomplished by the harmonious co-operation of a host of human intelligences. Each member of the multitude of workers in this field brings his own contribution and each is finally aware that all are fellow-workers. Their several contributions are to be built together into one structure. None is a solitary worker and none is independent. How many soever may be the directions they take, in the end they all will one will. In the specific affirmation, by each intelligence, of the imperative need of the subjection of the world to human ends there is a common enactment of the will that is in them all. It is this that makes the individual's knowledge real and that makes progressive knowledge possible.

This examination of the knowing process has led to the interesting discovery that the significance of science cannot be properly stated by saying that pure intelligence, unwilled intelligence, fulfils itself in an impersonal manner by its own inherent logic. What we do actually find is that humanity as such and individual men as constituents of a social human-

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ity are intent on the intellectual conquest of the world. They determine to make it their own mental possession. They project their minds into it and appropriate its wealth to a personal end. Science affirms, not so much that the world is an actual unity, as that it shall fulfil a comprehensive unitary aim, it shall become a practical unity, its meaning shall be found in its subservience to a personal, moral end.

This is but another way of saying that we men are ultimately superior to the world and that this superiority is to be realized in achievement. If a moment ago we found that, in the inevitable scientific task of reducing to order the mass of unordered facts presented to our percipiency, we were really imposing the laws of our intelligence upon the phenomenal world, we now find that the work of science obtains its significance and value from the consideration that it is the method of our acquisition of a world as the sphere and instrument for the perfection of our personality. For that building up of our common human lives into great communities where each shares the good of all is made possible only by the mastery of the forces physical and spiritual that rise up around us and the utilization of them as mediums for the mingling of thought and will and feeling together, so that we become, as Paul said long ago, members of one another. Science is really aiming at building up a community of persons and in its vast inductions it is constructing the bonds that shall join them in united aims and action. Great communities of men can be built up no otherwise.

The correctness of this view of the matter is confirmed by the fact, so well attested today, that every new discovery of the forces of the universe and the mode of their operation is promptly turned to a personal, practical use. The discoveries of science do not remain mere formulas drawn up on paper. They are forthwith embodied in some structure or invention that places them at the disposal of a waiting world of men. Here is revealed the tacit assumption of all men that the world

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exists for a personal end. This is one of the universal human dogmas, acted upon long before it is formulated in a propositional form. Knowledge, therefore, has value in that it ministers to action. Intelligence is tributary to will. The laws of thought obtain their force from their relation to the laws of conduct. Science becomes in its higher meaning ethics.

Science, therefore, becomes a sort of moral legislation. It prescribes the direction which action must take if it is to be successful in reaching the end in view. It serves to guide the personal will that seeks to fulfil itself in action within a world suited to itself. In formulating the laws of nature men are truly legislating for themselves, they are revealing to themselves the way they must take in order to attain the object of life. While science seems at first glance to be concerned with the question, What is? it is really concerned in the end with the question, What is to be? It is prevenient, piloting men on their way, indicating the channels in which their movements onward will be clear and safe. Science is translating the world into terms of human future good. The world is what it is to us because of what we are, and we are what we are because of what we are to be.

The last statement carries us far into the realm of ethics. It is not possible, in the present connection, to construct in detail and from the foundation this ethical interpretation of life. All that can be done is to present it in bare outline and somewhat dogmatically.

It has been pointed out that the creation of a body of knowledge is necessarily dependent on the mutual co-operation of a multitude of intelligences and that these mutually co-operating intelligences accomplish their task through the driving power of their united wills. These united wills express the common will that the world shall be a unitary whole. The imperative decree that there shall be a world is issued in execution of the will that there be a sphere in which men may

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fulfil the potencies of their being. Knowledge is tributary to action, intelligence executes the behest of will. Science is preparing norms of conduct, operating in the interest of morality. It rises to ethics.

Again, in the realm of ethics, as in the processes of knowledge, there is no isolated action, no separated individual whose conduct is concerned solely with a fixed norm that stands over him and judges him. Morality is a community affair. Moral action arises only when there is membership in a community life. The moral career becomes a possibility where men are members of one another. Only thus can there be an advance to a higher moral realm on the part of anyone. That is to say, progress to a higher moral life is possible only if there is a moral world in which men may come to their best. This moral world does not stand over there against us as an objective existence complete in itself independently of the activities of the beings who occupy it, but, as in the world of knowledge, it is brought into actual being through the combined activities of mutually complementary wills. The human will cannot be satisfied with anything short of a world in which its activity may reach to perfection. While, empirically speaking, one might say that there are as many worlds as there are personal wills, yet each of these personalities finds himself and makes his estimate of himself only in and through other and finally all other, personalities. This fact is never lost sight of in the process of making our moral world, so that this moral world which is constituted by the mutually complementary activities of a multitude of personal wills expresses one common will and for that reason is one world.

It is to be observed that every affirmation of the human will refers to the future. It is an effort to reach out to a good beyond the present. That good is personal, that is, it is a better state of one's self. It is guided by a vision of a finally perfect state and it is in effect a declaration that our future

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self shall be perfect. It is this future self or personality that gives to our present self its character and worth. This it is that ever beckons us on to further achievement. But, conformably with the view that our moral world must be a world of moral communion, this future self, which is so meaningful to us now and reigns over us so imperiously, must be so rich and comprehensive in its nature that it embraces the whole human community in its sweep. That perfect self must find itself and fulfil itself in a world in which a universe of personal existences can find, each for himself, its perfection. Each member of this great family finds himself determined to this ideal. In this sense they all will one will.

There is a common will operating in all the true achievements of men. There is one Will common to our human wills as we seek to make the world of moral action in which we shall live. This is the Will which is ever working in our unperfect self and bringing it to its ideal. This is the Will which is to be actually ours but to which we never actually attain because our true life is always in the future. This is the supreme legislative Will that makes our individual and common legislative will effective. There can be no denial of this Will if we are to live at all. Our task in the field of knowledge and of action becomes, therefore, imperative. We exercise legislative power because we are under legislative authority. Hence our acquisition of knowledge as well as our moral conduct becomes an act of moral obedience.

We have found, then, that knowledge is tributary to the action of will and that it is an interpretation of will. The world of knowledge is to serve the interest of the personality as it reaches forward to a perfection yet to come. The mastery of the world by intellect is subservient to self-affirmation and self-achievement. The Will that dominates our activity is the will of the ideal self. The activity of our present self is in obedience to the imperative of that self. This is the same as saying that it is in obedience to the command of God.

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It appears, therefore, that our interest in God is not to be distinguished from the interest in personality at its best.

Of an activity of God outside of this will that is immanent in human personalities who gather up into themselves the meaning of the whole world, we have no experience and, properly speaking, no knowledge. When we try to predicate action by such an outside will we find ourselves destitute of any means of describing the character of it. The only terms we can use to describe it are those that carry us into the realm of the moral experience. May it be said, then, that if, on the one hand, knowledge has been elevated to the realm of moral action and science to ethics, on the other hand, religion and theology seem to have been *reduced* to this level and the interest in God lowered to the interest in man? If this conclusion repels us shall we seek to escape from it by making an absolute distinction between God and the human personality, between morality and religion and between ethics and theology? Not so. For this is to make each of the opposing terms meaningless in relation to its opposite and reduces all to confusion. A better solution will be found through finding a fuller interpretation of moral effort. The true meaning of morality is apprehended only when it is transmuted into religion. Without this it would be meaningless.

Again I must beg my reader's indulgence while I state the matter somewhat dogmatically, since a full discussion of the subject would fill a volume. Special attention must be given to two important facts. The first is that in making the discovery that I am a subject under the necessity of obedience to the will of that ideal which is the perfection of my own personality and in discovering that the will of that ideal self is that which gives meaning and force to my present personal will, I also become aware that I am already advancing toward that ideal. The same is true on that lower plane (as it seems) of the process of gaining knowledge. The world as an ordered and integrated whole is the ideal of knowledge

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that ever incites our intelligence to progress. But this ideal never stands before the human mind as a bare abstract completeness of knowledge. It is ever an efficacious ideal. It reveals itself to the intelligence in an actual progressive knowledge that rises from a lower stage to a higher stage and it proves its efficacy by constantly unfolding itself in a higher meaning for the mind that transcends the lower stage. In other words, the intellectual ideal possesses "saving efficacy" in the realm of knowledge.

Similarly of the realm of action into which, as we have seen, this realm of knowledge has been sublimated. The ideal moral self is no mere abstract categorical imperative which eternally urges our human spontaneity forward, but which becomes separated from our everyday deeds by a great fixed gulf over which we can throw no bridge. The ideal self is efficacious. It produces moral progress. Indeed, it is in our moral progress that we become able to recognize the ideal. In the very awareness that it exists for us we become aware that we have passed beyond the stage where we stood prior to this discovery of the better state. By the very fact that the personal ideal commands us to rise to it we are made to approach it. The ideal has become in part already real to us. To this extent it has saved us from our former lower self. It is a power of salvation to everyone that believes, to everyone that recognizes its authority. "The law of life," as we often describe it, is seen to be merely a lower expression of the grace of life. Our final interest in this ideal is the interest of salvation. That is to say, the moral imperative becomes an inspiration and a hope. In discovering the high aim which we must seek we find ourselves subjects of an elevating power that delivers us from the lower state. We are recipients of salvation. Morality, properly understood, takes on the character of religion, of faith in a saving power working in us.

That this is the case even in the scientific study of nature can be seen by a little reflection. It is true, indeed, as has

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been already pointed out, that in the pursuit of natural science there is an effort to impose the forms of our thought upon external nature and make it tributary to our ends. The whole truth of the matter, however, is not thereby stated. The fact that the man of science endeavors to see nature as she is and without importing into the objective facts anything alien or merely subjective indicates that there is a mutual activity between the investigating human intelligence and the world of fact that yields itself to the action of mind. Intelligence interrogates nature and nature yields her ready answer as soon as the inquirer is ready for it. Nay, she herself calls forth the inquiry by her very presence, and her reply in the terms of fact and law are her free and hearty bestowment upon him who seeks her face. In all the activity of knowing the mind is receptive and is aware of its receptivity. Nature by her very presence to our minds saves us from dullness and ignorance and arouses us to the conquest of herself. Should this truth be forgotten by the man of science the poet will remind him of it. The salvation which science seeks comes to us from beyond ourselves. It is a gift. There is something in nature that seeks us out and prompts us to seek it in response.

These two activities, our search and nature's stimulus, are not really successive; they are coincident. They are mutually implicated. They are one. The saving activity by which we become possessed of nature's secret is produced within us continually by that in nature which is beyond us and more than we. The process by which we work out our mental salvation in subjugating the facts of nature by the forces of mind and stamping them with the seal of mind is itself in part owing to the power beyond us which at the same time is truly working in us.

The second outstanding fact to be noticed is that all advancement from the lower to the higher, whether in the realm of the distinctively intellectual, the moral or the religious, is of a social nature and socially conditioned. Each man's

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progress in any one of these realms is made possible by his relation to a community of persons every one of whom operates upon his capacity by way of depression or of stimulus. "As iron sharpeneth iron, so the face of a man his fellow." There is a mutuality of reception and of impartation. None grows except through fellowship in this community of interest. Thus even the study of the objective material world becomes a study of human social achievement. This carries us into the moral realm. Morality itself is meaningless except as a fulfilment of social relations. The same is true of religious faith. There is no salvation outside of the communion of faith. Faith is communicated as truly as moral motive or intellectual stimulus.

Not equally by all. The impulse to the higher life comes to us with peculiar power from some worthier personality that has impinged on our consciousness, disclosing to us our inferiority and at the same time—perhaps unwittingly to us at first—the possibility of our rising to this better state. In a greater or lesser degree such a personality communicates to us the power to become as he is and to this extent saves us. The outstanding fact in all human progress is that our lives are elevated correspondingly with our attachment to a worthy dominating personality, whether it be the parent, the teacher, the companion, the prophet, the martyr, or the Christ.

This fact has been so fully recognized that there is little need of establishing it here. The history of the world shows that the formation of communities of men animated by the common purpose of betterment and mutually working for advancement in it depends on their having come into the sphere of the influence flowing from a personality who stands before them as the embodiment of what they all fain would be in that particular realm. The community finds the center of gravity of its life in this dominating personality. The explanation of its social progress is found in its loyal attachment to this person because he is to them, in himself, the embodiment and the

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revelation of their own possibilities. This is pre-eminently true of the Christian community. To the members of this community Christ is the end of law because he is the perfection of personality and thereby becomes to them the source of their attainment of this end. He is Savior. While to the Greek, for whom the meaning of the world was the problem immediately at hand, the ideal man was he who possesses perfect knowledge; and while to the Jew, for whom the moral significance of life was the problem immediately at hand, the ideal man was he who obeys perfectly the moral law; to the Christian, to whom the worth of personality is the thing to be realized, the ideal man is the Savior. Thus while the true worth of knowledge is manifest when it is apprehended as tributary to the action which seeks the law of its direction, so also the moral law becomes effective only when it has been sublimated to grace.

The foregoing discussion seems to have established the following positions: the scientific endeavor to embrace by a series of converging movements of investigation the whole of the phenomena presented to our percipiency is no mere curious interest to know things as they are in their unity. The comprehension of a static whole satisfies no man. The impulse to know stands in no separate or independent relation to the world but it is itself a part of the whole of our human activity world-ward. The motive to knowledge is embraced within the motive to action and ministers to action. The tremendous efforts of the scientific mind to present to itself a universe as an organized and integrated unity are pursuant to the task of fulfilling a moral imperative. The way to this end is in and through the universe from which the subject of activity is inseparable and of which he is a denizen. The formulas of science are guide-lines for practice. They point out the direction and the means by which the great conquest of the ideal may be achieved. The value of scientific investigation is subject ultimately to a practical test and the impulse

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that arouses it is a moral impulse. The scientific task must be performed because the man must live. His life has its meaning in an ideal the attainment of which is, on one side of it, deliverance from the lower life of the past and the present—it is salvation. The name *God* is another name for this ideal which enables a man to move toward the self-fulfilment that lies in it at the same time that it commands him to do so. The ultimate interest of science and the interest in God are one—the interest in human betterment, human perfection, human salvation.

The motive of theology lies in the human interest in God. The pursuit of the ever beckoning, ever receding ideal that lures us on in the search for knowledge and the effort at self-betterment must be abandoned at last unless there be an assurance that the endeavor is not to fail. May the ideal be attained? May men be finally saved? Is human life possessed of such a quality as guarantees salvation? Is the world so constituted that its immanent energies and the modes of their activity operate in this same direction? Is the world interpretable as the arena in which this human salvation is wrought out? Theology is an attempt to answer these questions in the affirmative and to justify the answer. It is an attempt to vindicate the faith that there is a God whose name is love in that he not only is that perfect personality to attain to whom is salvation, but he is that personality who so effectuates in us the worth of himself that the end is assured.

The being of God is the guaranty of the worth of human endeavor. Our heart and flesh cry out for the living God because without him our life must lose its meaning and its aim. If there were no God the demand for perfection must issue in despair because of our conscious impotence. The only escape from it would lie in the extinction of consciousness and will. Against such a mockery of life all scientific endeavor and all moral struggle is a protest and a defiance.

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In this discussion it is not forgotten that science deliberately sets limits for itself. It deliberately excludes the play of personal interest or preference in order that its processes may be unprejudiced and trustworthy. But if these limits are regarded as absolute they are imposed arbitrarily. For no man dare be less than himself. The truth is, they are only provisional. In order that greater accuracy may be secured the range of action is limited for the time being. But the limitations are necessarily transcended when the larger question of the meaning of the whole life is raised. Then it is that the man of science discovers that his human interest is the nerve of his whole scientific procedure. He is trying to solve the meaning of the whole of human life and is truly taking the common things in it and giving them a sacred value. He must become a moralist and the moralist must become a theologian. The limits which science and ethics set for themselves temporarily theology consciously and deliberately transcends. Thereby it saves science and ethics from decay and death.

The motive of theology is not alien to the motives that operate in our achievements in other directions. It carries these motives up into the highest realm and vindicates their worth and efficacy. Hence it descends from the highest heights to the deepest depths of human life, inspects the commonest things that men do and say with the hope of discovering something divine and eternal there and seeks to exhibit them in their final significance. If there were no science of nature, if there were no science of human action, if there were no philosophical interpretation of all existence as an ultimate unity, theology must bring them into being, for without them its task would fall away.

We are well aware that a very different view of the matter has prevailed among theologians until recently. Orthodoxy has declared that man is universally a fallen creature, that the course of his nature is persistently downward and that deliverance can come only by means of an irruption into his

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natural life of an extra-natural power of an entirely different order. The common is the bad. Mysticism has said that the world of sense-given fact is not the arena in which salvation is wrought out but that it is an impediment to the soul's attainment of its goal and must be set aside and abandoned if we would find the God of our salvation. Both of these relegate natural science and ethics to the realm of the non-religious and the undivine and they would make all secular interest the opposite of the interest in God.

Yet it is plain that neither of these has been quite content with this divorce of nature and man from God and the knowledge of his salvation. For orthodoxy has attempted to set forth the order of the divine, extra-natural, operation manward, that is, to present a science of it, and in so doing has found itself using the canons of thought that pertain to the natural order—thereby making the supernatural natural. Mysticism also has felt itself impelled by its assumption of truly knowing God to reflect back that knowledge on this world as the true clue to its interpretation. Both orthodoxy and mysticism have thus tacitly admitted the failure of the negative answer to the question whether the world is the arena of the working of salvation and the instrument of it. A true theology gives the affirmative answer and thereby brings comfort and strength to the religious spirit.

Summarily, then, the motive of theology lies in the longing of the human heart for the assurance of the validity of the conviction that there is an all-perfect personality who is producing in us the longing for fellowship with himself; who is the source of all those beneficent institutions and enterprises by which mankind have been conducted along their homeward way; whose progress is wrought out through the illimitable forces of the universe; and whose spirit is the inspiration of all those who seek, in reverence for and devotion to humanity, to interpret this universe in the forms of thought that are expressive of the human intelligence at its best.

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THE VALUE OF THE SOCIAL SURVEY FOR RELIGION

WORTH M. TIPPY
New York City

The recent social survey of Peking is a valuable study of the economic, political, educational, and social conditions in this great Chinese city, and supplies precisely the information needed by missionary enterprises for the effective planning of their work.

This survey is the last of a significant series, starting with the Pittsburgh Survey in 1907. A brief account of the rapidly extending use of the survey is given, and the value of this method of exploration for the church is set forth.

I

A notable example of the service which can be rendered by an organized survey of a community is found in a recent study of a Chinese city.[1] To make a survey of Peking is necessarily a large undertaking, since Peking is an ancient city with above 800,000 population. The work of the surveyors was rendered unusually difficult because of language barriers, popular prejudices and customs, and the imperfect state of Chinese statistics, which a much larger staff of surveyors could not have made good in the time allotted to the study. The question will arise in the mind of the reader whether it might not have been wiser to have confined the investigation to certain aspects of the city's life, selecting either from the point of view of the contacts of Western civilization, especially religious contacts, or from the point of view of the new China; selecting possibly where the two movements most coincide, as for example, education, religious institutions and poverty, with its corrective social agencies.

But upon reflection I think that the scientific surveyor will conclude that the plan finally adopted was most desirable

[1] *Peking: A Social Survey.* Sidney D. Gamble, assisted by John Stewart Burgess. New York: Doran, 1921. vii+538 pages. $5.00.

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and that the survey itself is well done, informing, and stimulating. It is in reality a notable pathfinder study, under competent direction, of a city having extraordinary interest to the rest of the world. It offers just the kind of information, so far as it goes, as is necessary to the creative forces of the new China, and to missionaries, educators, and social workers. The survey brings out the essential soundness of Chinese life, but also lays bare its dangers and deficiencies, especially the need of accurate public statistics. The survey will also prove valuable to another group—tourists, commercial representatives, and official visitors. A better introduction for one going to China, to be read on the outward voyage, could not at the present time be secured.

To one not closely familiar with Chinese life, the survey brings out absorbingly interesting fact material as to the historic life and institutions of the capital and the tendencies which are at work transforming the nation. An empire is becoming a democracy; a loosely knit grouping of provinces is being welded together; a highly developed system of trade guilds is feeling the pressure of Western industrial methods; ancient systems of education and medicine are rapidly giving place to modern education and scientific medicine. The survey reveals "crying social needs, vast ignorance, appalling poverty and a striking lack of wholesome recreation." Two constructive forces face these problems: "the Renaissance or New Thought Movement among the educated classes, and Protestant Christianity reaching all classes; and both of these movements have taken an interest in practical community service enterprises. The Renaissance Movement, whose motto is 'Save the Country through Science and Democracy' has concentrated the attention of the thinking young men of China on social questions." It is the judgment of the surveyors that the next important step in the development of Christian effort in China will be in the application of Christian principles to the social life of the people.

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Municipal administration in Peking, as pictured by the survey, is a complicated and confusing structure in which national and municipal jurisdictions have independent authority. The city is primarily a capital and secondarily an independent community. The Municipal Council and Police Board are responsible to the Department of the Interior. The powers of the various boards are based upon custom rather than law. The police, singularly efficient, not only regulate traffic and arrest criminals, but discharge the duties of the Board of Health, the Fire and Street Cleaning Departments, and the Census Bureau. In addition the force regulates prostitutes, has control of two hospitals, the insane asylum, industrial schools, reform schools, and rescue homes for prostitutes. They have opened fifty-three half-day schools in various parts of the city for the children of the poor, money being supplied in part by philanthropic citizens.

The chapter on "population" is an interesting study of the historical growth of the city from ancient times, and vicissitudes of wars, dynasties, destructions, rebuilding and mingling of races; these expressing themselves in the various walled areas and population districts of the city. The population by races is roughly: Chinese 70–75 per cent, Manchu 20–25 per cent, Mohammedan 3 per cent, Mongol 1.2 per cent, others 0.5 per cent; 515,535 are males, 296,921 females, the preponderance of men being due mainly to the presence of public officials, political aspirants, and students. Americans are the largest group of foreigners in Peking next to the Japanese, but the total foreign population is very small.

Peking is revealed by the survey as the educational center of China. Within its walls are the University of the National Government, the National Teachers' College, the Higher Technological School, and 16,879 students in middle and higher grade schools. Forty-eight thousand men and boys are in the schools of the city and but 7,000 women. These figures indicate the low status of woman, which is reflected also in

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her inferior place in the home, and the disproportionate number of women who commit suicide to end their wretchedness. The great missions, Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Protestants, maintain 110 schools of all grades from the kindergarten to the university. In the mission middle and higher schools there are 3,789 men and boys and 2,118 women and girls, showing the leveling up of Christian ideals, as compared with the number of women students in the native schools. One-third of the female students of the city are in mission schools. The Union Medical School, lately endowed and rebuilt by the Rockefeller Foundation at a cost of $7,000,000, had in 1919, 40 male and 3 female students, but is destined under its new facilities to exert a preponderating influence on the science and practice of medicine in China. The educational ideals of the National Board of Education aim at the systematic development of the child physically, intellectually, and morally; but actual conditions are as yet far short of realizing these ideals, due to lack of trained teachers and proper equipment.

One of the most valuable chapters of the survey is that which deals with the commercial life of the city. Commercial and labor guilds, each representing an industry, but including all those engaged in that line, employers and employees, are the basis of the industrial organization of Peking. The comment of the survey is that, "With their rules and regulations, close membership and the requirements which most of them have, of a three-year apprenticeship before a man is eligible to join, the guilds have maintained a fairly static industrial situation. Ordinarily they have not, according to Western ideals, made progress. . . . . The power of the group is so strong that the individual must conform. . . . . Labor has practically no mobility. . . . . The Chinese have come to believe in combination and in the maintenance of the status quo rather than competition." Guilds have existed in China for 2,000 years. They grew out of the hardships of fluctuation

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in industries in a land where the masses live close to starvation. "The Chinese feel that the cost of competition is too high. They combine rather than compete. They have developed the guild organization so that they may be protected from each other, and that business organizations may be stabilized, be the same for all and be maintained in spite of outside influence." Nevertheless, the fact that the guild system in China has made for static conditions and immobility, and that it is weakening in the presence of Western industrial organization, throws an unfavorable light, or at least a questioning light, upon the Western movement toward guild socialism.

Since 1900, chambers of commerce have been organized in many Chinese cities. The influential men and directors of the Peking Chamber are all representatives of the guilds, though ordinary merchants are admitted to membership. The Chamber has taken over many of the functions common to all the guilds. The guilds and chambers have established extra legal courts whose decisions are binding upon their members when accepted by the interested parties, and are decided according to the customs prevailing in each locality. Peking is a large banking center, but factories are kept outside the walls by the use of the taxing power.

The social evil in Peking is one of the dark pictures of the survey. It reveals a condition not greatly different from that in Japan. The city has a segregated district with 377 brothels and 3,135 registered prostitutes. Venereal infection is spreading, and the harmful effect of fast life and the keeping of several wives is becoming apparent. The surveyors rightly insist that in forming an estimate of the evil, one must keep in mind the low position of Chinese women, the lack of wholesome social recreation, the conditions in the Chinese clan home, the new spirit of freedom which has broken old restraints, and the fact that sixty-five per cent of the city's population are male. Economic pressure often causes parents to sell their

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daughters to brothels, or to wealthy men as concubines. Throughout the survey the low status of women is a depressing and distressing exhibit.

The section on Poverty and Philanthropy is depressing, but hopeful in that the ideals of modern social work are getting a start. Next to ignorance, poverty is the most serious of the Peking problems. A Chinese family of five of the working-class can be self-supporting on an income of $100, silver, a year; but, even so, the police list 11.95 per cent of the population as poor or very poor. Many families go through the winter without warm clothes. In a study of the budget of 195 Chinese and Manchu families in one of the Military Guard districts, the incomes ranged from $30 to $269 a year. The amount spent for food ranged from 68 to 83 per cent. The families averaged from 2.5 to 4.5 persons. Rents averaged from $5 to $15 a year. Fuel sufficient to keep from freezing cost $6 a year. The maximum for clothing for a family of 5.1 persons was $11.50. The Chinese families of the group studied spent from 1.3 to 6.6 per cent of the income on books, education, recreation, insurance, savings, and miscellaneous—a dangerously low percentage. The regulation diet consisted of two meals a day of corn bread and turnips. Houses are one story and usually one room. This is an inconceivably low standard of living, and it is not surprising that the beggars are organized in a guild.

The police have established thirteen relief centers and provide as high as 700,000 free meals in a month. No effort is made to determine who are worthy or to give remedial treatment. Since the establishment of the Republic the police have taken over practically all charitable institutions, including hospitals and prisons. Peking has two private orphanages, but they seem to have no child placement, and they appear to subordinate education to work. Private philanthropy is doing only a minimum of work. It is evident that the entire system for the care of the neglected, dependent, and

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delinquent of the population has yet to be modernized and developed.

The final third of the survey is devoted to the study of the religious life of the city, including China's ancient religions, and the Catholic, Greek Catholic and Protestant faiths. The city as portrayed by the survey is dotted with ancient temples and shrines and modern chapels and churches. Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist places of worship number 936 within the walls. The temple of Confucius is the second great shrine of Confucianism in China. Peking is a theological training center for the Mohammedans, who number 30,000 adherents in the city, is the principal Roman Catholic center in China, almost the sole center of the Russian Orthodox Mission, and is one of the most important educational and evangelistic centers for the Protestant churches. The survey has not made an intensive study of these religious activities, not even of the protestant churches, but has attempted by means of statistics and the description of the more outstanding institutions to give an idea of the work that is being done in the city.

On the whole the picture of the results of Christian effort in the capital is both encouraging and discouraging. The Catholics have been at work in Peking since 1293, yet they number but 9,744 adherents; the Russian Orthodox since 1685, yet they have but seven churches; the Protestants since 1861, yet they have but 5,000 adherents. The Mohammedans have double the number of adherents in all branches of the Christian church. The great ancient faiths, exclusive of Christians and Mohammedans, have 95 per cent of the people.

The bright side of the picture is the disproportionate influence of the missions and of Christian ideals in the new life which is revolutionizing China. This is not coming out of Mohammedan teaching, nor out of the ancient faiths, but from men educated in the missions and from Europe and America. The survey finds, however, that "Foreigners can-

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not evangelize China, any more than they can educate her or cure her diseases. This work must be done by the Chinese themselves, and the most and the best that the foreigner can do is to develop Chinese who will carry on the work."

The survey closes with an intensive study of the American Board Mission, which consists of a central church and two chapels, with a total of 325 families. The questions on which light was desired were two: Who are the people that the church is reaching? And what can be expected of these people in service and financial support? Of the families studied, 62 per cent were Chinese, 35 per cent Manchus, and 3 per cent Mongols. The Chinese and Manchu families averaged 3.7 persons, the Mongols 6. This reveals a relatively higher percentage of Manchu converts. The percentages of males and females are almost equal, strikingly different from that of the city, where 65 per cent are males. The death-rate is 5 per cent lower than that of the city. The income of the church families varied from less than $100 to over $1,000. Of the 325 families studied, 22 received more than $1,000; 27 received from $500 to $999; 56 from $250 to $499; while approximately 100 received less than $100. The Chinese families were distinctly better off than the Manchus. Twenty-two per cent of the church families owned their homes. The usual work-day was eight hours or less, only 8 per cent working ten or twelve hours. Sixty-seven per cent can read and 26 per cent of the families subscribe for newspapers. The favorite amusements recorded were music, reading, and singing, but also gardening, tennis, basket-ball, and other forms of exercising. Sixty per cent of the members of these families are connected with churches, of which 54 per cent are men. Sixty-one per cent of those who belong to the churches attend regularly. The percentage of those who contribute is still less. Thirty-four per cent are in Sunday school. Only 76 persons, or 12 per cent of those who belong to the church, are giving any kind of service.

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The surveyors' comment is that answers to questionnaires indicate no evidence that the members connect social service with religion, but that their religious service means wholly going to church, teaching, or preaching. They consider that the findings indicate the possibility of self-support and of a great enlargement of the value and scope of Christian service, but that these depend upon a reorganization of the program of teaching and service by the missions. "The old methods of work," they conclude, "are not satisfactory and must be changed, and outside help is needed in developing new plans and adapting the experience of other countries to Chinese life. The Mission forces ought to give this assistance, both because of the contribution they can make to Chinese life, and because of the development that it will bring to the life of the church."

These findings give cause for serious thought, both on the field and in the mission boards and training schools at home. The Y.M.C.A., and especially the Princeton center, was a significant influence in instigating the survey and carrying it forward. One could wish that the missions themselves would undertake the intensive and more limited studies as to scope which should follow the present survey.

II

This recent and valuable study of the Chinese capital brings out strikingly the extension and use of the survey as an approach to religious and social problems, in that its most recent application comes from the Orient. The impression is reinforced by the simultaneous appearance of the digest of the survey of Prague ("Pathfinding in Prague," by Ruth Crawford), which was published by the *Survey* on June 11, 1921, the announcement of the as yet unpublished Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople, under the directorship of Professor Clarence Richard Johnson, of the faculty of Robert College, and a survey of Smyrna, in Asiatic Greece, about which details are as yet lacking.

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It is difficult to realize, in the light of these surveys, that the first real social survey, the Pittsburgh Survey, was finished as late as 1907, and therefore that this application of the scientific method to the discovery and interpretation of social facts, began but fifteen years ago. Fortunately, the survey of Pittsburgh was a monumental work, carried out with remarkable foresight and efficiency. It immediately established a method and set high standards which have been of the greatest importance to all subsequent community studies.

For three years after the Pittsburgh Survey, no new community surveys were made. Other cities hesitated to undertake a self-examination which might reveal conditions such as those brought to light in Pittsburgh, that might give the community a black eye in the sight of its neighbors. But the value of the method was so manifest and so fundamental to any serious community reconstruction, that the tide turned. Requests for assistance and guidance which came to the editor of the *Survey* magazine, who had directed the Pittsburgh Survey, were so numerous that it became necessary to establish a bureau. This was undertaken by the Russell Sage Foundation, and Mr. Shelby Harrison, originally on the staff of the Pittsburgh Survey, was taken from the editorial staff of the *Survey* magazine and made director of the new Department of Surveys and Exhibits. The number of surveys, big and little, increased so rapidly after 1912, that by December, 1915, when the first complete bibliography was issued, it included 273 items. But this was not a circumstance to what has followed in the last six years. A new bibliography which is to be issued shortly will contain above 2,000 items!

The significance of the survey as a method is indicated also by the extent to which it is being used by different organizations: not only communities and churches, but industries, governments, municipal administrations, chambers of commerce, and schools and agencies at work in the field of mental hygiene, housing, public health, vice, charities, race

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relationships, and international problems. The Departments of Agriculture, Labor and Commerce, at Washington, have made notable studies to guide legislation and administrative action by the federal government. The reports of the Children's Bureau under Miss Lathrop, the study of labor representation by the Shipping Board and the surveys directed by Dr. Galpin, of the Department of Agriculture, are illustrations of the method.

These facts indicate that the social survey is a revolutionary departure. One does not exaggerate in saying that in the survey humanity has achieved a method which is comparable in its importance to social progress with the invention of the steam engine to industry. It is rapidly changing the entire fabric of social effort, and is as certain also to transform and immensely to strengthen the methods and work of the churches.

The value of the survey was quickly realized by the churches, and first by the Department of Church and Country Life of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The ominous silence of three years which followed the Pittsburgh Survey was broken in 1910, by a survey made of the parish of the Labor Church in New York City by Rev. Charles Stelzle. On the basis of this study the permanent features of the work were established. The survey revealed a dense labor population, heavily Jewish and Italian, radical in temperament and accustomed to the forum method by the Cooper Union. These facts, now sometimes forgotten or misunderstood, led to a reorganization of the methods of the church. The Labor Church survey was followed by a series of rural surveys, which, although not intensive, were stimulating and instructive: in 1911, Indiana and Tennessee; 1912–13, Southwestern Ohio country churches of distinction, and a rural survey in Arkansas; 1915, a rural survey of Tulare County, California; 1916, Lake County, Oregon, and Marin and Sonoma counties, California.

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The significance of the method was at once realized and the imagination of the church was stirred. Other boards began to undertake rural surveys and many pastors made intensive studies of their parishes, charting their material as best they knew how and doing more or less effective programizing on the basis of their findings. The volume of church surveys, rural, urban, and by parishes, grew rapidly until 1917, when the Methodist Episcopal church, which had forged ahead in the use of the survey method, decided upon the Centenary Movement, and as the basis of this great undertaking, made an unprecedented and phenomenal survey of its entire field at home and abroad, and on the findings of the survey outlined a new program of action and formulated an unprecedented budget. The Centenary survey could not be intensive. It was, in fact, a mammoth pathfinder study, but was made with intelligence and courage, so that it succeeded and pointed the way to the Interchurch World Movement.

No survey ever undertaken, except the Methodist Centenary, has approached the magnitude of that which underlay the plans for the Interchurch World Movement. That amazing organization set out to survey the home land and also mission lands, to discover the needs of communities and nations, to formulate programs of enlarged action, to draw the independent forces of Protestantism together, and to create a vastly enlarged budget. The necessary organization assumed vast proportions. The headquarters' organization alone spread over New York in the neighborhood of Madison Square, and expenses mounted into millions. Had there been more time for development and had the slump which followed the first prosperity after the war been delayed for another year, it would probably have succeeded. The movement got far enough, however, to lift the churches to a new basis of enlarged service, and to reveal a body of information which is rapidly transforming the Protestant work of the United States. The churches understand now, as they did not before the Inter-

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church World Movement, that denominational competition is not only wasteful but self-destructive, and they are proceeding throughout the land to do away with this waste as fast as it can be done under conditions in the field.

We have now come to a time where the possible scope of the survey as applied to religious work is apparent from actual surveys. In rural fields there are surveys of states, sections of states, counties, and local parishes; and surveys of logging camps, harvesters, cannery villages, and other migrants. In cities there are surveys of the religious life of entire communities, such as Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and St. Louis; surveys of areas, problems, population groups, and local church parishes; surveys looking to the establishment or enlargement of institutions, such as hospitals, schools, settlements, good will industries, and the like. In short it is now realized that no important undertaking should be begun without a preliminary survey.

The church has also acquired the method of the survey, although as yet its practice of the method is indifferently good. But it is comforting to remember that the survey itself, although it has increased by leaps and bounds, to quote from Mr. Shelby Harrison, "can hardly be said to have gone very far beyond the experimental stage. Much remains to be learned as to the best methods to be employed in using it, and as to the place it should take among many kinds of effort to be called into play in working for better conditions of living."

At present the greatest weakness of the survey lies in the education of the public as to the facts discovered and their meaning, the program of social action which should grow out of the findings, and the organization of the forces of a community to carry out the program. The Springfield Survey gave great attention to newspaper releases, to the interpretation and digesting of reports for the press, to graphic displays through exhibits, and to the publication of reports. The director of the survey set out in the beginning to bring as

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many citizens as possible into the making of the survey, in order that, when it should be over, there should be a strong body of interested citizens ready to carry its recommendations into effect.

The importance of church surveys in the following fields should be emphasized: in the locating of new churches and in reorganizing local churches; in starting new colleges, orphanages, hospitals, old folks' homes, settlements, and other social agencies, in order to avoid the creation of unnecessary institutions, and in order to build rightly and adequately; in the discovery of neglected areas and social groups; in resurveying the religious life of cities and their social conditions, in so far as these lie within the scope of the churches.

No church surveys are of such vital importance as those of entire communities, for in no other way is it possible to know the real problems which the churches face and the actual status of their work; or to eliminate the waste of unnecessary competition in buildings, personnel, upkeep, and administrative organizations; or to bring out the united power of the churches for religious education, evangelism, and community service; or to establish systematically, through comity, strong non-competitive religious centers in crowded areas; or to develop co-operatively needed social agencies, such as hospitals, homes for the aged, and child-caring institutions. The strength of the Protestant churches is so great that, given the survey and a co-operative program, it is possible in the course of one or two decades, to create in most cities an organization equal to the needs revealed by the survey. If this is not done, the outlook for Protestantism in American cities is not hopeful. No one denomination can face the need of a community by itself. Whenever it attempts to do so, it is discredited. The result is inadequacy, baffling overlapping of work, small centers which cannot command their neighborhoods, public apathy, a subtle discrediting of religion, and a waste of money and human energy which is like the waste of fever.

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A notable community survey of St. Louis has just been completed by the National Committee on Social and Religious Surveys. Its findings, which will soon appear in book form, offer to the churches of that city for the first time an intelligent and inspiring program. The published survey will reveal also the value of such studies to the churches of other cities. The associate director of the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys commenting on the St. Louis Survey, sums up the meaning of the survey as follows:

> The correlation and co-ordination of all facts gathered by a survey, both on a community and citywide basis, show the concrete detailed united task and opportunity of Protestantism in any city, identifying it and classifying it according to geographic areas in their variations according to their denominational needs and opportunities, according to social conditions and legislation, and according to opportunities for moral and spiritual leadership as expressed through various publicity channels.

In concluding, attention should be called to the use of the survey by officials of denominations, working co-operatively, for two important objectives: the religious and social welfare of industrial and immigrant populations, especially in the crowded areas of large cities, and the adventurous care of isolated groups of the population. As to the first, the church has now a great opportunity. The confidence of labor has turned anew to the church since the Interchurch reports on the Steel Strike of 1919, and the industrial policy of the Federal Council of Churches and its allied denominations. This change of attitude has been worth all the controversy which has raged about these bodies since the summer of 1919. The first great work of the church in relation to labor must always be the religious care and social welfare of working men's families in the neighborhoods where they live. The type of church needed is a powerful institutional center, providing for worship, religious education, and social center activities, and a staff understanding economics as well as theology. To provide such

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non-competitive centers requires a survey of the crowded areas of all our cities. Such studies are best made when they form a part of a community-wide survey, as in St. Louis.

As to the second, a beginning was made by the Interchurch World Movement in the study of migrant groups. They consist, for example, of the loggers far up the valleys of the Pacific Coast mountains and the Appalachian Mountains of the South; the harvesters who follow the advancing ripening grain from the Gulf states to the Canadian prairies; the women and children who throng to the canneries during the summer months; the boathouse people of our large inland rivers; pockets of population here and there, as on the seaboards of Virginia and the Carolinas, where the people have been caught in backward eddies; hardy settlers in out-of-the-way places of the great Rocky Mountain country. The church has sadly neglected these groups, in fact has scarcely known about them until of late. I have personally studied the loggers of the North, of the Northwest, and of the South, and I know how great is the need and how fascinating the possibilities for service which lie awaiting a true Church of the Lost Sheep. But the work can only follow the survey.

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SKETCHES OF BUDDHISM AS A LIVING RELIGION

KENNETH J. SAUNDERS
Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California

This article presents in graphic form the activities of Buddhist devotees as they would be observed by an eyewitness, and seeks to show what these mean in the experience of those who worship and aspire in these ways. Brief interpolations are given of the power of Buddhism and the status of Christian ideals in Burma and Ceylon.

I. IN BURMA

It is morning, and the golden pagoda is shining and scintillating in the clear air. Far below the great city is astir and humming with life: here all is quiet. In the monastery a class of boys from eight to fourteen years old are seated around a kindly old monk. They are shouting loudly in unison, repeating over and over certain words, about whose meaning they do not seem to be thinking. As we draw near we realize that they are phrases from a popular Buddhist book known as *Mingala Thot*, a summary of the Buddhist beatitudes, which describe the happy life of the Buddhist layman. First a word of Pāli and then a word of Burmese, and then lastly the whole verse. There are twelve such verses, of which the following are typical:

> Tend parents, cherish wife and child,
> Pursue a blameless life and mild:
> Do good, shun ill and still beware
> Of the red wine's insidious snare;
> Be humble, with thy lot content,
> Grateful and ever reverent.

Many times must these phrases be droned through, before they are got by heart, but gradually their meaning sinks in, and simple explanations and grammatical notes are part of the teacher's task.

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Or it may be a short summary of the excellent qualities of the "Three Jewels" of Buddhism—the Buddha, his order of monks, and his law or teaching. Having mastered these preliminary books, the boys will learn the chief *Játakas*, a strange medley of folklore dressed up in Buddhist guise, and purporting to be stories of the former existences of the Founder Sakyamuni. For, besides being a system of moral teachings, Buddhism is a religion and has an elaborate system of beliefs. It makes very great demands upon faith! These former lives of the Buddha are taught in legend and hymn, in popular summaries or proverbial sayings, and are universally believed.

As we study this strange educational system which permeates the whole country, we shall be amazed to find that there are about two monasteries to every village, and that, however great a drain they may be upon the country, they have made it one of the most literate of all the lands of the East, with a larger percentage of men who can read and write than modern Italy. We shall learn too that these boys must all undergo "ordination" before they are regarded as human beings (so great is the power of the monks), and shall realize that some of them are caught by the lure of the monastic life and the glamor of the yellow robe. Yet most go back to the world after a short experience. The young *shin*, or novice, may in due course pass on to ordination. Then, dressed in princely robes, he celebrates the time when the Founder of Buddhism left his royal state to become a mendicant. His head is shaved, his gorgeous clothes are taken from him, and henceforward he is to be clad only in the yellow robe of this ancient order, older, more widespread, and more picturesque than any religious order in the world. He has "taken refuge in the Three Jewels," and now begins for him the regular life of the monk. He must go out daily with a file of others and collect food; he must attend to the needs of the older monks and to simple household tasks, and he must continue to study until he has a working knowledge of the three "Baskets," of

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Discipline, Narratives or Dialogues, and Higher Religion, which make up the Buddhist canon.[1] Later he may himself become a teacher.

Watch him now as the great sun goes down and the pagoda, glorious in the sunset, as it changes from gold to purple and from purple to gray, is thronged with devout worshipers. He is prostrate before the great jeweled alabaster image of Buddha, unaware of the people round him, it would seem, who honor him as a being of a superior order; or if conscious of them it is with a sense of his own aloofness. "*Sabbā Dukkhā*" ("All is sorrow"), he is murmuring; "*Sabbā anattā*" ("All is without abiding entity"), and mechanically the lay-folk repeat words which have been for twenty-five centuries the Buddhist challenge to the world.

Here kneels a young wife offering strands of her hair, and praying that her child may have hair long and beautiful; here is an unhappy wife who prays that her husband may become pure as the flower which she lays at the Buddha's feet, and here is one very old and trembling woman who has bowed first to the great image and lit her little candle before it, and then turning back is patting a great tree lest the *Nat*, or spirit, which lives within be offended. As has been said:

> The spirits are always malignant, and have to be propitiated. The world Renowned One, is he not benign? So the Burman does his best to serve both, but it is of the demons that he thinks most. . . . . .
>
> There is a Pagoda at or near every village in the country, and probably also a monastery; but there is a spirit shrine in every home and the spirits are consulted before homes are built, marriages made, bargains struck, or journeys begun.

Let us consider this group of women. What are the living truths of Buddhism for them? (*a*) In the first place there is the order of monks, the great "field of merit"; did not the Master teach that offerings to them are potent in bringing benefits in this world, and even in helping the dead in the

[1] *The Tipitaka:* (1) *Vinaya;* (2) *Sutta;* (3) *Abhidhamma.*

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dim life of the underworld? (*b*) Secondly there is the fact that Buddhism is a great social force providing festivals and giving color to life. In theory it may be sad; in practice it is very cheerful! Some Christian women go to church to see the latest fashions; can we wonder that Burmese Buddhist women delight to gather on the great pagoda for a smoke, gossip, and friendly intercourse? (*c*) Here too they hear the well-known Buddhist stories, often miraculous, always with a moral, and they know by heart the lives of certain great *Bodhisattvas*, buds of the lotus which later on will bloom into full Buddhahood. Before them is a picture of "Godama" when he was a hare and jumped into the fire to feed the hungry Brahmin, and here, more familiar and more poignant still, is his appearance as Prince Vessantara, giving away his wife and beloved children to a hunchback beggar. Do they ever question his right to do so? (*d*) Then again Buddhism influences them because it appeals to their imagination and their sense of mystery with its solemn chanting, its myriad shrines, its candles twinkling in the dusk, and the sexless sanctity of its monks. How wise and good they are! Here one little woman is lifting a heavy stone; the monk has told her that if it seems heavy her prayer will surely be answered—and it weighs forty pounds. And then to make sure she will go and consult the soothsayer, whose little booth is beside the shrine—a cheerful rogue, not without insight and a sense of humor. A friend of mine once "read" his hand and told him in fluent Burmese that he would be hanged. "Ho, ho!" he chuckled, "There are no bones in your tongue."

Watch now this group of men. Here is one who between prostrations before the image is keeping his long cheroot alive and enjoying a puff at it. He is like many men one meets, making the best of both worlds, and for him Buddhism has its appeal because (*a*) it is the custom of his people; and in the national movement which is alive in Burma and elsewhere Western influence (of which Christianity seems a part) is

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resented. (*b*) Moreover it has launched a strong appeal to his reason. He understands why there is inequality in human lot, why some are rich and some poor, some healthy and some diseased. It is the law of Karma that is working out; it explains everything! Men suffer now because they have sinned in a former birth. Listen to this conversation: old U Hpay is telling a neighbor of a foolish old sister who has adopted a calf, and is petting it because its voice is so like that of her dead husband! And while the old men chuckle at her belief that his spirit is reincarnated in this way, yet they *do* believe that that is the law. If you kill a mosquito it may be your mother-in-law in a new body, and still going strong! (*c*) Moreover they know that there are times when there comes over them a wistful yearning for something which this world has not given them, and that in these quiet moments in the evening of life, when they are no longer concerned with making money or raising a family, the appeal of *Nibbāna* and its peace comes home to them. They do not hope to reach it, they do not understand what it means; for some of the monks say it will be "annihilation," and some say the "extinction of all passion and a great calm"; but either way it has its appeal, especially to the world-weary. I remember meeting a Christian missionary once, one of the noblest, who longed for just that quietude and relief from the bustle and flurry and staleness of life, which he felt could only be found in ceasing to be. A tropical climate had gradually in twenty-five years sapped his vitality.

Playing around, while the old people talk or pray, are some children. Here a fat, naked baby takes a puff at his grandfather's cigar, and here is a little girl devoutly imitating what she sees her parents doing in the front of the image; she too will light her candle and offer her marigolds. And here is an older child for whom already there is beginning a hero-worship of the great being who has done so much for the world. She is thinking wistfully, maybe, of her brother, lately her

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playmate; now a young *shin* with shaved head and yellow robe, aloof and removed from her.

What wonder that there are over 75,000 monks in the country, for every mother desires that one of her sons shall take and keep the yellow robe, and for many this means a long and anxious struggle of wills. The young educated Burmese are frank in calling the monks a "yellow peril," not because they are bad men—public opinion will not usually tolerate that in Burma—but because there are so many of them, and because to feed them is a costly business, while to rebuild and gild a pagoda may mean that they will receive a decimated inheritance! "The pagoda is built and the village ruined" they quote ruefully. Moreover in the government schools and in contact with the "free thought" of the West they have learned to call themselves "heretics." Very few are really Buddhists; among my students not more than 10 per cent were orthodox. And so the old people are anxious and the young are restive; and Burma like many other countries is going through a strange period of transition. Yet undoubtedly Buddhism still has a great hold upon the people. How shall we estimate it?

We had read in many wise books that it was a pessimistic religion. As we see it in Burma it seems a strange power for making people happy and content—unless it be only the cheery temperament of the Burmese; there is certainly a wonderful joyousness about these gay-robed crowds of happy, smiling people, "the Irish of the East" we called them in happier days! "A most Christ-like thing is their cheery optimism," says a Christian missionary, even though it has no deep roots.

Moreover we had heard that Buddhism had degraded women; we find that while it does not give her nearly so high a place as the religion of Christ, yet it has certainly given her a better standing than she has in any part of India. She is the "better half" in Burma and knows it; while she prays to be born next as a man, she does not tell her husband so!

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Buddhism again has not developed a caste system and has made for democracy and for the education of the masses. Nor has it led on any large scale to religious persecution or to war: its lesson that "hatred is only ended by love" is one the world sorely needs.

These are no small services; and yet as we get to know the life of the people we shall find strange evidences of want of control, and of lack of purpose and seriousness in life, and, above all, we shall find an unsatisfied longing which we believe can only be satisfied when they find that the great unknown God is near and loving and that he is not in a remote *Nibbāna*.

There are only about 20,000 Burmese Christians as yet, though the Karens are largely Christian. What then are the reasons which make us confident that Burma will be a Christian country, even if, as we believe and hope, its Christianity is to differ profoundly from ours?

a) In the first place the natural instinct of the Burmese for religion is very strong; they have deified the great teacher Gautama, and gratitude to him is a strong motive. They tend to look upon Gautama as a savior. So strong is this longing for a savior that as the father blesses his child he says to him: "May you be reborn when the loving one, Maitri, comes." For Gautama himself promised a loving savior; and some of our most pietistic hymns are imitated: "Yes, Buddha saves me; yes, Buddha saves me." Buddhism, even in Southern Asia, is changing from a way of merit and self-mastery to a way of salvation by faith.

b) Again, it is clear that Buddhists are generally much more ready than they were for the idea of a Christian heaven. This heaven preached as a state of progress, a meeting place of friends, and the beatific vision of God is attracting them far more than the old doctrine of Nirvāna. "We are walking in darkness," said a Buddhist leader in Ceylon, "without seeing a light, a person, or a hope." "Nirvāna," said a monk in Burma, "is a fearsome thought. I have no hope of attaining

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it." Missionaries both in Burma and Ceylon are agreed that the outlook of Buddhists is changing, and a well-known missionary, after forty years' service in Burma, has written: "Buddhism has changed very greatly in its teachings among those who have come directly or indirectly in touch with Christianity. Formerly, no supreme God, Nirvāna, total quiescence, almost total annihilation, man his own savior, no possible escape from the penalty of sin; now there must be a God, Gautama a savior, sin forgiven by one God and a heaven in place of Nirvāna."

None the less it remains true that in very many parts there are no Christian doctrines which arouse more opposition than just these, and it would seem as if Buddhism is making a great last stand against the gospel of Christ. Indeed it is not clear yet that our Christianity is loving enough and sacrificial enough to win these people, who have had so high a standard set by their own religion. Nor is Christendom sufficiently Christian to be a very good argument for the efficacy and truth of our faith. As in other parts of the East nothing but the best is good enough.

c) Yet the moral situation clearly demands either that a revivified Buddhism or Christianity in its most vital form should come to the rescue. The need is grave.

> The moral sense of the people is diminishing with a slackening of religious observances. With the decay of ancient beliefs the Buddhist religion is losing its moral sanction as an inspiring force in the lives of its adherents, and drunkenness, gambling, drug-taking and vicious habits, increasing as they all are, tend to produce a weakening of self-control and a loss of self-respect which in favoring circumstance easily create the criminal.

So reads the government bluebook on the administration of criminal justice for 1912, concerning the province of Burma, which is at once the most literate and most criminal province in the Indian Empire. The fair-minded missionary would add that these deplorable results are in large part due to the intro-

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duction of Western "civilization," and that it is up to us in ordinary justice and fair play to see that the West is represented by the very best we can send out for mission service, in commerce and to government posts. If this be done the future of Christianity is assured.

Again if Christianity is indeed alive it will go out in loving social service; and when it does this, whether in work for the lepers, for the deaf and the blind, or for any other needy class in the community, it is welcomed with open arms by the people. Buddhists are generous in helping Christian work for the afflicted. Let us do more and still more.

And lastly Christianity must show its power in the demon-haunted villages and in the stews of the great cities; it is not a system of ethics which these countries need. They have an admirable one already. "The kingdom of God is not in word but in power."

II. IN CEYLON

Let us now set over against this composite picture of the Buddhism of Burma a scene in a neighboring Buddhist land, the island of Ceylon, where for 2,500 years the religion of the yellow robe has held undisputed sway. It is early spring. The rains are over, and in the brilliant moonlight the Singhalese peasants have gathered from their little malarial villages to a hillside to listen to the preaching of the Buddhist law. Life is dull, and any incident and any teaching will be welcome; it is a strange world from which they have come, "a world of bare and brutal facts; of superstition, of grotesque imagination; a world of hunger and fear and devils, where a man is helpless before the unseen and unintelligible forces surrounding him."

As in Burma, so here, demonism is inexplicably interwoven with the Buddhism of the people, and here it is a darker and more sinister demonism, as it is also a more somber and pessimistic Buddhism which speaks through the monotonous sing-song of the yellow-robed monk who is speaking to them and

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urging upon them that life is transient and full of sorrow; that none the less their chief duty is to avoid taking the life of the meanest animal; that they are not even to kill the malarial mosquito or the plague-bringing rat, against which government edicts have gone out. The men listen dully for the most part, chewing betel nut the while. They have not much use for the "brethren," who own one-third of the arable land of the country and are a heavy drain upon its resources, and who, except fitfully, are not schoolmasters like those of Burma, but tend to be drones in the hive; almost all they teach the children are the doctrines of rebirth and of not killing. Yet, as we listen, here too there is a certain sense of religious peace, of an other-worldly calm; and, if we are fortunate, we may find some Buddhist layman who will talk of the deep roots which the great tree of Buddhism has put out in the island of Ceylon. (*a*) In the first place there are signs in these jungles everywhere of an ancient civilization which Buddhism undoubtedly built there. It taught the inhabitants to irrigate their fields, to build cities, to write books, and when so little has been spared, as wave after wave of European aggression has swept over the island, do they not inevitably hold on to what is left them of the old Buddhist past? They venerate the relics of a civilization two thousand years old. Moreover in these days of disillusionment there are many world-weary men to whom the attraction of the monastic life is overpoweringly strong. The fact that there are still about eight thousand monks in Ceylon shows that, though men may despise the yellow robe, there are some who find under it protection and peace, and some few who use its influence for noble ends. (*b*) Moreover the intelligent layman will tell you how it has done away with caste and has cleansed religion. He will compare the dignity and harmlessness of the Buddhist temple with the gross indecencies of a Saivite shrine in South India. (*c*) He will show that Buddhism has still the power of molding public opinion, as for example in the strenuous appeals which the Buddhists

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have made to the government of the island to suppress instead of encouraging the liquor traffic. Buddhists too supported the Christian missions in their courageous campaign which closed whole streets of licensed brothels.

These points will go home to your mind and conscience, and yet you will be constrained to say that the people of Ceylon *do* need Christ as Burma does, and indeed as America and England need him! Here is after all the nerve of the missionary enterprise. We are not missionaries because we have a superior civilization; we go because of the fact of Christ, and because, though we as Western nations have not given him his rightful place, we are anxious that these Eastern people should bring their rich gifts and lay them at his feet. Are we not to be partners in a glorious enterprise?

But let us return to our moonlight preacher. While we have been chatting, a change has come over the audience. All are now alert and eager. Seated around his platform, they are holding a string which seems to bind them in some mystic circle. It is "Pirit." The preacher is reciting the ancient runes by which evil is averted and demon armies kept at bay. He is telling how the bandit Angulimāla, who had killed 999 victims and wore their fingers as a chaplet, tried to kill the Buddha, and was converted before he could put his thousand up! "May the merit of this be yours," he says, and they all cry "*Sadhu*, Amen." "All humbug," grunts our layman. "Come let us go to the Y.M.B.A., where a Singhalese advocate, newly returned from home [i.e., England], is going to read a paper on 'Buddhism a Gospel for Europe!'" As we leave the palms and fragrant trees of the jungle, silhouetted against the brilliant sky, and pass the white buildings of the Buddhist high school and the famous Temple of the Tooth (a precious relic of Gotama), we talk of this possibility. There is, we learn, a movement on foot to send a mission to Europe, and my friend smiles sympathetically when I say, "Well, better be a good Buddhist than a Christian who can think of God as a

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God of battles, and attribute to him some of the strange things which the old Jews believed of him." We are agreed, too, that there are certain quarters where such a mission might begin its activities at once, and to my joy I find that this young Buddhist is in hearty agreement with me that if Christians were real followers of Jesus of Nazareth, such missions would not be needed. "We see your Christ," he says, "in his beauty, because we have first seen the beauty of our Buddha." Here is a preparation for the gospel indeed! And I find myself wondering if all we who are idealists—Buddhists, Christians, and others—may not co-operate much more freely in great causes. In Ceylon, as in Burma, Buddhism is in some degree adapting itself to a changing world, and its old cry of pain, "All is fleeting, transient, sorrowful," is giving place to some attempts at social service and positive living. Yet the predominant note is one of world-weariness and despair, far more emphasized in Ceylon than in Burma.

Contrast these two scenes:

A great Singhalese abbot has passed away. The hillside is thronged with great companies of monks in every shade of yellow and brown, and around them surges a somber sea of the faithful laity. In the center is the funeral pyre, draped in white and red, and, standing beside it, a monk is telling in solemn and mournful tones of the greatness and goodness of the departed, who, though he had not come in sight of Nirvāna had his feet surely set upon the upward path leading to a good rebirth in some heavenly place. Then amidst solemn chanting and the wailing of flutes and throbbing of drums he applies a torch to the pyre. While the people bow their heads and cry *Sadhu*, the body returns to dust. Then solemnly and silently the great crowd disperses, the lay people to the ordinary duties of life, the monks to meditate upon its transient character and unreality. And here a boy monk, to whom the dead man had been dear, stays weeping, while the last embers die and night comes swiftly down.

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Another funeral scene; it is that of a Buddhist monk in Burma, a *Hpongyi*. The whole countryside has turned out. In clothing of exquisite silk, like a brilliant swarm of butterflies, they surround the great catafalque blazing with tinsel and gold leaf. On it lies the embalmed body of the monk. Presently it is taken down in its coffin, and the young bloods of the village, in two carefully picked teams, are ranged about it. Then begins a tug of war, and the victorious team which pulls the body over the line will treat the defeated group to drinks and sideshows at the little booths which cluster around awaiting custom! It is a glad and jovial scene and all rejoice, for has not the good man been released from this transient life (which, nevertheless, is good and satisfying, while blood is hot and youth lasts)? "Youth for pleasure, middle age for business, old age for religion." Has he not returned to a life of glory, and won much merit for his own folk and for all the faithful?

Soon the body is restored to its resting-place, the pyre is lighted, and the whole mass flares up in flame and smoke, consuming not only the body, but with it paintings of numerous demons, including an Englishman with a gun! Then with shouts of merriment the crowd disperses, well content, not least the relatives of the departed. They have put up a good show, the dead has been honored, the family name has been distinguished, and everybody is satisfied. If for the next year or more the family exchequer has been depleted, still it is the custom, and one must follow it. It has been well said that Buddhism is a cheery and a social thing in Burma, "from festive marriages to no less festive funerals."

With one-tenth of the population nominally Christian, and with a revived Buddhism strongly nationalist, Ceylon may well be said to be at the crossroads in religion. Which of the faiths can produce the sincere and unselfish leaders whom she needs if she is to win her place as a self-governing dominion, and to make her own contribution to the life of the world? Scottish

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German monks, converts to Buddhism, have toiled to revive the drooping faith and spirit of the Buddhists of the island, and theosophists like Madame Blavatsky, Colonel Olcott, and Mrs. Besant have helped them to build schools and colleges. Now as she looks wistfully to the two greatest teachers of the world to make her strong and free, now is the time for their disciples to vindicate their teachings! It is a challenging appeal alike to the Sangha of Gotama Buddha and to the church of Jesus Christ. The former has held undisputed sway from the time of the gentle prince-missionary Mahinda, and has done great things for this lovable nation; the latter, greatly handicapped by the Prussian methods of its Portuguese exponents, has now a clear field to reveal the spirit of its Master. There are many things in which a purified Buddhism and a really Christian Christianity can co-operate. *Prosint!*

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CURRENT EVENTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The Semicentennial of an Interdenominational Church.—Bethany Union Church of Beverly Hills, Chicago, has just celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, April 30–May 7. It was organized as a Union Church May 5, 1872. A small group of families who at that time had recently moved to what was then the village of Washington Heights found themselves without church privileges. They organized a Union Sunday School, had preaching services conducted in turn by three ministers who lived in or near the village. They felt the need of a permanent organization, but realized its success depended upon holding together all the religious people of the community. As a result Bethany Union Church was organized with fourteen charter members representing six different denominational affiliations. It today has over four hundred members with eighteen or twenty denominational affiliations represented in its membership. It has had seven pastors—three Presbyterians, one Free Baptist, one Methodist, and one Congregationalist. While not affiliated with any one denomination it believes that the Community Church that has the faith of Christ in its heart must have the world in its vision, and therefore it seeks to co-operate with denominational boards and other agencies in the world-wide ministry of the church. The church has its own missionaries in the foreign field. It is situated in a rapidly growing residence section of Chicago and will undoubtedly have a large growth in the next ten years. It welcomes to its membership all who purpose to follow Christ, to live and to labor in his spirit, in faith and hope and love.

Jesus and His Mother.—Perhaps no other words grate so harshly upon modern ears as Jesus' words to his mother, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" says Dr. W. Beet in the April number of the *Interpreter*, "A mother, it is instinctively felt, has a great deal to do with her son, and has many claims upon him, prominent among these being courtesy, sympathy, and help. No right-minded son could, without a blush of shame, think of himself as rounding upon an anxious mother in such terms as, upon this occasion, fell from the lips of Jesus." And yet "the earthly life of Jesus is rightly esteemed as an example of human life at its highest and its best; and as presenting an ideal which it is

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the bounden duty of all men to strive after, if haply they themselves may realize it in the daily routine of life. This being so, it seems, on the face of it, passing strange that the Master himself should be pictured as addressing his mother in terms which we, for all our infirmities of tone and temper, should hesitate to employ." This difficulty is patent, but it ceases to exist in the light of a historical and critical study of the words which Jesus used. Jesus' reply is known to us in translation only, and a translation that has not been able to reproduce the exact coloring of the idiomatic expression of the original. The real meaning of Jesus would be rendered freely in these words, "Lady, leave it to me." Here there is nothing harsh or discourteous. That Jesus' mother had received the answer she hoped for, and that she did not at all feel rebuked but rather satisfied is realized when she hurries off to the servants to warn them, "Whatsoever he bids you, do it."

Alcohol as a World-Problem.—An article on the findings of the Sixteenth International Anti-Alcohol Congress, held at Lausanne, Switzerland, August, 1921, is found in the May number of *Review of Reviews*. "As many as 500 members were assembled from all parts of the world, and 32 different governments were represented, including a representative of the Holy See." An international scientific bureau was founded to collect literature on the subject and disseminate it in French, English, and German. Dr. R. Hercod, director of the International Bureau at Lausanne, already announces the publication of a monthly review to combat alcoholism in Europe. Leading representatives of the Congress put the following facts on record as having been scientifically demonstrated: that alcohol exerts a deleterious influence upon the race, that the consumption of alcohol favors certain special diseases, either because it diminishes the resistance to temptation or aggravates and complicates the symptoms of the disease when contracted, and finally, as to the medicinal value of alcohol, the writer cites the statistical reports of the Temperance Hospital in London, where in twenty-seven years, among 17,000 patients treated, the mortality was only 7.5 per cent, which was 10 per cent less than the mortality in the other London hospitals.

A Call for a Covenant of Church Unity.—"At the time when the leading nations of the world are entering into a covenant of ten years for the readjustment of their military forces for the sake of keeping the peace of the world, shall not the churches of Christ do likewise? Shall the diplomats of the world be wiser for their generation than the leaders

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of the churches?" Speaking for the Congregationalists, Dr. Newman Smyth replies in the May number of the *Christian Union Quarterly*, "Now is the time for practical agreements. Our spiritual unity needs to be made so visible that the man on the street may see it." The following objectives may serve as the basis for continued action:

1. The fellowship of the members of any particular church in and with the members of all other churches.

2. The mutual recognition and utilization of the ministry of the different churches for common needs and service.

3. The offering thereby to our young men of larger fields and greater incentives to enter the ministry, as well as limiting thereby the number of ministers required for effective home service in places where one may be better than two or more.

4. Such gradual consolidation or combination of the educational institutions as would prove advantageous for the best education and fellowship of the ministers of the different churches.

5. The co-operation in philanthropic, social service, mission, or federated work of the different churches.

Factory Labor in India.—Some of the economic changes that have come to pass in India are set forth in an article in the May number of the *Review of Reviews*. "We are told among other things that people of all castes are found in the factories, that nobody is deterred by his caste from going to work in these establishments, and that Hindus and Mohammedans work side by side." Here then is a powerful influence in the direction of solidarity among the working classes which has perhaps led to a stronger nationalistic feeling and the precipitation of the present state of unrest. In 1918 there were in India a total of 4,868 large industrial establishments with a working force of 1,238,238 people. However, "there has not yet appeared a sharp distinction between the laboring classes and the people from whom they are emerging. Unlike the wage-earning classes in Europe and America, the majority of the laborers still retain their homesteads, and some of them even own a piece of farm land, small though it may be, and they do not yet depend completely upon wages for their livelihood." In 1921 a resolution was passed in the Indian legislature ratifying the draft convention of the International Labor Conference at Washington of 1919, which reduced the working hours in Indian factories to sixty hours a week for both men and women. Previously the average working time per day for the whole year was approximately twelve hours and five minutes in textile factories.

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The Ethics of the Ministry.—Almost every profession has its code of ethics. Is the ministry an exception to this rule? An answer is given by Dr. S. Z. Batten in the May number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.* Here Dr. Batten points out that "the ministry as a body has no code of professional ethics. Yet the ministry, as a body of men dedicated to a certain life and service, has very rigid standards by which men are pledged and their conduct tested." A formal code of ethics would be impracticable because it is felt that it would cast discredit upon the very idea of the ministry. Moreover, the religious bodies are divided into so many diverse denominations that it is impossible to bring together representatives of all religious bodies for the full and free discussion of any questions either of faith, polity, or conduct. However, among themselves all religious bodies test the personal lives of their ministers very exactingly and this applies to their private as well as public life; whereas, professional codes deal primarily with professional conduct. The churches accept the New Testament instructions as final for the ministry. Here are instructions from Paul and other writers "that deal with a minister's life and conduct as a man, a husband and father. They define his qualifications in personal character, in aptness to teach, in general deportment. In view of this it seems almost needless to attempt any formal and elaborate statement of professional ethics." However, in theological seminaries students for the ministry receive very careful instruction in ministerial ethics that deal with the protection of the profession, its standing and dignity, its motive for service, professional honesty, and professional courtesy. They are taught the necessity of a dignified conduct, the abandonment of the motive of mere profit, the obligation to hold sacred confidential information, the courage to speak the truth come what will, co-operation with the Union Minister's Conference, avoidance of sensational and unfair methods of advertising, and such other considerations as apply in the change of pastorates. Above all, "The true minister's loyalty must be to an inner standard, to an unseen Master, to the applause of his own conscience."

Christian-Jewish Friendship.—Are the Jew and non-Jew gradually arriving at a mutual understanding and respect which are clean of religious prejudice? This is the opinion of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, as he gleans over the discussion in a recent symposium where the means to a better understanding between the two faiths were discussed. Jew and non-Jew were invited to a frank discussion, and the result affords a brighter outlook. In the *Literary Digest* for May 20, a quotation from

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the rabbi contains the prerequisite for a friendly relationship from a Jewish point of view. Says Dr. Wise, "I maintain there will be no appreciable lessening of prejudice among Christians as against Jews until Christian churches earnestly and solemnly affirm that the death of Jesus, at whosoever's hands, was incidental to the eternal fact of the birth and rise and teaching and influence of Jesus, the young Judean of Nazareth. Whatever Christians may have taught or believed touching this in the past, their duty in the present is clear as are the heavens in the noon hour—the duty of affirming that incalculable and eternal is the debt of Christians to Israel, of whose gifts Jesus is treasured as the chiefest." That there actually is a change of attitude in present-day Judaism toward the historic Jesus is evidenced by Dr. Calisch, president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, when he advises a campaign of education among the Jews as follows: "A general expression on the part of the leaders and teachers of the Synagogue of deep appreciation of the profound and far-reaching influence of the man Jesus, and of the sweetness and beauty of his life." On the other hand, we wonder whether historical honesty is not modified when he further continues, "together with a statement of the lack of historical basis for the accusation by the Church of the responsibility of the Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus."

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BOOK REVIEWS

A TEXTBOOK ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

He who prepares a college textbook, particularly one on a philosophical or religious subject, is fortunate if he escape the Scylla of didactic dogmatism without falling into the Charybdis of mere listing of uncriticized facts and theories. In his new book[1] Professor Wright steers a skilful pedagogical course. The reader is challenged to think for himself. Wright nowhere seeks surreptitiously to acquire merit for his own views under the guise of an "it is generally held" or "the modern view is," but he honestly and plainly labels them as "the author's opinions."

The method of treatment is empirical and inductive. The book is divided into three parts. Part I, "Religion and the Conservation of Values," contains thirteen chapters. It consists of cross-sections from the history of religion in its primitive and its developed forms. Brahmanism, Buddhism, the religions of Greece and Rome, Judaism, and Christianity are discussed; but Confucianism and Mohammedanism are omitted. Part II, "Religion and the Self" (four chapters), is chiefly psychological. Wright interprets the religious impulse as a sentiment; his treatment of this conception is original and suggestive. Religious growth and conversion, prayer, and mysticism are taken up in some detail. Part III, "Religion and Reality" (five chapters), deals with the metaphysics of religion. It tries to answer the question, Is religion true? It covers mechanism and teleology, belief in God, the problem of evil, freedom, and immortality.

The author proposes the following definition, which is historical, not normative, "Religion is the endeavor to secure the conservation of socially recognized values through specific actions that are believed to evoke some agency different from the ordinary ego of the individual, or from other merely human beings, and that imply a feeling of dependence upon this agency" (p. 47). This well combines the contributions of Schleiermacher and Höffding with the modern social interest. Oddly, the author does not mention Höffding's name; still more oddly, he states that he includes in "conservation . . . . the quantitative increase

[1] *A Student's Philosophy of Religion.* By William Kelly Wright. New York: Macmillan Co., 1922. xii+472 pages. $3.75.

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of values" (p. 443) without noting that Höffding had already called attention to this same point.[1]

Wright believes that religion is true, and that Christianity is the truest religion (p. 212). In reply to the much-discussed question whether religious values are unique and autonomous, the author inclines to a negative opinion (p. 222); yet his conception of the religious sentiment as having a characteristic object, the agency mentioned in the definition, would point toward an affirmative answer. He should take into account Rudolf Otto's *Das Heilige*. The arguments for a teleological and moral universe he regards as adequate to justify faith. The facts of evil lead him to join what may be called the neo-Gnostic or Wellsian movement by denying the creatorship and affirming the finiteness of God (pp. 373 f., 437). Prayer Wright interprets as objective, in the light of the divine immanence (pp. 283 f.). On immortality he abstains from definite conclusions, but evidently inclines to faith in personal immortality (p. 441, cf. pp. 426 ff.).

Naturally there is much in such a book to call forth difference of opinion. Part I seems to the reviewer at once too long and too short; too long, in that the treatment of primitive religions and of Christianity might have been condensed; too short, by virtue of the omission of Mohammedanism and Confucianism in a year of grace when Islam and China loom large on the world-horizon. Resemblances and differences between Christianity and mystery religions are mentioned, but the burning question of how much the former owes to the latter is not discussed (pp. 119 f., 123 ff., 160 ff.). The psychological part of the book gives no adequate account of the social significance of religious consciousness; it suffers also from too much metaphysical interpretation which would have been more appropriate and more intelligible in Part III. Some of the usually well-selected bibliographies contain too many references to relatively ephemeral current literature, and too few to great standard works. In the philosophical part of the book the general arguments for God are clearer and more explicit than the definition and defense of the specific concept of God at which the author arrives. Perhaps this defect is a merit in a book intended to stimulate the student.

Typographically the book is admirable. Few misprints occur. "Capitolanus" (p. 135) should read "Capitolinus," and "Thomas Cokel" (p. 190) should read "Thomas Coke."

EDGAR S. BRIGHTMAN

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

[1] Höffding mentioned it (*Philosophy of Religion*, p. 11); Sorley criticized Höffding for neglecting it (*Moral Values and the Idea of God*, 1st. ed., p. 179); and now Wright rediscovers it!

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POPULARIZING MODERN NEW TESTAMENT SCHOLARSHIP

Among the semi-popular books about the Bible few have been written upon the New Testament from the modern point of view. Biblical scholars have sometimes seemed reluctant to apply the methods of historical criticism to the New Testament. But the New Testament will always be the center of Christian interest in the Scriptures, and there are general readers who will welcome books that make available to the layman the illuminating results of present-day research.

The little book by Professor Scott on *The New Testament Today*[1] deserves a wide reading. Scholarship and reverence for the truths of Christian experience here walk hand in hand. The author vindicates the right of the New Testament against those who attack it as an outgrown book of long ago. The New Testament still breathes the freshness of the new movement. When read with simple responsiveness to spiritual and moral fact it opens our eyes to a Christianity that was not a doctrine but "a new feeling toward God and a new attitude toward life." Our knowledge of contemporary life and religion in Palestine and in the Graeco-Roman world throws a new light on the forms in which the truth was expressed, and shows us the Christian religion adapting itself to its spiritual environment and yet maintaining its identity in its victorious conflict with the powerful religions already in the field. We of the twentieth century are bidden to turn for suggestion to the first Christian writings and to regard their unity in diversity, their continuity in progress. Our world has found no substitute for religion, whether in scientific advancement or in social enthusiasm. The field is open for a Christianity that claims as its own the current sense of brotherhood and takes advantage of the present recognition of the spiritual, the mystical, and the moral, an apostolic Christianity that combines catholicity of experience and expression with simplicity of faith.

In *The Approach to the New Testament*[2] Dr. Moffatt carries us farther into the processes of historical criticism. He finds in the New Testament a healthy book "in its emphasis on truth, on vital energy, and on the realities of life," a book that reflects the varieties and changes in a manifold, developing movement. The writings that composed it were gradually elevated to a level with the accepted Hebrew Scriptures.

[1] *The New Testament Today.* By Ernest Findlay Scott, D.D. New York: Macmillan Co., 1921. 92 pages. $1.00.

[2] *The Approach to the New Testament.* By James Moffatt, D.D., D.Litt., Hon. M.A. (Oxon.). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921. 240 pages. $3.00.

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The Old Testament exerted an influence both on Christian experience and on the record of Christian experience. Once certain Christian writings had been made into a New Testament, they were soon invested with the sanctity and authority already attaching to the Old Testament. Over against the traditional dogmatic and allegorical interpretation of the Bible, Dr. Moffatt urges the claims of the historical method, applying it by way of example to the Gospel story of the Feeding of the Five Thousand, and to Paul's allegorical argument in Galatians. In these representative instances he seeks to show the significance of the gospel narrative and the purpose of Paul's citation from the Old Testament. The historical student aims to recover the original fact free from bias or interpretation on the part of the recorder. Far from being merely negative in his deliverances he saves many men from a haunting doubt on the essential facts of early Christianity. He owns the limitation of his field, and grants to the philosopher and the mystic their rights in interpretation. We need them all, philosopher, mystic, and historian, if we are to understand the facts and the record of early Christian life. Teachers and students of history will be glad of this book, which meets them on their own ground, commands their intellectual confidence, and interprets to them anew the original documents of our Christian faith.

The author of *The Contents of the New Testament*[1] has essayed the difficult task of writing an introduction to the New Testament that may be used in the public schools. In general the well-grounded conclusions of modern scholarship are accepted and stated in simple form. But in the use that is made of the Fourth Gospel in the account of the life of Jesus, and in one instance in the otherwise excellent interpretation of the Book of Revelation (p. 199), the traditional attitude appears. In other places the writer speaks with a confidence not shared by all New Testament students, as when he asserts that Peter neither spoke nor wrote Greek. More surprising are the occasional infelicities of sentence structure. But as the work of an able, open-minded layman the book is of real significance. It succeeds in throwing into clear relief the main points in the New Testament, and gives many fresh touches that vivify the presentation. It should do good service as a manual for classes in church or school.

JOHN PITT DEANE

BELOIT COLLEGE
BELOIT, WISCONSIN

[1] *The Contents of the New Testament.* By Haven McClure, B.A., secretary, English Council, Indiana State Teachers' Association. New York: Macmillan Co., 1921. ii+219 pages. $1.50.

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THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF GREEK HERO CULTS

Heretofore the Greek hero cults have lacked adequate treatment in modern literature, but this defect is now made good by the publication of Farnell's Gifford Lectures for the year 1920.[1] Readers familiar with this scholar's previous work will readily appreciate the worth of his new book when they observe that it is essentially a continuation and supplement of his five monumental volumes on the *Cults of the Greek States*. On the basis of a careful sifting and classification of all available sources of information he now presents a detailed interpretation of Greek worship of the deceased human person and the closely related notions about the state in which the dead dwell and the possibility of a blessed immortality for the individual.

An examination of pre-Homeric tradition yields only scanty results, which are found however to indicate that at the very dawn of Greek history sacrifices to ghosts were not unknown and divine or semi-divine honors were ascribed to human beings. In later times a well-defined group of heroes and heroines—the "hieratic" type—were in the main objects of worship before later mythological fancy pictured them in human garb. Originally they were spirits of vegetation and agriculture personifying the physical life of the earth and the power manifested in the changing seasons. But in the case of most figures of heroic fame exactly the opposite process of thinking operated to bestow divine honors upon individuals, historical or mythical, originally portrayed as strictly human personalities. Such for example was true of certain men and women revered for their activity in establishing religious rites or in discharging priestly duties. A similar conclusion regarding the priority of the human figure is reached with reference to those numerous individuals of heroic legend, of whom Herakles, the Dioskouroi, and Asklepios are outstanding representatives. Also the great epic heroes (e.g., Achilles, Agamemnon, Diomedes) about whom vigorous cults flourished prove to have been, either in fact or at least in the predominant opinion of their devotees, originally illustrious human personages rather than anthropomorphized divinities.

Our author thinks, and apparently rightly, that the genesis of hero cults is not to be sought in the cult of ancestors, nor is the reverse process of religious evolution to be affirmed. These two cult interests develop simultaneously, although they not unnaturally influence each other. The attitude toward ancestral spirits may be one of fear or one of

[1] *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*. By Lewis Richard Farnell. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. xvi+434 pages.

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affection, but in the post-Mycenaean period of Greek history fear of the dead predominates, and a disposition toward the worship of the deceased increases correspondingly. Thus the posthumous worship by the Greeks of persons whose actual humanity and historicity are never open to question emerges, not as a sudden aberration or decadence of the Greek spirit, but as a normal stage in the evolution of religious history. It is in fact only a short step to the apotheosis of living persons who, like the illustrious Alexander, during their own lifetime inspire their contemporaries with awe or admiration.

The phenomena thus far observed are believed to be genuinely Hellenic in character. But a further examination of the belief in individual immortality reveals a new and more powerful stimulus derived originally from a foreign source, viz., the Thrako-Phrygian mysteries of Dionysos-Bacchos and the theology of Orphism. Although the deified Hellenic hero was immortal, it was only occasionally, as in the case of Herakles for instance, that his own apotheosis furnished his worshipers any hope of a blessed hereafter. On the other hand, it was mainly from the mysteries that Greek religion derived its striking doctrine of individual immortality. To be sure this was a conspicuous item in the genuinely Greek mysteries of Eleusis, but the Eleusinian hope rested simply upon a vision of certain holy objects exhibited to the initiate rather than upon any experience of mystical union with the saving deity. Our author thinks the imported Bacchic-Orphic sects are the source of the conviction that the worshiper may by participation in the sacred rites secure so real a fusion of the deity with his own mortal substance that henceforth the soul of the devotee becomes itself essentially divine. In the attainment of this conviction the hope of immortality reached the climax of its development on Greek soil in pre-Christian times. It is in Orphism also that the strict immateriality of the soul is first stressed, and Orphic teaching regarding the possibility of the soul's ultimate escape from matter becomes a veritable doctrine of salvation.

In several respects these lectures are unusually significant. Their author recognizes the importance of social and anthropological considerations for an understanding of mythology, and consequently he avoids the pitfalls of the once popular philological school. Particularly valuable are his criticisms of the polydaemonistic theory, as expounded in Usener's *Götternamen*, to explain the origin of the Greek gods. After all, apparently Euhemerus was nearer to the truth than has been commonly supposed. Also a timely warning is raised against a too rigid predisposition prevalent in some quarters today to make cult the uniform precursor and

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source of all myths. A study of the worship of heroes also bears very directly upon the subject of emperor worship especially in the eastern Mediterranean world of early Christian times. If heroes are in the main originally men, whether real or imaginary, exalted to the status of deities, rather than anthropomorphized divinities, the inclination of the Hellenistic East to revere as god a general or an emperor who restored a shattered society to a new condition of safety might have rested upon a more truly religious basis than is often imagined.

This volume contains much that is of especial interest to the historian of Christianity. Since belief in a deified hero and the hope of individual immortality were widely current in the gentile world prior to the rise of Christianity, any thoroughgoing investigation of the genesis and content of Christian thinking along these lines should obviously concern itself not a little with gentile antecedents. Such preparatory work might simplify many problems. In the early centuries of its history the new religion was disturbed by christological controversies involving the question as to whether Christ was primarily a man-god or a god-man. And the debate of more recent times regarding the historicity of Jesus ultimately resolves itself into a choice between the same two alternatives. Farnell does not turn aside to discuss these specifically Christian issues, but everyone who would approach them from the point of view of the ancients should become familiar with the content and functional significance of the Greek hero cults. Or, again, readers of the gospels when acquainted with the heritage bequeathed to the Graeco-Roman world through the worship of heroes will more easily understand why the evangelists, writing in the language of the Gentiles and undoubtedly in the interests of the gentile mission, chose to emphasize so strikingly the heroic elements in their accounts of the life of Jesus. It is hardly possible to appreciate truly their interest in the marvelous without remembering that they were appealing to an audience accustomed to admire devoutly a Herakles for his heroic deeds on behalf of mortals or an Asklepios for his wonderful works of healing.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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BOOKS RECEIVED

[The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length]

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

CAVE, SYDNEY. *Living Religions of the East.* New York: Scribner, 1922. 255 pages. $1.75.

A brief general introduction to the vital modern religions of the Orient done in a sympathetic spirit.

DINET, E. ET SLIMAN BEN IBRAHIM. *L'Orient vu de l'Occident.* Paris: P. Geuthner, 104 pages. Fr. 4.

A protest by moslem scholars against some recent treatments of their religion by scholars of the West. The writings of Father Lammens and Professor Casanova are used in illustration.

HASTINGS, JAMES (ed.). *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* Vol. XII. *Suffering—Zwingli.* New York: Scribner; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1922. xxiv+876 pages. $8.00.

The final volume of this monumental work, indispensable to every student of religion.

PETTAZZONI, RAFFAELE. *La Religione di Zarathustra Nella Storia Religiosa Dell'Iran.* Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli. xix+260 pages. L. 15.

A course of lectures on the religion of Iran delivered at Bologne in 1914–15.

PETTAZZONI, RAFFAELE. *La Religione Nella Grecia Antica Fino ad Alessandro.* Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli. xii+416 pages. L. 20.

This is the third volume in a new and promising series on the history of religions now appearing under the direction of this author, who is professor of history of religions at the University of Bologna. He traces the history of Greek religion from the earliest times down to the period of Alexander the Great. While the exposition follows the main lines of religious interest disclosed in the history of Greek literature, it also takes account of those psychological and anthropological aspects of Greek religion that have given new vitality to this study in recent years.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

DE WULF, MAURICE. *Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922. x+313 pages. $2.00.

Lectures given on the Vanuxem Foundation at Princeton, by the professor of philosophy in the University of Louvain. The culture which reached its climax in the thirteenth century is here interpreted on the basis of a thorough acquaintance with scholastic philosophy.

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JACKSON, F. J. FOAKES, and LAKE, KIRSOPP (ed.). *The Beginnings of Christianity.* Part I. *The Acts of the Apostles.* Vol. II. London: Macmillan, 1922. xiv+539 pages. 24*s.*

The second volume in this important series devoted to an exhaustive study of Acts. It treats of the composition and purpose of Acts, the identity of the editor of Luke and Acts, and the history of criticism.

JONES, RUFUS M. *The Remnant* ("Christian Revolution Series"). London: Swarthmore Press, 1920. 163 pages. $2.00.

An interesting series of historical interpretations, setting forth the service rendered by conscientious minorities who stood for a purer spiritual life than that represented in the official religious body. The "remnant" in Israel, the primitive church, the Montanists, Donatists, Spiritual Franciscans, Waldenses, Anabaptists, and Quakers are the principal groups studied.

LAKE, KIRSOPP. *Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. x+113 pages. $1.25.

A verbatim reprint in smaller type of this interesting course of Haskell Lectures delivered at Oberlin in 1919 and first published in 1920.

LEA, T. S., and BOND, F. B. *The Apostolic Gnosis.* Part II. Section I. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922. 104 pages. 6*s.*

LEA, T. S., and BOND, F. B. *The Apostolic Gnosis.* Part II. Section II. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922. 201 pages. 6*s.*

Useful collections of statistics in the field of early Christian speculations regarding the hidden wisdom to be derived from the symbolic significance of numbers.

The Living Church Annual. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1922. xvi+576 pages. $1.00.

Besides the usual information relating to the clergy, dioceses, educational institutions, officials of organizations, this *Annual* embodies lessons for special church seasons, the bishops (name and See) outside of America, missions abroad, and portraits of outstanding bishops. The arrangement is excellent, and the information is easily located.

The Methodist Year Book, 1922. New York: The Methodist Book Concern. ii+316 pages. $0.50.

An annual containing a record of the episcopacy, deceased and living, the officers of the various boards, statistics bearing upon American conferences, tables of growth, figures for lands other than America. The Index is thorough, the arrangement is good, the typographical work is well done.

PRUNEL, CHANOINE LOUIS. *La Renaissance Catholique en France au XVIIe Siècle.* Paris: Desclée, de Brouwer & Cie, 1921. viii+316 pages.

A series of lectures given under the auspices of the Catholic Institute of Paris, setting forth in scientific spirit and attractive style the following topics—the reform of the religious orders and of the clergy; the inner life of the seventeenth century; the church and charity; the Company of the Holy Sacrament; the church in its relation to missions, education, science, and heresy. Bibliographies are attached to each lecture.

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SMITH, PRESERVED. *A Short History of Christian Theophagy.* Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1922. 223 pages. $2.00.

A historical outline of the development of Christian views regarding the meaning of the Eucharist, including a brief and somewhat eclectic statement of opinion as to the influence of pre-Christian notions and customs upon this phase of Christianity.

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

BUTTENWIESER, MOSES. *The Book of Job.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xix+370 pages. $4.00.

An interpretation of Job that presents many new aspects. It includes an introduction, new translation, a revised Hebrew text, and brief exegetical notes.

COUCHOUD, PAUL-LOUIS. *L'Apocalypse.* Paris: Éditions Bossard, 1922. 136 pages. Fr. 21.

Following the view of Charles in his recent commentary on Revelation, the present author distinguishes the different apocalypses that are supposed to have been incorporated in the Book of Revelation and translates them in verse to correspond with the alleged versified form of the original.

DUHM, BERNHARD. *Die Psalmen.* Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1922. xxxvi+496 pages. M. 120.

A second edition of the volume on the Psalms in Marti's *Commentary* which was first published in 1899. The chief noticeable change is that the text of the Psalms is now all translated and placed at the top of this page.

HEFFERN, ANDREW D. *Apology and Polemic in the New Testament.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xi+411 pages. $3.50.

An attempt is here made to sketch the various lines of defense urged by Christians against their enemies during the period in which the books of the New Testament were taking shape. Particular attention is given to the question of early Christianity's contact with pre-Christian Gnosticism.

MACMUNN, VIVIAN. *Neglected Galilee.* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1922. 94 pages. 3*s.* 6*d.*

A plea for a fuller recognition of Galilee as the locality in which Jesus designed to establish his new messianic community during his lifetime.

SELLIN, ERNST. *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch.* Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1922. viii+568 pages. M. 90.

A critical commentary on the Minor Prophets, written from a conservative, but historical standpoint. Account is taken of all the literature of the past twenty years, except the English and American.

SMYTH, J. PATERSON. *The Bible for School and Home.* Vol. I. *The Book of Genesis.* New York: Doran, 1922. 196 pages. $1.25.

A simple, devotional treatment of the Book of Genesis, almost uninfluenced by the modern historical approach to the biblical literature. Its method is that of the conventional Sunday-school teacher and will soon pall upon the intellectual palate of vigorous and alert youth.

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SYMES, JOHN ELLIOTSON. *The Evolution of the New Testament.* New York: E. P. Dutton, 1922. xviii+353 pages. $7.00.

This is another "Introduction" to the New Testament. The point of view is that of the moderately critical school. The books of the New Testament are taken up in chronological order, questions of date, provenance, authorship, and content are discussed, and two concluding chapters give some account of the process of canon formation and the multiplication of texts.

THACKERAY, H. ST. JOHN. *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship.* London: Oxford University Press, 1921. 143 pages. 6*s*.

The thirteenth in the series of Schweich Lectures before the British Academy is devoted to the light thrown by the Septuagint upon the liturgical use of the Psalms and other scriptures in connection with Jewish feasts and rituals.

ZAHN, THEODOR. *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lucas.* Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1921. Vol. II. 395–884 pages. M. 95.

This is the completion of the Zahn's commentary on Acts, and it represents the acme of German theological scholarship of the conservative Protestant type.

CONCERNING JESUS

BUNDY, WALTER E. *The Psychic Health of Jesus.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xviii+299 pages. $3.00.

A sane and scholarly discussion of a troublesome subject connected with the problem of Jesus' self-consciousness.

IRVINE, ALEXANDER. *The Carpenter and His Kingdom.* New York: Scribner, 1922. ix+247 pages. $1.50.

An interpretation of the message of Jesus and a delineation of his character as Founder of the Kingdom of God. It is marked by that freedom from conventional ideas to be expected from the author, whose career itself is enough to warrant interest in his work. The Kingdom which he discusses is, of course, not the apocalyptic and millennial order of which so much is written. It is a sympathetic unfolding of the ideal of God's reign in the hearts of men.

ROBERTSON, JAMES A. *The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Jesus.* Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1921. 288 pages. $2.25.

An exposition of Jesus' inner religious experience. The emphasis falls upon devotional and inspirational rather than upon critical aspects of Jesus' self-consciousness.

SCHWEITZER, ALBERT. *The Quest of the Historical Jesus.* Tr. by W. Montgomery, with Preface by F. C. BURKITT. Second English Edition. New York: Macmillan, 1922. x+410 pages. $4.50.

Although styled a "second edition," the book is only a reprint of the former edition. In the meantime the German original has appeared in a new and much enlarged form, and it is greatly to be regretted that the English rendering has not been brought down to date.

DOCTRINAL

CAMPBELL, JAMES M. *The Second Coming of Christ, A Catechism.* (Reprint from *The Second Coming of Christ*, 1919.) New York: Methodist Book Concern. 20 pages. $0.10.

A pamphlet designed to correct extreme premillenarianism.

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GARDNER, CHARLES. *The Romance of Eternal Life.* London: J. M. Dent: New York: Dutton, 1922. xi+196 pages. $2.00.

Eternal life is the spiritual life attained by the Christian who employs all the means of grace provided in the church. The cultivation of this experience of eternal life under churchly direction is urged, with considerable shrewd analysis of psychological and social conditions.

MATTHEWS, W. R. *Studies in Christian Philosophy.* London and New York: Macmillan, 1921. xiv+231 pages. $3.00.

The Boyle Lectures for 1920. The lecturer considers the conception of God represented by Christian theism, and discusses various questions involved in the light of recent philosophy. The familiar conception of God is shown to be reasonable in the face of our modern philosophic world-view.

PALMER, WILLIAM SCOTT. *Christianity and Christ.* New York: Doran, 1920. viii+206 pages. $2.00.

An unusually interesting and discriminating record of personal meditation on some of the crucial problems of modern religious thought. The author has discovered the wealth of religious suggestion in a mysticism which frankly faces the methods and conclusions of present-day science and criticism.

SMYTH, J. PATERSON. *On the Rim of the World.* New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1922. 83 pages. $0.75.

A popular discussion of the question of life after death. Death is viewed as a birth into a larger life, and the spiritual possibilities of this larger life are set forth on the basis of a few biblical teachings. It is an optimistic message of comfort.

STERRETT, J. MACBRIDE. *Modernism in Religion.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xiii+186 pages. $1.50.

The author of this book is profoundly convinced that the restatement of religion in harmony with modern interests is a primary religious necessity. He discusses most of the crucial questions of modern religious thinking so as to commend a modernist attitude. His idealistic philosophy plays a large part in his statement.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

BRUNNER, EDMUND DE S. *A Church and Community Survey of Pend Oreille County, Washington.* New York: Doran, 1922. 51 pages. *A Church and Community Survey of Salem County, New Jersey.* New York: Doran, 1922. 92 pages.

LANDIS, BENSON Y. *Sedgwick County, Kansas. A Church and Community Survey.* New York: Doran, 1922. 83 pages.

Three church and community surveys of counties made under the auspices of the Interchurch World Movement and completed by the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys. About one thousand such county surveys were begun. A few of these counties have been selected for intensive study with the hope that these surveys "will throw light upon the subject of the more important problems of church and community life."

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THE RATIONALITY OF BELIEF IN THE REALITY OF GOD

EUGENE W. LYMAN
Union Theological Seminary, New York City

Religion deals with the fundamental relations between fact and value. God is defined as a Cosmic Mind that is conserving and creating value. (1) Rational belief in God rests on organized religious experience. The special marks of developed religious experience are spiritual renewal, insight, and moral creativity. On the knowledge side religious experience consists of intuitions. Such intuitions are not infallible, but when organized into a coherent body they give objective truth, especially when correlated with other organized experience. Examples of fundamental religious intuitions. (2) Belief in God is rational because the synthesis of the physical and the human sciences reveals a cosmic trend upward. Relapses, stagnations, and evils regarded as due to limiting conditions which are inherent in the task of realizing values through a process—especially when those values are moral and social. (3) Belief in God as a Cosmic Mind is rational because all reality—from the atom to stellar systems and from the cell to the highest organism—bears to some degree the marks of organization and, so far as this is so, can be regarded as evidencing the working of a Cosmic Mind. On this interpretation belief in God rests primarily on religious experience, but secondarily upon the corroborations furnished by a reasoned synthesis of experience as a whole.

All doubtless will agree that the idea of God is a distinctively religious idea. That is, we all presumably are in accord in considering the idea of God to be one that takes shape in close relation to man's religious life as a whole—as he prays, as in company with others he enters into communion with sacred presences, as he acts under the stimulus of that which arouses in him awe or admiration. In other words, we do not look upon the idea whose rationality we are examining as merely, or primarily, an affair of reason, but rather we recognize it as one that arises spontaneously in the midst of living religious experience, and as one that quickly fades and languishes where religious sentiments and practices cease to

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be matters of warm and vital concern. The idea of God, we feel, can be alive and meaningful only where religion is alive, and dies when religion dies.

Now evidently this fact about which we may safely assume agreement is one of much consequence for any consideration of the rationality of believing that God is real. For it means that the rationality of such belief will depend to an important degree upon the access which religion itself gives us to reality. We are thus led at the very outset of our discussion—as the condition of making any headway with it—to the necessity of giving some indication of the field of religion, of the nature of religious experience, and of the consequent meanings for which the idea of God stands.

Here at once, of course, disagreement is likely to set in. Nevertheless this risk of evoking disagreement at the start must be accepted; for a latent disagreement about the presuppositions of an inquiry is much more injurious to the results than an open one—inasmuch as a latent disagreement tends to make the dissatisfied critic reject all the reasonings and results in a lump, whereas a recognized disagreement may be the very thing that will enable said critic to winnow out some wheat from the chaff.

Let us then think of religion as having for its characteristic field the fundamental relations between fact and value. The field of facts as such belongs to science. Men have found that, unless they made the ascertainment of facts a systematic pursuit—and a pursuit at least relatively independent of their other interests—they could not be sure that their facts were genuine, nor could they discover facts anywhere nearly fast enough. So when it is asked: "Can life come from inorganic matter?" or "Has radium curative properties?" or "Did Jesus ever live?" we all agree that the answers should be given by science, since they all are primarily questions of matters of fact. On the other hand the field of values as such belongs to ethics or aesthetics. For in the matter of values

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men also have found that they must use systematic and relatively independent methods of inquiry if their values are not to be specious, partisan, tawdry, or commonplace. Thus when we ask: "What is justice?" or "Have we a right to consume our country's natural resources?" or "Is the *Spoon River Anthology* poetry?" we realize that we are asking questions that are not primarily questions of fact, but that should be answered only on the basis of certain standards and experiences of value.

But while the ascertainment of facts and the determination of values need to be relatively distinct enterprises, facts and values are constantly interacting with each other in life. With respect to our standards of value many facts are brutally indifferent, and many more are aggressively and triumphantly hostile; while in view of the established facts many of our most prized values seem hopelessly remote and impotent. But on the other hand there are the substantial achievements of civilization, of art and virtue. These interactions and opposing tendencies are so complexly intermingled in every social group as to present an omnipresent though ever shifting problem—and one that few individuals can altogether escape. The result is that men are very generally impelled to seek for deeper principles of connection between fact and value than their surface experience or their actual achievements present. This quest for some deeper revelation of the good in the real is the religious quest. It is evident when men ask such questions as "Is life worth living?" "Is Jesus a Savior?" "Is there a purpose in the universe?" "How may I wholly serve the kingdom of God on earth?" In proportion as they find themselves gaining positive answers to such questions they become possessed of a living religious experience and certain ripening convictions regarding the fundamental connections between fact and value. On the basis of this conception of the sphere of religion I would offer the following definition of religion in which I quote the happy phrasing of

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my colleague, Dr. Hamilton, of Nanking University: "Religion is faith that in its deepest nature the universe is on the side of man's highest aims."[1]

Religion is thus at one and the same time an experience of deeper penetration into reality than science or common sense gives and a more sustained and fruitful devotion to value than art or ethics or customary morality gives. This twofold reference is of its very nature, and pertains to all the ideas that arise within it. Religion, then, according to its own understanding of itself, does give men a special and characteristic access to reality. This claim of religion cannot, of course, be withdrawn from the test of having its results compared with the scientific account of reality. Just because religion seeks to supplement science it must not contradict science. Religious experiences of reality are subject always to the twofold testing of comparison with the results of science and those of ethics and art. But so far as religion supplements and unifies the results from these other fields of experience there is no philosophic justification for denying its claim to give access to reality. And this is all the more evident when we realize that religion is only a more persistent treatment of the problems of the relations between facts and values which practical life inevitably sets and for which it will always need the most adequate possible solutions.

[1] It might be objected that the view just presented makes religion exclusively a modern affair, and also that it makes religion equivalent to the philosophy of religion. But the relations and contrasts between fact and value would certainly have been felt, and would have prompted men to religious experience, long before anything like science, or systematic reflection on morals or on beauty developed. On the other hand one of the most important things about this view is that the more science and ethics become developed the more special and definite becomes the field of religion. As for religion being made, by this view, equivalent to the philosophy of religion—it is true that philosophy also concerns itself with the fundamental relations between fact and value, but it does so exclusively by way of intellectual reflection and synthesis whereas religion deals with the problem through the complex reactions of the emotional and practical nature as well. Religion then will precede and follow the philosophical treatment of the problem, or it may largely dispense with such a treatment.

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We are now in a position to define the idea of God in relation to the experience from which it springs and which must bear an important part in determining its rationality. The idea of God must be recognized as sharing in the twofold reference which is characteristic of religion. It connotes both reality and value because it denotes some underlying principle of relation between them. This is what William James stressed when he said, in his answers to the Pratt questionnaire, that God meant "a combination of Ideality and (final) efficacity."[1] No supreme personal or social ideal taken simply as such, then, should be regarded as the essence of the idea of God. Nor should a purely metaphysical synthesis of reality be so regarded. The ideal and the real must be taken in conjunction in our thought of God, if it is not to be withdrawn from the field of religion. Of course, within the field defined the idea of God has taken on the most varied shapes and meanings. But only its most developed meanings interest us here. I therefore propose the following definition: God is a Cosmic Mind who is working for the conservation and creation of value, and with whom man may be in relations of conscious communion and co-operation. Of God so conceived it is pertinent to ask: "Does He exist?" Our question then becomes: "Is it rational to believe that there really exists a Cosmic Mind who is conserving and creating value?"

I

My first main point in striving to answer this question is that organized religious experience supports the rationality of believing that God is real. That is, just as by an organized body of scientific experience we come to rational beliefs about nature and history—beliefs that amount to genuine knowledge —so, in so far as our religious experience becomes harmoniously organized, it gives us rational beliefs about God—beliefs which, if they meet our other tests of rationality as well, deserve to be accepted as truth or knowledge.

[1] *Letters*, II, 213.

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In order that this point may have its proper force something further must be said as to the nature of religious experience. We thus far have characterized religious experience chiefly by the questions it asks. But in so far as man's religious questions get answered his experience of course takes on a more positive character. If he finds himself in vital relation with a cosmic God who is creating and conserving value, his religious experience will be especially marked by spiritual renewal, insight, and moral creativity. Indeed it is only where results like these are present that the full nature of religious experience is disclosed. Has not inspiration, together with its fruits in spiritual achievement, always been the outstanding mark of great religious personalities and of new religious movements?

Now the knowledge side of religious experience as thus understood we may best describe as consisting of intuitions—new apprehensions of divine realities and fresh discoveries of divine possibilities. And of religious intuitions two main sorts may profitably be distinguished—perceptive intuitions and synthetic intuitions. By a perceptive intuition in the religious life I mean some immediate awareness of a divine presence or of the attitude of divine reality toward men—such as: "The place whereon thou standest is holy ground"; or, "Thou art my Beloved Son." And by a synthetic intuition I mean the apprehension of a totality as having such inner relations as give it divine significance. For example: "Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you: that ye may be sons of your Father who is in heaven: for he maketh his sun rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust. . . . . Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect."

Now these two kinds of intuitions interact with each other, and they both together receive testing by practical life and by critical reflection. Moreover, the gaining of the intuitions, their practical testing and their critical interpretation are

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not simply the experiences and activities of individuals but are commonly shared in by groups. Thus a body of religious experience grows up, all of which converges upon the recognition of a real God—a Cosmic Mind working to create and conserve value. The intuitive elements in such experience do not give it any claim to finality as knowledge, but they do supply a body of data which presents itself as a characteristic type of contact with reality, and which, when coherently organized, practically tested, and brought into relation with what we otherwise know about reality, becomes more and more transformed into rational belief, philosophically valid truth, and genuine knowledge of reality.

But in appealing to organized religious experience as evidence of the reality of God, is it to systematic theology that we are appealing? Unfortunately this cannot be the case, for theology has not clearly recognized its task as the securing of coherence between intuitions of reality—intuitions that are also socially shared—and as the synthesizing of its coherent body of intuitions with the organized body of scientific judgments about reality. Nor has theology sufficiently recognized that religious intuitions deal also with the possibilities of reality in the way of values to be achieved no less than with its established structure, and that hence the practical testing of intuitions in moral, social, and artistic experience is no less vital for their vindication than their mutual harmonization. So theology has made its work artificial by appeals to authority which closed inquiry and inhibited thinking, and by seeking to get some blanket agreement between reason and faith which has tended to forestall their actual co-operation. Hence it is that the organization of religious experience which has been actually effective in human society, and which gives rationality to the belief that God is real, has been too largely merely a spontaneous growth, supplemented here and there by the great synthetic intuitions of the few, and has been too little aided by such deliberate co-operative inquiry and criti-

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cism as, in the form of physical science, has done so much for our knowledge of nature. Yet in modern liberal theology, from Schleiermacher on, important progress has been made in the task of developing into a coherent body those intuitions of reality and value, in their deeper relations and their fuller possibilities, upon which the rationality of believing in a real God primarily rests.

And this may be remarked in passing: that while a truly philosophical theology has come later and more slowly than modern natural science, certain major religious intuitions have received a more massive verification, by reason of their longer history and their more structural place in civilization, than almost anything in natural science.

But because our theologies cannot be appealed to forthwith as presenting the organized religious experience on which the rationality of believing that God exists finally rests, we need to make the present point somewhat more concrete by noting certain religious intuitions which may hopefully be regarded as forming a coherent body and thus as giving us reality—the more surely so if they can be synthesized with our other major judgments about reality.

First, let me mention two intuitions that belong very closely together—the intuition of personality and the democratic intuition of human equality and human solidarity. Now both of these intuitions are either consciously religious or else they occur in ethics and in science as more or less unconscious borrowings from religion. That personality is an intuition, both perceptive and synthetic, is indicated by the fact that just as personality, or the soul, or the self, has been vanishing from psychology, it has been becoming more and more the presupposition of ethics and of social reconstruction. That personality is an intuition of a religious character is indicated by the recognition of the prophetic personality as the supreme revelation of God; or by the way in which Kant or Dr. Adler is impelled to ground his fundamental

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ethical axiom of the worth of the person in a supertemporal spiritual order; or by such a sentence as this from James's *Varieties:* "So long as we deal with the cosmic and the general, we deal only with the symbols of reality, but as soon as we deal with private and personal phenomena as such, we deal with realities in the completest sense of the term."[1] Similarly the democratic intuition, seemingly discredited by evolution and anthropology, becomes more and more the moving principle of social change. While its religious character is admirably expressed by Professor Coe, in his chapter on "Religion as Discovery," when he says of our present social idealism: "It knows itself to be more than a subjective preference; it is the fulfilment of a destiny; it is the working out of some cosmic principle through our preferences. Duty is for us not a mere imposition of the mass will upon the individual; it is reality in the large making itself felt in the parts."[2] And the manner in which the intuition of personality and the democratic intuition enter into the intuition of God is well expressed in the following passage from Höffding: "If we understand by 'God' something that is not only 'outside' us but also is active in all reality and all values—and accordingly precisely in the relation of value to reality, and in the personalities that have experience of this relation—then it is setting up a false dilemma when one says 'either the truth comes from God, or it is worked out by each one of us individually.'"[3]

But we must be much briefer in noting other fundamental intuitions. There is the intuition of prayer—the awareness of contact and communion with a Greater and Holier Reality than one's self or one's fellows, to which nevertheless we and they belong. There is the intuition of reconciliation—the sense of inward renewal through being drawn back into an unseen spiritual fellowship, and the accompanying apprehension of reconciliation as an indispensable social principle because an actual cosmic principle. There is the truth

[1] P. 498. [2] *Psychology of Religion*, p. 242. [3] *Religionsphilosophie*, p. 281.

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intuition—the intuition that truth can be gotten, that our mental powers can be trusted, that the universe "is honest" or has a truth structure, the inward assent to the harmony of careful judgments as that which puts us in possession of reality. (This intuition, again, may be either religious or borrowed from religion.) There is the faith intuition—the conviction that by going deeper we can go farther; that by a more adequate hold—intuitive and intelligent—upon reality ever greater values may be discovered and achieved, that with God all things are possible.

There is, further, the intuition of beauty and harmony—somewhat perverted in Bertrand Russell's impartial worship "of all that is and happens"—better illustrated in our modern poetry of social feeling, which seeks both to discover and to impart beauty as it penetrates into the inner meaning of our social processes and conflicts. And there is, finally, the intuition of love, which is the synthesis of the other intuitions, and which also is the intuition of God. It is the recognition of an Eternal Principle that is working creatively and redemptively for the fullest development of all persons through their own co-operative fellowship.

This must here suffice as an indication of how religious experience may be interpreted as yielding an organized body of intuitions concerning the deeper relations of reality and value, which have massive personal and social verification, and which therefore render the belief in the reality of God rational.

II

But religious experience, having as its field the deeper connections between reality and value, is bound to take account of the relation between its interpretations of reality and reality as it is presented by science.[1] Accordingly we must go on

[1] Religion, to be sure, has often assumed this relation to be inherently hostile, and so has tried to break down the scientific interpretation or has welcomed some subtle philosophical invalidation of it. But this hostility is no longer possible on the

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to a comparison of organized religious experience and the generalized results of science with respect to the resultant interpretations of reality.

My second main point, then, is that the synthesis of our knowledge in the physical and human sciences reveals a progress in things which supports the rationality of believing in a real God. In affirming that progress is revealed by the synthesis of the sciences it is, of course, important to avoid the illusion of progress, the illusion that because things have been coming our way they therefore are moving along the right way. This is an illusion to which favored nations or social groups, or unusually prosperous epochs, are subject. And there are optimistic forms of religion and morals which are particularly liable to this illusion. It is doubtless well for the optimists to be heckled by having it pointed out to them that Aristotle meets the intelligence tests better than anybody since, that Athenian culture has hardly been equaled in succeeding times, that quite primitive agricultural societies possessed more of happiness and wholesome communal life than our modern industrial societies, that the medieval period produced more beauty than has the modern age of the machine, and that the art of war is now more nearly perfect than ever but is far from having reached its maximum.

But on the whole religion, with its sensitiveness to sin and its disposition to unworldliness, has not been especially subject to this illusion of progress. And on the other hand when the hecklers go so far as to try to break up the meeting by denying that there are any facts of progress which give

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practical side. Religion cannot aid in creating value and experience the fellowship with God that comes from so doing, without co-operating with science. Indeed, as Stratton says, "the course of events clearly points to a time when disregard of common knowledge and intelligence will seem as repugnant to the religious mind as disregard of common morals" (*Psychology of the Religious Life*, p. 356). But if this be true with respect to the practical bearings of science, the hostility between religion and science on the theoretical side should be abandoned in favor of making as positive a synthesis as possible between the two.

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rational support to the hopes of men, then the voice of science speaks with an authority sufficient to silence them. For science, working with its supreme principle of continuity, establishes unmistakable sequences between the caveman and the modern inventor, between the medicine man and Phillips Brooks and Pasteur, between the primitive human pack and the modern free state, between the first picture-writing and the free public library. By none of the tested standards that the philosophy of value has worked out can these sequences be called anything but progress on a great scale. And back of these sequences lie those which trace the development of intelligence and of the instincts which equip man for society, and along with and prior to these are the sequences of biology in general. It is not necessary to claim that all these sequences converge to a single result, nor to deny arrests and relapses, in order to vindicate the idea of progress. It is enough to show that there are continuous sequences from earliest to latest forms, that in the various results are to be found notable embodiments of our highest values, and that these embodied values tend more and more to become a harmonious system in which the various values are mutually furthered. Where this is shown a cosmic trend upward is established, such as corroborates the religious intuition and experience of a Cosmic Mind working to create and conserve value.

It is important at this point to note certain traits of the idea of God to which this interpretation of the results of science leads, if the interpretation is to have its full positive force. The idea of God that the cosmic trend upward points to is that of a Spiritual Being immanent in the processes of nature and history and conditioned in his working, at any given point, by the stages already reached in these processes; and at the same time that of a Being transcending the processes in which he is working, inasmuch as he is directing them to comprehensive values and knows the conditions which must be controlled, if the values are to be achieved, and the methods

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of control adequate for the task. Now if the necessity of process for the realization of values, and the consequent fact of limiting conditions for God, are accepted frankly, the evidence for his transcendent qualities which can be derived from the synthesis of the sciences is correspondingly strengthened. For on this basis relapses, stagnations, and evils are not disproofs of God, but rather indications of the magnitude of the task of creating values and of the consequent unlikelihood that there would have been any progress at all without a cosmic God. For without a God possessing the transcendent qualities man's efforts for progress would be like the favorable variations in animal organs, which are recognized to be of no value at all apart from a fundamental will to live in the organism as a whole.

But this idea of God as immanent in the processes of nature and history and working by subduing limiting conditions to his purposes is not essentially different from the idea of God in which we found organized religious experience culminating—God as a Cosmic Mind working to conserve and create value. Thus we find the synthesis of the sciences and of organized religious experience corroborating each other in respect to the rationality of believing in a real God. On the one hand there is a cosmic trend upward which is difficult to comprehend without recognizing the activity in it of a Cosmic Mind, and on the other hand are the organized religious intuitions and experiences bearing witness to the actual presence of such a Mind, working redemptively and creatively for the achievement of ever richer and more comprehensive values.

And this corroboration of religious intuitions and experiences of God by the facts of progress becomes all the more complete when we realize that these intuitions and experiences, as they become harmoniously organized, have played a powerful constructive part in producing progress in its more advanced stages. That is to say, progress has come about not only because men have been intellectually inventive and socially

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co-operative, but also because they have been conscious of living with God.

III

In conclusion I must touch briefly on a third point. We have found religious experience to be best interpreted as involving communion and co-operation with a Cosmic Mind that is working to conserve and create value. And we have found this interpretation corroborated by the synthesis of the sciences, which reveals progress on a cosmic scale. But the question is bound to arise: How may we more fully conceive the relation between the Cosmic Mind and the cosmos itself? We have found that in recognizing the Cosmic Mind as the ground of progress we also have been impelled to recognize that progress implies a series of conditions which at any given point are limitations for the Cosmic Mind. How extensive are these limiting conditions?

This, indeed, is a highly speculative question, and at first thought it may seem too remote from man's religious experience as a worker with God for his Kingdom to require consideration. But it is remotely speculative only in so far as it asks for an elaborated theory of the way in which the Cosmic Mind is related to the forces of nature. On the other hand it is practical when the questioning takes the following forms: If there are limiting conditions for God, is he not finite—indeed so finite that the triumph of his purposes is doubtful? If the human race, in spite of all the achievements that it may yet make, is liable to become extinct on this earth, why might not God himself cease to be—or become permanently hemmed in and checkmated by the universe?

It is, then, with reference to questions like these that the third point just referred to has its pertinency. It may be stated as follows: Progress in the biological and human realms is grounded in processes and conditions in the cosmos as a whole which are best understood as the product of a Cosmic Mind.

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Broadly speaking, this grounding of progress in the cosmos as a whole has two main aspects. In the first place physical science shows that uniform laws run throughout the realm of physical nature, and without these uniform laws it is not possible to conceive progress as taking place at all. But a unified system of laws, which is inclusive of all existence in its physical aspects, is a worthy product of a Cosmic Mind. And this is the more evident when the system of laws proves to be the basis of progress on a great scale. Nor need it be maintained that the correlation between the system of laws and the realization of progress must be complete in order to give this point effect. It is enough if there is a process of correlation going on. A part of the outworkings of the system of physical laws may be merely mechanical—either unrelated to progress or hindering it—and yet a Cosmic Mind may reasonably be recognized in the whole, provided there is evidence that a great process of turning mechanism to account for ends of value has been, and is still, going on. For if the creation of value is fundamental to our conception of God, there is no reason why we should not think of him as now creating in the realm of the physical cosmos as well as in the realm of human society. Thus the system of uniform laws in physical nature may be thought of as the groundwork laid by a Cosmic Mind for the values already achieved in our experience and for a value-creating process that shall ultimately result in a spiritual universe.

The second aspect of the grounding of progress in the cosmos as a whole of which we are speaking is the fact that progress need not be thought of as beginning first with the organic world, but may be recognized as having its earlier stages in the inorganic. For prior to organisms we already have processes of organization which result in the building up of systems that maintain themselves over indefinitely great periods of time. As L. T. Hobhouse writes: The "process of development begins within the inanimate world." Such

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beginning he finds manifested in certain mechanical "structures." "The solar system," he says, "is such a structure," and he adds, "It would appear that the chemical atom is such a structure, its elements being the corpuscles, and the binding force the electrical attractions and repulsions that constrain corpuscles to assume certain alternative mutual relations"; and further, "atoms brought within the sphere of mutual influence can modify one another, and form higher structures, which are the molecules of the chemical compounds."[1]

Now in this building up of stable organizations capable of maintaining themselves indefinitely we again have a process fit to be a manifestation of mind. And still more appropriate as manifestations of mind are the processes just referred to in which these stable organizations are modified in such a way as to produce higher organizations. When, then, we find a continuity of such organization processes, leading up to and conditioning organic development, we gain corroboration from the mechanical realm for the faith in a Cosmic Mind. Moreover, all the reality we know bears the marks of some organization, and the process of organization is actual or potential everywhere. Hence there is reason to think that there is no reality beyond the scope of the Cosmic Mind.

This interpretation leads to the view that God is infinite, if the term infinite is used in the sense in which alone ethical religion is concerned about it. That is, we are led by this view to conceive of God as infinite—not indeed as an Unconditioned Being, who determines all that is and happens according to his inscrutable nature—but as a Power pervading all reality with the value-creating process, and so inspiring faith in the ultimate spiritualization of the universe.

We find, then, when we attempt a synthesis of the sciences that treat of matter and mechanism with the sciences that treat of life and history, that the idea of a Cosmic Mind working under limiting conditions for the creation and conservation of

[1] *Development and Purpose*, p. 357.

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value gets real corroboration. I have not desired to maintain that the conception of the merely mechanical and astronomical aspects of the universe here presented is the absolutely necessary result of science, nor that it is the only possible synthesis that can be made. I only urge that it is the more rational conception when one starts from religious experience, and that religious experience gains confirmation in the fact that these parts of the universe can rationally be so interpreted.

The merely mechanical and astronomical view of the universe is like a winter landscape. It gives us all the objects that there are. But the synthesis of this view and that of the biological and human sciences gives us a conception that is like the landscape in springtime. It shows the universe infused with the same kind of life that is pressing for fulfilment in man. A fuller view of the mechanical and astronomical universe may have to await a time when we walk not by faith but by sight.

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THE PASSING OF PATERNALISM IN MISSIONS

KENNETH SAUNDERS
Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California

The missionary enterprise of the nineteenth century was strongly paternalistic in spirit. Today the oriental Christians are making a sharp distinction between Western culture and Christianity. The former they criticize and distrust. There is an insistent demand for religious self-determination.

Wise leaders of the missionary enterprise are urging a larger measure of native initiative. This movement means a radical change in the philosophy and the administration of missions; but this change is imperative if the good will of Eastern peoples is to be secured, and a real Asiatic Christianity produced.

Some of us grew up with a picture of Queen Victoria which is very typical of her era. She stands surrounded by her ministers, who look on with approval as she hands a large Bible to an African potentate. And he adoringly accepts it on bended knee, as she utters the amazing words, "This is the secret of England's greatness." Famous words of one era sometimes become infamous in the next; and today we gasp at the lack of taste which could have painted such a scene, and the lack of humor which could give it such a title. More astounding still—in spite of an Africa reeling under "the white man's burden" and an Asia which sees our nakedness uncovered—[1]this picture and this appeal are still used as a potent missionary motive. It is still admired as it hangs for instance in the study of Sir George Williams, founder of the Young Men's Christian Association, and I have seen it used several times in missionary addresses. Let me confess: even in talks to the troops in France in the Great War I used it myself till its details came home with a shock to me. Who are these men who stand about the Queen in knee breeches and smug approval? Lord Shaftesbury one recognizes—grim and determined: so far certainly the picture might be a

[1] *In Darkest Africa* was a book typical of the nineteenth century: *In Darkest Christendom* is now in its third large edition.

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little justified, for he was nerved by the Bible to fight with his back to the wall for the very life of England's children against the Moloch of industrialism. But with him are men who were exploiting India through the East India Company, and others who had forced China in one lack-humor treaty to accept opium and the missionaries of the Cross. A great hymn on its glory—the glory of sacrificial love—was just then written, as its author was bombarding Tientsin; and one remembers the great evangelist Newton of an earlier generation singing pietistic hymns on the deck of his ship as the slaves groaned below him at the oar. "The secret of England's greatness!" and yet there is some truth in it—for a minority in England *had* won the country to set free her slaves, and Lord Shaftesbury *had* won his fight for the children, and England *had* sent out missionaries as well as opium, and had freed Europe as well as herself from the tyranny of Napoleon.

It is not for us to condemn: yet we may accept the fact that the Victorian era, great in so many ways, was tinged with patronage and heavy with paternalism, unconscious of its own weakness. And the missionary motive and methods of that great era could hardly fail to suffer accordingly: missionaries went out from motives of pity rather than of respect. Fortunately Africa and Asia did not much resent the patronage at the time. The greatness of pioneers like Livingstone, Carey, and Morrison made an immense impression, and it was reinforced by the glamor of our Western civilization, till these lands looked to us as supermen, the secret of whose greatness they eagerly desired to know. Now all this is changed. They know that few white men are like these giants; that our civilization is almost impotent to cure itself of grievous diseases; that we have used the Bible as it suited our convenience.

"If you were at all like the Sermon on the Mount, or even like the prophetic ideals of Israel, Asia would fall down before your God"—that is Asia's deliberate judgment as she has got

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to know us better; and today Mr. Gandhi's revulsion from all things Western is symptomatic. It is not a revulsion from Christ—his Sermon on the Mount is its charter—or even from Christianity, but from Christendom; her failures of conduct, her very standards of success are anathema to this spiritual giant. And the common people hear him gladly; they are akin to him. Asia is unconsciously nearer to the Sermon on the Mount than we. This reaction is nowhere more vital than in the ranks of the Asiatic Christian churches. Admiring Christ they dislike much of our Christianity, and they repudiate firmly, and yet with surpassing gentleness, our right to dominate and control. The gentleness is there because they are gentle by nature and good Christians, and because they owe us so much; the firm resolve is there because their soul is their own, and must grow in its own way. And so one hears everywhere the cry "an Indian church," "a Japanese church," "a Chinese church," and even "an African church."

Now the best missionaries are sympathetic, even if they do not see just what this cry of the soul means and how it is to express itself in action; certainly the younger spirits ought to understand. But some, perhaps the majority, think it rather ungracious, and they find it difficult to believe that they can take their hand off the levers. Will the machine they have so painfully built up work if they do? What will happen to the "efficiency" they have so hardly introduced?

Now to hasten up this process of devolution is the main problem before the missions of today. To face it and other great and vital issues some three thousand students of Britain set themselves very courageously in February, 1921;[1] and in the fall of the same year the missionary leaders of Protestantism met at Lake Mohonk with some of the strongest representatives of the indigenous churches of Asia and Africa.

[1] At the Glasgow Conference where Viscount Grey gave the opening address and showed how Christianity was challenged, and how our civilization had "received its ultimatum."

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Their deliberations were of extraordinary interest and significance, dealing with such grave topics as the future of the work of German missionary societies, the control of labor in East Africa, international co-operation in mission service, and many others. But no topic of graver importance came before them than that of the relations of church and mission: the whole future of Christianity in Asia and perhaps in the world may depend upon the efficiency with which this problem is handled. It is clear from the findings of these leaders that they at any rate are on the right track. They advocate in temperate language, as one would expect, measures which are in many ways revolutionary. Some of these measures have been advocated for a long time by some of us younger and more radical missionaries, e.g., that the foreign worker should be placed under the direction of a wise native leader, that these leaders should be consulted as to the number and qualifications of foreign workers to be sent out, as to the expenditure of funds from abroad, and as to the training of the foreign missionary. All of this has for long seemed obvious to many of us who believe in self-determination, and realize that nothing else will work; yet as these wise leaders know, it is going to be a hard task to get them put into practice at the home base of some missions, and upon the field, where the majority alike of foreign missionaries and native converts have grown up in a different tradition. "You are my mother and my father," that is a familiar eulogy of the foreign missionary: it may become his epitaph. During the first stages of his great task he is of necessity the father of his small and helpless flock. They look to him for help in a thousand ways: and the stronger man he is the more he interprets his task as one of all-round helpfulness. He is a servant of the "Lord of all good life," and his gospel must meet human need at a thousand points. The burden of his task is at once his cross and his crown; he enjoys carrying it, and the very helplessness of his people stirs that paternal instinct that is so strong

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in most of us. His own children are thousands of miles away across the ocean, less real and less dependent upon him than these "begotten in the Spirit." He is in fact like many a mother, efficient and bustling as a broody hen. How shocked she would be if Madame Montessori took her in hand. "Let the little fumbling fingers alone! It is easier to do things for them: but it is also much more selfish."

Now even in what is called the paternal stage of foreign missions a Montessori voice has been heard from time to time: "Your methods are 'efficient,' but un-Christian. Let these people walk without crutches, or you do them irreparable harm. You are indispensable: You have no business to be." Such voices have often given offense; it is hard to be criticized in your most efficient moments; and the old missionary will patiently point to the listlessness of his people, and their dependence upon him. "Exactly," says the critic, "no man is interested in what he does not help to create. You old popes of the mission field remind me of the benevolent elephant. 'Let me be a mother to you,' she said as she sat down upon the nestling partridges."

Now if this mothering is oppressive to the nestling, it is stifling when he wants to fly. In the second stage of missions, now reached by very many of the Asiatic churches, there is a widespread sense of oppression and of want of air. Loyal to their spiritual fathers they yet resent much in them that savors of the heavy uncle. Adolescence is no doubt the period of loyalty; it is quite as much that of disloyalty. Grateful for much, therefore, the young churches are eager to shake off their leading-strings. And of course the best missionaries are united in trying to speed up this process. I remember two great sermons on this theme, one to schoolboys in Ceylon upon the text "Let every tub stand on its own bottom." The studious youths searched their Bibles in vain, and their missionary teachers were amused; but some at any rate learned that the sermon was aimed as much at them as

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at their pupils. The other sermon was that of a negro lawyer to the students at Hampton Institute: "Boys and girls stand on your own feet. The good Lord has sure given you big ones and flat ones; stand on them." These texts are surely good Christianity, and every intelligent missionary will say that this is what he is working for, but that to stand alone takes time, that to walk is an even slower process, and that the native church must walk before it can run. The transition then to the "elder brother" attitude has been painfully slow. Where the missionary's whole heart is in the noble task of decreasing in order that his converts may increase, this process of devolution goes on apace, but still more speed is needed. Just a hundred years after Morrison went to China the great missionary conference at Shanghai faced the problems of the common task, and legislated upon even such intimate topics as that of ancestor-worship. There were no Chinese present! When they meet this year the Chinese will form 50 per cent of the total conference.[1] In Korea self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating churches are the order of the day; a few missionaries may attend the synods, as visitors or as wise elder brothers, called into conference: but the church is on its own feet—and this among a people usually called inefficient. So in a lesser degree with other Asiatic churches. The Chinese ordained ministry has more than doubled in the past ten years, while the missionary force has only increased 50 per cent, and the Indian churches have given a lead to the whole world in their resolute and wise steps toward union. Yet the process must be speeded up.

It clearly will not do for the Christian church to fall behind the lead given by the secular authorities. In India, for example, the British government has in the past decade done more toward the devolution of authority than the Christian

[1] This article was written before the Shanghai conference of 1922, which demonstrated the truth of its main contentions.

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church, and one result is that strong men of the Indian Christian community are proud to be government servants, but feel that they cannot keep their respect in the employment of the missionary bodies. This is not mainly a financial but a spiritual problem. It is striking, for example, to see how throughout Asia one finds quoted as strong examples of Asiatic Christianity Young Men's Christian Association secretaries who find in this organization, it would seem, a freer atmosphere, and an absence of foreign control which they have missed in other forms of Christian work: and even more striking to see the brilliant men who join the "Servants of India Society" and the National Missionary Society at what is barely a living wage. They value freedom more than money.

Let me disarm impatience by pointing out that after all theirs is the spirit of youth all over the world. The success of the Student Movement, perhaps the most significant of the auxiliary movements of the church, is largely due to the absence of paternalism in it, and in England, at any rate, to its democratic organization. Similarly the Labor Movement is quite as much a revolt against patronage as against exploitation; it is a demand for partnership, and all women, in their new-found emancipation, will sympathize with the revolt of the young churches against their founders. At the great World Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 Bishop Azariah, a brilliant and temperate spokesman of Indian Christianity, shamed us all by his cry of protest, "I owe all I am to missionaries, but I feel that too many of you have promised us a golden throne in Heaven, but denied us a bamboo chair in the porch." Since that date the growth of the national movement in intensity has had its influence upon the Indian Christian community, and frank and outspoken criticism is the order of the day. In Japan the brilliant converts to Christianity, from the start men of influential position and with the traditions of a ruling class, soon took the reins into their own hands; and yet when one examines missionary work among

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this brilliant people one cannot but feel that in secular things, where the Japanese have been free of foreign control or free to get rid of their foreign teachers, they have made more progress than in this realm where their native courtesy and gratitude have kept them from what would seem a brutal frankness. Behind their patient courtesy is often a deep resentment. Even in China there is a great deal of impatience, especially among the young educated men, and a demand that the Chinese church be left free to expand and grow in its own way.

Lest I be misunderstood, let me add to all this that my Asiatic friends, even the bluntest and most outspoken, do not desire a complete withdrawal of missionary agencies; they know that these are still needed; they realize that their countries need Christ no less than the rest of the world, and merely to evangelize their millions is a colossal task. But they are horrified at such indiscriminate and wholesale recruiting movements as that instituted by the Interchurch World Movement; "Quality and not quantity is what we want," they say; "give us men and women who are experts in social service, in literary work, in medicine, rather than raw recruits; above all, let us choose people with the right spirit and qualifications and let us help to train them."

These are practical suggestions of very far-reaching importance. If the findings of the Mohonk Conference are to be carried out it must be by a very humble and thoughtful application of democratic principles, by a revolution in our attitude to financial control, by free and full trust of Asiatic Christianity. It is intolerable that many of our mission boards are still victims of the old pagan adage "He who pays the piper calls the tune." To keep control in spiritual things merely because one has the purse is a form of Prussianism, and there is a great deal of talk about "pauperizing" the Asiatic Christians, which is hypocrisy. Relatively speaking, most of them give far more toward their churches than we Christians

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of the West, and in many cases where the experiment has been made of trusting them with the administration of funds raised outside the country, they have shown themselves not only trustworthy but often very able administrators.

Moreover, it is obvious that the Asiatic churches should do their own recruiting; we foreigners who wish to help them should go at their invitation, not at the bidding of the missionary boards; and the spirit of youth being what it is, the noblest and most generous, and therefore most fitted to be missionaries, will respond to an Asiatic challenge more readily than to that of the Old Guard of the Christian church in the West, or even to that of young and ardent missionaries on furlough. I have much personal experience to show that this is so; anyone who was at the Des Moines Student Conference will remember how that great multitude thrilled to the appeal of their fellow-students from other lands, and how impatient they were at much of the heavy artillery. At Oxford and Cambridge some years ago the finest British missionaries had appealed in vain for recruits; a month later an Indian leader, by his simple appeal, "Come and help us," recruited eight first-class honors men on the spot, and this has happened more than once. For this resentment of paternalism and patronage is a deep-seated instinct of our time. And this leads on. If Asia is to recruit its own helpers it must be as younger brothers if the recruits are young, as elder brothers, not uncles, if they are well-known experts. For such Asia has a warm and humble welcome. When Haskell lecturers or a John Dewey or a James Hope Moulton go out they are received with open arms, and Asia sits at their feet; and they are always wise enough to show that they have come to learn as well as to teach.

I have been told that it will be very difficult to recruit American and British students, with their love of freedom, to work under Asiatic leaders. This is a lie based upon a misunderstanding; young America and young Britain love freedom too much to desire to see others denied it, and the great

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mass of our students today are in favor of self-determination all along the line, and most of all within the Christian church.

What then is needed most urgently, if the findings of the leaders are to take effect, is the fearless application of them to the practice of the Boards, and of their representatives on the field, and in the majority of cases it is a revolution that is needed. Nor is this surprising in a world undergoing reconstruction. It is indeed unthinkable that the Christian church needs no radical rebuilding, and the revolution indicated seems to me nothing but an application of her Master's principles to methods which may have been justified in the nineteenth century, and were indeed almost unavoidable in the first few decades, but which are now largely out of date and out of touch with the spirit of our time.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE AND RELIGION

HARRY F. WARD
Union Theological Seminary

Certain questions raised by Professor Ellwood's recent book, *The Reconstruction of Religion*, are discussed in this article.

Is social science at present prepared to furnish the technique for religious activity, which Professor Ellwood emphasizes? The prevailingly descriptive character of social study does not encourage confident judgments of value. Moreover, social laws are as yet too imperfectly known to supply authoritative guidance.

The religious interpretation of social acts is a challenging problem. Is this problem solved by a social reinterpretation of the traditional theological concepts?

If the religion of Jesus is to be the triumphant social religion of the future we need a much more thoroughgoing social study of the teachings of Jesus than has yet been furnished.

The problem of the motivation of religion is a difficult one. The vigor of motives demands a creative consciousness which will convincingly pass judgment on the sins of the present social order.

What is to be the relationship between social science and religion? They are both seeking the best possible human world. Shall they then live and work together? In how close a union and on what terms? This question, long pending, has now been definitely formulated and flung into the arena of religious discussion by Professor Ellwood in his recent book, *The Reconstruction of Religion.*[1]

The question is thrown out against the background that now oppresses every lover of mankind and every seeker after truth. A world torn asunder by conflicting ideals of life. A civilization semipagan, poised on the brink of destruction. Religion, like all other human institutions, weakened by the revolutionary pressure of democracy and science. Yet, in the possibility of its renaissance, lies the only hope for mankind. The picture is alas too familiar and the inference almost a commonplace. But here Professor Ellwood begins. The revitalizing of religion and the consequent saving of the world

[1] *The Reconstruction of Religion.* By Charles A. Ellwood. New York: Macmillan, 1922. xv+323 pages. $2.25.

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is to be accomplished by bringing religion into harmony with science and particularly with social science. Religion desires to release humanity from its ills and social science is continually discovering the means to this end. Religion seeks the solidarity of mankind and science is continually achieving like-mindedness among men concerning the manner of living. But social science lacks adequate motivation for its growing program. This religion alone can furnish as it intensifies and universalizes social values, doing for the feelings what science does for the reason. Likewise religion is ineffective to make good will universal for lack of the guidance of social knowledge and of certainty as to genuine social values. Each then is impotent to change mankind without the other; one for lack of technique and one for want of power. These two therefore come now to be joined.

If this union can be consummated, the long warfare between science and religion will indeed be accomplished. Such a result is but the natural culmination of continued contacts, with consequent modification of attitudes. Having purged our theology of its crudities concerning the physical universe by its revelation of nature, having revitalized our historical sources by the impact of its method, having shown us through psychology what is the nature of conversion and of sound religious instruction, science comes now to have her perfect work in religion by guiding us to the solution of the problem of the practical values of human living, which, according to Professor Ellwood, is the religious problem of our day.

His central argument has for its premise the social nature and significance of religion in general and of Christianity in particular. From this it is concluded that a positive Christianity can become the religion of humanity, capable of guaranteeing peace and good will and preventing the collapse of civilization. By positive Christianity is meant a Christianity based upon objective realities, upon all the facts of the total life of mankind, and therefore in harmony with the spirit

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of pure science. Such a Christianity will require a church which recognizes that its supreme duty and opportunity is the creation of a Christian world and that this is to be accomplished by the formation and guidance of an effective public opinion. Thus, while the argument is for certain changes in the attitudes and structure, the content and emphasis of religion, it is obvious that it turns upon the capacity and effectiveness of science, depends upon the correctness of its diagnosis of the social function of religion and the social characteristics of Christianity, upon the ability of social science to bring to religion the authority and power which are now obviously lacking and which the situation certainly demands.

Is science in general and social science in particular prepared to meet the demands involved in this proposed union with religion? To begin with, if only a religion based upon all the facts of the total life of mankind can save the world, is science at present on the way to getting those facts, or to co-ordinating them when gathered, so that their total meaning can be available for religion? In other words, in so far as the descriptive function of science is concerned, have we yet any such thing as social science? Professor Ellwood, being a sociologist, explains that his use of the term social science "refers not only to sociology but to all the social sciences taken collectively, including anthropology, social psychology, social ethics and social philosophy, so far as these latter are based upon science." Politics and economics are not specifically mentioned, though these, with sociology and anthropology, are the obviously social sciences when the term is used to contrast the sciences that deal with human relationships with the natural sciences that deal with the physical universe. Is sociology then equipped and authorized to speak for those other sciences taken collectively?

In his recent book, *The Economic Basis of Politics*, Professor Beard points out what has happened in one field because "the living organism of human society as a subject of inquiry

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has been torn apart and parcelled among specialists," who have forgotten "the profound truth enunciated by Buckle that the science of any subject is not at its center but at its periphery where it impinges upon all other sciences." So political economy has become economics, and men have absurdly tried to "write of the production, and distribution of wealth apart from the state which defines, upholds, taxes, and regulates property, the very basis of economic operations." We have then separate social sciences furnishing religion with facts in particular fields; we lack co-ordination and synthesis.

The need is still greater when it comes to value judgments. Professor Ellwood affirms it to be the duty of science to evaluate as well as describe and the special duty of the social sciences to guide ethical and religious evaluations. Yet is not sociology as now taught mostly descriptive? What proportion of college students who have taken courses in political or economic science have acquired any standards of social value or indeed any sense of the relation of politics and economics to social values? It is notorious that the value judgments of a goodly portion of current political and economic theory are in favor of the doctrines of self-interest and the competitive struggle which are generally declared by sociology to be unsocial. There is then a warfare in the house of science as in the house of religion.

The situation requires either that sociology be prepared and permitted to co-ordinate the facts and valuations of all other sciences into judgments concerning the total life of mankind, or else that the various sciences create a general staff for this purpose. In either case there would then come into being a real social science. Until this happens religion must needs attempt as best it can to relate to the whole strategy of life such separate groups of facts and such partial judgments as the various social sciences contribute. If both science and religion set their hands jointly to this task, then as Professor Ellwood foresees, the two will become but different aspects of

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one fundamental attitude. This outcome, however, depends just as much upon the eagerness of scientists to develop a science of humanity as upon the desire of churchmen to develop a religion of humanity and involves the same necessity of service and even sacrifice. If the future of mankind depends upon religion becoming scientific and therefore social, it equally depends upon science becoming social and therefore religious.

A kindred question raised by the proposed union between science and religion is whether social science is yet able to formulate laws for human relationships and conduct which it can assert to be the essentials of a continuing social order. Here is where science is called upon to provide an ethical religion with authority adequate for a scientific age because derived from the validity of the social values which it seeks to perpetuate and universalize. These values religion has heretofore seized upon by instinct and feeling, or by the pressure of habit. Its certainty is in the intensity of its feeling, or the apparent invincibility of its logic. In the physical universe natural science corrects or reinforces feeling and reason with the certainty derived from objective tests, from the records of verified observations. Can such objective tests be made in the realm of social relations and values and with any comparable result of certainty?

The objective realities here are, of course, the facts and experiences of human living and out of them social science has already drawn more certainty concerning the way of life for mankind than religion has yet used. The nature, causes, and consequences of poverty, disease, delinquency, and war, the great social ills, are now specifically charted. They root in certain attitudes and relationships which ethical religion has ever declared wrong and urged men to abandon, usually on pain of hell. Now comes social science declaring that the continuance of these attitudes and relationships means the disintegration of society, with the accompanying destruction of personality. Therefore, for that part of the message of reli-

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gion which concerns the escape from evil the modern preacher who knows his social sciences can affirm, "Thus saith the Lord" with the inevitability and finality of demonstrable and verifiable scientific law. It is a matter which Professor Ellwood might profitably have discussed in detail.

There remains, however, the question of whether the appeal to reason can gain the authority to secure the avoidance of evil which the appeal to fear had for earlier times but has lost for this. We live in a period which at the same time reduces the death-rate from preventable disease and increases the destructiveness of war, which admittedly possesses more technique and equipment for securing release from social ills than it is using. Is this failure due to lack of rationality or of some other qualities to which the New Testament gave that primacy which the Greeks awarded to reason. True the reason of experimental science is different from the reason of the speculative intellect, but those who put their trust in its capacity to keep collective humanity out of the broad road that leads to destruction have yet to reckon with the nature of the crowd, with the vast irrationality of life, its insistence upon taking chances, its periodic tenacity of movement in the face of inevitable disaster, of going hell-bent as the old preachers used to say. What does the part played alike by men of science and men of religion in the world-war indicate concerning the power of reason or good will, or both, to control those savage instincts which make for the mutual destruction of the race? By this time the common people know what the next war means, yet in Europe the attitudes and policies of some nations already assume it and this country pursues courses that lead directly toward it. Is it because the springs of collective conduct lie finally deeper than reason, or merely that man in the group has not yet had time to achieve the capacity to act in the light of known consequences?

Certainly there is no hope for civilization, no prospect of the Beloved Community unless this capacity can be developed

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collectively as it has been individually, in the moral order as it has been in the physical order. But just now the race between education and catastrophe is so close that badly as the world needs a positive religion in the sense of one based on objective realities and man's capacity to act in relation to them, still more does it need a religion that is positive in its ability to guide the non-rational and even the irrational elements of life toward a better world.

Does the matter look any differently when we turn from the evil to be shunned to the good to be sought?

Concerning the way that leadeth to life as well as concerning the road to destruction, social science has formulated some general laws. Professor Ellwood emphasizes the part played in human progress by "pattern ideas." Around these civilizations and cultures have formed. They are the dominant social values that have survived the test of experience. Also in part they are the work of creative personalities who have moved the mass, the Utopians imagining the future, and fashioning it, too, whenever their vision coincides with the aspirations and needs of the mass and thus gets the sanction of the common religious instincts and feelings. Out of the survey of these pattern ideas and their consequences, sociology finds the laws of progress, the conditions of a continuing human society. Roughly these are the development of like-mindedness, sympathy, good will, the avoidance of conflict, the universalization of opportunity. This is the way of life and none other. Again science brings certainty to religion.

To get men to take this road, however, requires again more than the rationality that science requires of religion and brings to it. Professor Ellwood sees that science at most can furnish but one of the bases of religion. Religion is and must remain essentially in the realm of faith. That is, it must get men to walk where there is no certainty, to guess, to try, to venture, that life may go forward. By reason are you saved through

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faith, is then the formula for the religious science and the scientific religion. And its effectiveness obviously depends upon the part that reason plays in relation to faith. If it is merely to justify the faith that is already within us, then religion remains static, or becomes reactionary. If it is to justify faith in new ventures by giving her the experience of the past as equipment for the journey, then indeed will reason aid her in the building of a better human world as Professor Ellwood desires.

Is the contribution of social science to religion then limited to the practical problems of human living? It calls for a rational faith that religion may use its contributions to the development of humanity, for a creative faith that religion may supplement and continue them. Has it anything to say about the content of faith, about what man shall believe in? Its testimony concerning the conquest of evil and the capacity of the race for progress is, of course, both challenge and reinforcement to faith in a day when man needs desperately to believe in himself collectively. Then social science, as interpreted by Professor Ellwood, pointing out the absurdity of purely subjective religion, goes on to affirm a moral universe as the essential condition of the progressive moral order it finds in human society, and to demand a religious attitude toward nature and the ultimate reality behind nature.

Of course, we are told that religion must be freed from the trammels of theological dogmatism, that the trend of religion is and must be from theology to sociology, and by way of demonstration Professor Ellwood proceeds to set forth some definite theological views, assuring us that they do not affect the argument of the book. Manifestly the emphasis upon rationality in religion will not diminish but increase the interest in the theology; the more the area of the unknown is diminished in practical living the more free the mind is to adventure in other realms. To require theology to become scientific instead of being dogmatic is to give it a stimulus.

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This process, however, is not advanced by telling us that Christianity informed by social science will reaffirm the belief in God, immortality, the reality of sin and salvation from sin as a part of the universal consciousness of man. Religion and social progress are not damaged as much by the denial of these beliefs in general as by differences over the form and manner of them in particular. What kind of God, what sort of immortality, how to be saved from sin? It is over these issues that men become unsocial and consequently irreligious. Therefore, what religion needs from social science is some appraisal of specific theological beliefs from the standpoint of social values, or at least such analysis of their social consequences as shall enable theology to make its own appraisal.

True, Professor Ellwood points out that social science requires theological beliefs to show that they will result in a better human world, in more fellowship, in enhancing and extending the approved social values. For conventional religion this involves precisely that reversal of relationships between the two worlds in which we live at the same time which Jesus accomplished when he proclaimed the service of man to be the service of God. Before it can be done in modern religion, the social scientist must give us more than generalizations about theological doctrines. For instance, in relation to the two problems over which the mind of man always has ranged and always will—God and evil—he must show us what modern studies of poverty, disease, and delinquency mean in terms of a theory of evil; he must show us in terms of social analysis just what is the relationship between loving God as one's Father and one's neighbor as one's brother, that is, what actual working connection there is between democracy and the concept of God.

This raises the question of what social science has to say about the teaching of Jesus. It declares, according to Professor Ellwood, that there is no other name under heaven whereby men may be saved. This for the reason that his

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teaching of justice, brotherhood, and good will, enunciates the pattern ideas which are the conditions of a cohering and continuing social order. Around these and these only can civilization form. Therefore positive Christianity must proclaim and organize these teachings, for they are in harmony with the fundamental principles of modern social science.

For this leading American sociologists are cited. Giddings with his emphasis upon sympathy and consciousness of kind as the essential factor in human co-operation; Small with his exposition of the place of mutual service and sacrifice in social development; Ross with the formula for social progress, "The maximizing of harmony and co-operation and the minimizing of hostility and conflict"; Cooley with his doctrine of the function of primary groups (those of intimate personal relations, especially the family and neighborhood) in society.

It is here that the evidence lies concerning the social validity of the teaching of Jesus and it needs to be worked out. Cooley proves that the primary groups are the builders of social life, the primary socializing agencies, developing both habits of co-operation and social consciousness. They are also the chief carriers of social tradition, of culture or civilization. Now the teaching of Jesus was obviously and historically the universalizing of the social values and ideals of these primary groups. They are the source of his pattern ideas. This is roughly why and how he has the way of life which social science proves is the only way that humanity can develop. The detailed story of how and why the formative social values and ideals of primary groups were preserved, developed, and given religious sanction among the race from which Jesus sprang has not yet been adequately told by the sociologist. It needs very much more than the scant page Professor Ellwood has given to it.

From the standpoint of anthropology and sociology, Professor Ellwood sees Christianity as a new set of pattern ideas, the precursor of a new type of culture, because it endeavors to

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replace the predatory morality of individuals, classes, tribes, nations with a universal, non-predatory morality. This complicates the task of universalizing the social values of primary groups, for it is evident that all groups have two conflicting sets of pattern ideas, one for their relations within themselves, the other for their relations with other groups. The process of social organization—not merely what Ellwood calls barbarism—by multiplying intergroup relationships, develops the predatory attitudes that characterize their earlier stages and intrenches these behind the sanctions of law and religion. So far civilization has always been nationalistic and predatory, and so far Christianity and humanity alike have been defeated by it. Time and again it has organized the centrifugal forces of human living until they have become stronger than the centripetal, and the social order has broken to bits. With such a situation again impending, Christianity as Professor Ellwood sees it, as the records show it, as the heart of man approves it, comes as it did to the Roman world, as a new religion, proclaiming a new way of life, exhorting mankind to forsake the predatory attitudes of self-seeking groups and organize on a world-scale around the co-operative attitudes of the primary groups. Confronting such a task, it looks to social science for something more than the general statement that humanitarian ethics must have the support of a religion of humanity. It needs analysis of the process by which in some measure the unsocial values of intergroup relationships have already been transcended by the social values developed within primary groups.

The problem is finally one of motivation and Ellwood gives it but a passing touch and a lingering glance in closing. Sound instruction about the control of public opinion and general principles concerning the organization of economics, politics, and the family will bear no fruit until life be moved to seek a better way of life. All this discussion could profitably be exchanged for a detailed account of the part that self-seeking

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motives actually play in human society. The fact is, the general principles enunciated by Ellwood are either now, or at once will be, accepted by the powerful group of intellectual liberals in American Christianity, and yet nothing adequate happens. Why? They know without being told by sociology that the only sufficient motive for human living is love, that love that becomes sacrificial becomes also redemptive, but liberalism has always been without passion, it has never desired the Universal and Beloved Community ardently enough to die for it. So the people perish for lack of knowledge of the way to live, for none may give it them until, like Jesus, they are willing to yield all, church, country, life, for the sake of humanity. To the joint task of science and religion the former can bring only one part of the divine urge—the passion for truth—and that is unavailing without the other part—the passion for fellowship.

For this religion must fall back upon the resources it possessed before social science offered to come to its aid, when alone it proclaimed that love was the supreme good. Much impetus to social progress has been given by those who loved God enough to seek to serve their fellows, and their fellowmen enough to seek to save them from hell, and to try to get them to heaven. The same passion is now working still more effectively in modern social movements, alike among despised radicals and self-sacrificing church members. Can social science show us how it is generated and increased?

For our day does the process lie in working out the possibilities of the union of social science and religion in concrete cases? Does religion wait again upon life? Take for instance the man who hews the coal for us. He needs a more human lot. Science tells us the final condition of its achievement is the reorganization and co-ordination of the production and distribution of coal to secure the greatest human use from that natural resource. It is a long and difficult job. Do the social scientists and the preachers love the coal miner and humanity

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enough to set about their part in it? Or take the case of those who live in the countries to the south of us that are fast becoming financial dependencies of American banking interests and, therefore, the serfs of American politicians and militarists. Science tells us that the only way to save them and ourselves from the disaster of imperialism is to revise our concept and practice of property and its relation to forms of government in the light of what history has discovered in that field. Again do we love these brown-skinned children of God to whom we send our missions, do we love the ideal community, enough to undertake an extremely difficult and disagreeable job? It may be that only in using for human need the tools that science has already fashioned for us shall we increase the love without which reason remains impotent to save mankind from disaster.

In short, the challenge and the impetus that social science brings to religion is to the revolutionary aspects of its social function, and it is the characteristic of Christianity that these bulk larger than its sanction of the good already attained. If preachers content themselves with proclaiming that sociology says in the long run no other than a Christian world is practicable, if sociologists are satisfied with enunciating general principles concerning the harmony between science and Christianity, their salt will soon lose its savor. Ellwood declares that "no crisis in social evolution exceeds the transition from one type of culture to another," and we stand in that situation. The application of the natural sciences to human living has made such transition imperative. We must pass from the individualistic, nationalistic type of culture, with its emphasis upon private rights, to a collective type, emphasizing function and social values. The pattern ideas of the passing age still hold and endanger the life of the world. That they are opposite to the pattern ideas of Jesus is known to religion. That they are antagonistic to the needs of humanity is known to science. If religion and science are then to help each other save the world, all their force must be thrown at the moment

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on the side of the revolutionary culture which Professor Ellwood says Christianity truly is. They cannot afford any tenderness toward the older order such as he has shown in lending aid and comfort to economic classes based on special privilege on the ground that separate economic functions are always necessary, or the church has shown by failing to strike at the roots of the economic order that has produced the twelve-hour day, the seven-day week, and a falling standard of living.

Something more vital than the reconstruction of religion is involved in the thesis of Professor Ellwood. It is creative change that is required. The sinfulness of the present social order, the necessity and the possibility of a new life, this is the message that science requires of religion. And for those who proclaim it, the Black Hundreds and the Inquisition wait, and other Bufords will be chartered. Yet did new life and new religion ever come on any other terms? Did the crowd that lives content in ordinary days, unmoved by reason or by fear, that is swept to destruction by primitive passion in days of war and revolution, ever move a step nearer fellowship and God, away from robbing and killing toward sharing and loving, except the trail were shown by some souls strong enough to take it? If social science and religion, being joined, would now move men, it is required that their word shall become flesh, tread the paths of service, and not turn aside from the way of the cross.

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THE RELIGIOUS APPROACH TO THE LATIN-AMERICAN MIND

SAMUEL GUY INMAN
New York City

Social and intellectual transformations taking place in Latin America at the present time call for corresponding adaptations in missionary methods. The intelligent Mexican or South American is not interested in precise doctrinal statements which mean so much to some, nor does he feel inclined to identify himself with any ecclesiastical organization which would tend to alienate him from his race. He is keenly alive to all that has to do with the welfare of his own country; he is proud of his culture, and believes that the Latin race has a distinct contribution to make to the world. But he is not blinded to racial or national shortcomings, and is willing to co-operate heartily with anyone who has the good of his people at heart and who is ready to labor for human betterment in the spirit of Christ and as a friend of man.

The impression which the religious situation of South America made upon the author during his recent tour of the Continent may be summarized as follows: Religion is considered by a large number of the intellectuals of South America to be organized evil, and when one asks them to accept it he is understood to be asking them to work against progress. The Roman Catholic church is thoroughly aroused to this opposition to its organization and is making far-reaching efforts to overcome it and to checkmate the growing reform movements among laboring men, students, and women. The fight between the church and these ever-multiplying movements for social betterment is a most strenuous contest around which other battles will continue to wage for a period of years. The importance of pure morals has heretofore been little recognized in South America and the connection between morality and religion has seldom been made; there is now, however, a growing interest in ethical questions, which gives hope and invites help. The Evangelical churches and the foreign missionaries, while still occupying a very limited circle in the life of the Continent, have now come to the point where their

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influence is publicly felt and acknowledged to be rapidly increasing. By probing under the surface there is found a movement toward spiritual life, yet it is almost entirely extra-ecclesiastical, confined to a chosen few of the intellectual class.

Facing such a situation, the North American neighbor, who believes in the reality and power of the Christian religion and desires with all sincerity to help his southern friends, will inquire how it can be done.

The first and most obvious answer is—enlarge the present mission work. There can be no doubt that this work has had far reaching results. To it may be traced many of the social movements which are now stirring the land. Little chapels in dark and dangerous streets; quiet meetings in private homes of individual "believers"; small schools, very lacking, from the standpoint of modern pedagogy, in equipment and teaching force; persistent colporteurs tramping over mountain and plain to distribute the word of God—these as well as the more pretentious evangelistic and educational activities which command wide attention from the public are worthy of duplicating a thousand fold. To the pioneers who have struggled along without equipment, in the midst of fanatical opposition, often with little support from home or field, is due full recognition. No one who has studied the results of their work could fail to have the deepest appreciation for it.

Yet everywhere one finds a holy discontent among the missionaries, and a belief that new methods are necessary. Some are even ready to declare that the need is for a new conception of the missionary task. How this should affect any particular situation must be determined by the individual missionary in view of his environment and of his aptitudes. One thing however seems sure and that is that the basis must be personality. Organization, to the Saxon, seems indispensable. "Wherever two or three Americans are found together, there will they meet and organize." But two or three Latins, or many times that number, may be together

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for many moons, without even thinking of organization. The strongest characteristic of the Hispanic American is individualism. This he has inherited from his American and his Iberian-Arabic ancestry. His relationships are personal. The strength of any leader, political or otherwise, in Hispanic America, lies in his personal relations. Candidates for office do not win by strong platforms but by strong friendships. Business is not captured by a fine organization, which is able to undersell and to hurry up deliveries, but by personal relationships with the buyer. Letters of introduction, which have gone out of style with the Anglo-Saxon are still of much value among Latins. An illustration of the importance of recognition of this emphasis on individualism is seen in the case of a leading intellectual figure who is becoming interested in Protestantism, because he considers that Protestant nations have been more progressive than Catholic, while his ideals of pan-Americanism involve logically for him a sympathetic attitude toward the religion of the Anglo-Saxon Republic of the North. His chief difficulty in Protestantism is a sentimental one, derived from a dislike of its historical founder, Martin Luther. For this scholar Luther is *antipatico*. He says that if a man of the type of Francis of Assisi or Abraham Lincoln, instead of the pugnacious Wittenburg monk, had been the founder of Protestantism he would have very much less difficulty in embracing it. Needless to say he should be given new light on the great reformer's character as well as to have pointed out to him that there is more than one type of saintliness needed in the world. The case, however, is interesting as affording an insight into South American psychology. Here it is personality rather than principle that is primarily attractive and for that reason the success of Christianity in this Continent is intimately bound up with the intrinsic attractiveness of the personalities through whom it is mediated. I am more and more convinced that what will ultimately win this Continent will not be naked principle or elaborate organization but living,

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breathing, beaming personalities who will bring people into immediate contact with the living and radiant Lord. Instead of wasting a great deal of initial time in controversial disquisitions about the claims of Protestantism, the divine, human figure of Jesus Christ should be presented in all its effulgence; the message should be above all things Cristocentric—Christ as the satisfier of the heart's longings; Christ as the savior of the individual and society; Christ as the fulness and goal of manhood. Here where bold *Caudillos* have never lacked a following, and men have clung to them through evil and good report, without considering too closely the cause they represented, the words of the Master have a very special significance: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me."

In spite of the well-recognized individualism of the Latin American, however, the Anglo-Saxon missionary in southern countries generally follows his characteristic bent. His first step on taking up his residence in a Latin-American community is very likely to be the setting up of a foreign organization. He thereby makes it just as difficult as possible for anyone with the least standing in the community to approve and accept what the missionary has to offer. Just because the missionary is a foreigner he is on trial in the community. But the organization he sets up makes the matter worse. Organizations are often regarded as only means of forcing methods and ideas upon the unwary and unwilling. But again organization makes unusual demands. The missionary sings hymns and wants his friends to sing. Anyone who knows the educated man of Latin America, with his dignity and reserve, will see how utterly foreign it seems to him to join in singing with a congregation. There are other aspects of this organization quite foreign to Latin-American taste, yet, as he sees the situation, the only way provided for hearing the new truth is to join the organization. If the organization is sheltered in a poorly furnished hall on a side street, as is often the case, and

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if the service is conducted in the broken language of a foreigner, or the uncultured tongue of an uneducated national, the difficulties increase. Is it any wonder that often people who are attracted to the evangelical church are the kind who have nothing to lose in social prestige and no cultural prejudices to overcome? The humble classes need the gospel ministry. One of the greatest contributions made by evangelical Christianity toward the development of Latin-American nations is the raising of the *peones* and *rotos* from serfdom into a thinking, efficient middle class. But evangelical Christianity has a message also for the higher classes who now and for a long time to come will furnish the leadership of these nations. It is everywhere recognized that the method for effectively bringing the gospel to the higher classes of Latin America has not been found. When it is found it will pretty surely center around personality.

This does not mean that to win Latin Americans as loyal disciples of the Lord Jesus, organization must be ignored. Latins need the invigorating influences of organization. The best-organized missions are the ones that are getting the best results. The magnificent work of the Methodist Centenary and the Presbyterian New Era movements in Chile and the Southern Baptist mission of Northern Brazil show this clearly. It rather means more emphasis upon methods which are distinctively personal, which in the passing of time, have greater transforming power, through cultivating friendships, eradicating wrong conceptions of life, and planting the leaven of love. There are thousands of forward looking men in South America who are anxious for fellowship with people who know the outside world as well as the South American world. Time spent with such men would redound to the great good of the people whom the missionary has gone to serve. Many would never become members of the missionaries' organization, but some would, and all would contribute to the missionaries' life-purpose.

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Several experiments have been tried by which it was hoped that missionary work should be carried along with the natural currents of custom and not set up unnecessarily difficult barriers. These are giving most interesting results. The Scotch mission in Lima founded in 1917, instead of starting as usual with a small preaching service, began with a day school which has been built up to the standard of a secondary school which fits young men for the National University. The whole attention of the mission has been so far given to the building up of that school. But no one can go into the home where these boys are boarded and into the classes where they are taught, without realizing what a far reaching evangelistic work is being carried on among them. Who will say that after a term of years the intensive spiritual cultivation given to those young men will not bear as much or even more fruit than the preaching services held by some other mission in a rented hall at certain hours for those who are willing to listen? Is it merely our Anglo-Saxon tradition or is it a careful study of the methods of Christ and Paul, that brands one course as right and the other as "hedging"? The Scotch mission proposes to open a place for the public proclamation of the gospel as soon as the proper foundations are laid. But I, for one, hope that they will so connect such a chapel with their educational work by announcing public lectures, or something of the kind, that it may be easy and natural for educated men and women to attend and hear the message. Since the director of the school has already been recognized in spite of his well-known religious relationships as an eminent educationalist, and has been elected a professor in the National University, such a step could be readily taken.

Another experiment of this sort has been tried in Asuncion, Paraguay, where the Disciples of Christ recently opened the work. The first step was to send a missionary to live in Asuncion, to take courses in the university and to establish relations on a friendly basis with the people of the community.

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These contacts were so well established and confidences so truly gained that when the missionary was ready to establish a school, he found the first people of the community giving blocks of time in helping him find property, run down titles, organize courses, etc. One of the leading lawyers of the city devoted much time to the matter of titles. He would have been entitled to a large fee, but refused to take any at all, because of his interest in the new enterprise. The school and all its foreign teachers are now regarded as a part of the community life in Asuncion, contributing in a large and unique way to the solution of its problems. The government of Paraguay has recently offered to furnish a building in the center of the capital city, to enable this recently established mission school to establish the first kindergarten in Paraguay. It is to be at the same time a training institution for kindergartners. A premature organization of Anglo-Saxon worship, before the Christian workers have made their personal friendships through which the way will lead naturally into organization, would, to my mind, be going both against Latin-American psychology and in the face of apostolic method, and would at the same time greatly delay the real progress of the gospel of Christ in Paraguay.

To bring about a more complete occupation of one of the South American fields one mission board recently agreed to turn over to another the entire evangelical responsibility for a city which is a great student center. The church long established there has not been able to reach the city at large. It has developed a group of sincere believers but they are drawn almost wholly from the uninfluential classes. The new mission is prepared to put a considerable force into the task of reaching that city and its constituencies. Christian strategy would dictate more than the mere multiplication of old methods. This new force should plan a scheme for reaching the intellectual, especially the students who will become the leaders in all that territory. A new missionary might make

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natural contacts with students and fit himself better for reaching all classes of people by taking courses in the university and by inviting little groups to his home. From that might develop a community service, including the public preaching of the gospel, which would reach the whole city. In the meantime the relationship of such a missionary to the group of humble Christians in the little church can be entirely cordial and helpful, but his whole program will not be confined to their circle. In other communities where the church has already started but has a narrow circle of influence, and where there is a desire to reach out into other circles, it might be wise to start an entirely different movement in another part of the town, letting the two develop separately. The one always will react favorably on the other, if they are both conducted with the spirit of love and service that animated Christ in His work.

The first missionaries to Peru were forbidden by the authorities to preach, so they put up a photograph gallery and took the people's pictures. For years they had to be contented with preaching as they photographed. The present mission house in Cuzco has all of its windows made of old photographic plates cleansed of the likenesses of the valley's inhabitants. These missionaries not only made photographs but took contracts for public improvements, selling an iron bridge to the government, the placing of which forms one of the choicest stories ever related in South America. Thus, in this way a standing was gained that ultimately allowed the missionaries not only to open a meeting-place, but to exercise a large influence in that capital city. When permission had been gained to preach the gospel, they felt that they were no longer justified in taking pictures or building bridges or doing any other form of general community service. What was the outcome? The city soon concluded that they were merely trying to establish a foreign religion among them. The services were attended by the merest handful of ignorant

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people. More recently through their hospital and school work, which they are now building up, the missionaries are finding a new contact with the community life.

It goes without saying that the people of Latin America should be accustomed to listen to preaching. The pulpit has proved its worth through the ages and the Latin-American churches must use it. The question may well be raised, however, whether the most effective preaching must follow unchanging forms. Must a missionary always call his public address a sermon rather than a *conferencia*, as other public addresses are called; must he always take a text and read from the Bible and have congregational singing; must the meeting always be closed with prayer, no matter how many people are kept away by ecclesiastical forms which they regard either as foolish or as compromising? Must the Protestant mark be stamped on all that is published, when to do so often keeps perfectly good people who are honestly interested in the truth, from examining such literature?

"We are ten thousand miles away from these people" said a worker recently when we were discussing the problem of evangelism. That remark will stay with me as long as another of the same sort made by a very conservative missionary on an earlier trip to South America: "We might as well expect to convert these people to Mohammedanism as to the program which we Protestants are now presenting to them." Yet this program can be made both popular and definitely religious. There is no reason for "soft-pedaling" on religion in a school or social center, at a hospital or in a public *conferencia*. South Americans are much more accustomed to talk on religious topics than are North Americans. I have been before many a gathering where there was much hostility to one or both forms of organized Christianity, but never have found opposition to a frank and tactful declaration that I believed in God and was convinced that direct and intimate contact with Him was necessary for a man's or a nation's highest development.

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Along these lines one may present his profoundest convictions, and his audiences will continue to grow in interest and in culture.

Latin America hungers for the message of Christ. It does not like the purely Anglo-Saxon method of presenting that message, nor does it care for an emphasis on dogma. Said a very fine Chilean gentleman recently, when explaining his unwillingness to join a Protestant church, "I will do anything for Christ, but nothing for controversy." With only a preaching program evangelical forces may continue in cities like Buenos Aires, Havana, Lima, and Santiago during the whole twentieth century and still the people will be largely ignorant of their presence or indifferent to it.

Latin America needs a religion which will help each individual to solve his problems. A professor in the normal school in Peru said: "The kind of religion we would accept would be one that emphasized beauty, love, and service—one that takes you away from fear. I left the Catholic church because they were always talking about the *infierno*. Maybe it will be as horrible as they say, but I propose to have a little respite from it here. We want something encouraging, not an everlasting threat. Teach us a religion that exalts life and service and we will accept it." It needs likewise a religion that will help to solve the problems of each nation. In discussing with a thoughtful Chilean the question of a probable uprising of the common people of that country against the privileged classes, he said that the only hope he saw of preventing it was the starting by the Protestant churches of a movement of sufficient strength to bring about the necessary reforms through education. Enlightenment and unselfishness are the only hope for the solution of the industrial, economic, moral, social, and political problems that multiply so rapidly in those countries. With the mistakes of Anglo-Saxon countries as a guide, the new industrialism might prevent the exploitation of women and children or the clashing of labor and capital; and to encourage

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the development of proper philanthropic organizations, of eleemosynary institutions, of recreative facilities for the young and of an educational system that will put morality first. But Protestantism at present is far from meeting these needs.

It would seem that evangelical missionaries in Latin America have three distinctive services to render. One is the building up of an evangelical church which shall furnish a spiritual home and a working organization through which its membership shall do its part in serving God and humanity. Another is the cleansing of the Roman Catholic church from the error and superstition which clogs its Christian service. The third is the uplift of whole communities to a plane where everyone has a chance to be physically, morally, and spiritually at his best. Which of these services is most important who can say? They are more or less interrelated in their development; but it is the latter service which is awakening the heartiest response today from our southern neighbors.

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DID JESUS CALL HIMSELF THE SON OF MAN?

CARL S. PATTON
Los Angeles, California

The Synoptic Gospels represent Jesus as calling himself the "Son of Man." The contention of this article is that Jesus did not use this self-designation.

1. The Synoptic Gospels represent Jesus as attempting to avoid being known as "the Messiah." This conflicts with his use of a title which carried an unmistakable messianic meaning.

2. In certain instances the phrase belongs to an editorial observation which has become a part of Jesus' conversation.

3. Sometimes the phrase is inserted by Matthew or Luke into a passage from Mark which is without it. Occasionally these insertions alter or spoil the original meaning of the passage.

4. In many passages common to Matthew and Luke and not found in Mark, one of the later evangelists lacks the phrase where the other has it.

5. In other instances where the phrase is common to Matthew and Luke, the passage bears evidence of later working over. In other passages the phrase is textually suspicious.

If Jesus did not call himself the Son of Man, did he entertain the idea of his messiahship and of his parousia which the church attributed to him?

Throughout the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus is represented as calling himself the "Son of Man." It has been generally agreed that this representation is correct. It is the contention of this paper that this consensus of opinion is erroneous, and that there is every reason to think that Jesus did not use this self-designation.

Whatever the phrase "Son of Man" may have meant in its Aramaic original, there is no doubt that to the writers of the gospels it was a designation for the Messiah. But even to those who think of Jesus as always conscious of his messiahship, his use of this title is still full of difficulties.

The most general of these difficulties is, that the Synoptic Gospels represent Jesus as making a constant effort to avoid being known as the Messiah. "He suffered not the demons to speak, because they knew him," says Mark.[1] Luke fills the sentence out by adding, "to be the Messiah."[2] Even after the confession of Peter at Caesarea, when Jesus had acknowl-

[1] Mark 1:34. [2] Luke 4:41.

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edged his messiahship in the intimate circle of his disciples, he still forbade them to tell anyone that he was the Christ. But if Jesus thus refused to allow himself to be known as the Messiah, how could he, habitually and in passages long anterior to those just referred to, have referred to himself by a title which would have betrayed his messiahship to the crowd? Indeed, why should Jesus have referred to himself in the third person, under this or any other title? Why should he not always have said "I," as other men do, and as he himself did in many of his most emphatic passages?

Particular instances of Jesus' reported use of this title support the suspicion aroused by this general consideration. One of the most obvious of these instances is found in the story of the paralytic borne by his four friends.[1] The account runs: "In order that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins, he saith to the sick of the palsy, I say unto thee, Arise." No one can have read this sentence without feeling its illogical construction. To be logically constructed it should read, either, "In order that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins, I will now say to the sick of the palsy, Arise"; or "In order that they might know that the Son of Man had power on earth to forgive sins, He said to the sick of the palsy, Arise." The first of these two orders would make the speech throughout a speech of Jesus. The second would make it throughout a part of the narrative. In the sentence as it actually runs, the point of view is partly that of the speaker, Jesus, and partly that of the narrator, Mark. But if the clause which contains the title "Son of Man" be taken, not as part of the speech of Jesus, but as part of Mark's own narration, the confusion in the persons of the verbs disappears and the whole statement is quite natural. In other words, in this instance the phrase "Son of Man" seems naturally to go back to Mark and not to Jesus.

[1] Mark 2:10; Matt. 9:6; Luke 5:24.

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There is a somewhat similar instance in which the words "the Son of Man" occur in what seems like an editorial addition; the phrase is found in all three synoptics, Matthew and Luke evidently taking it and its entire context from Mark.[1] The phrase occurs at the end of the discussion concerning Jesus' walking through the corn on the Sabbath: "Therefore the Son of Man is lord also of the Sabbath." This closing sentence fits the argument about the Sabbath so poorly that Schmidt, in his *Prophet of Nazareth*, has argued from it that the phrase "Son of Man" did not refer to Jesus, nor to any other individual, but to man generally. If "the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," the appropriate conclusion is that man, as such, is lord of the Sabbath, and not, as Mark has it, "the Son of Man." If however the argument of Jesus be allowed to conclude with Mark's verse 27, and his verse 28 be regarded as an addition by Mark himself, Jesus is relieved of this illogical conclusion. The verse will then have come from a time when the proper observance of the Sabbath was not quite settled among the Christians, and when the example of Jesus was adduced, as it probably often was, in support of a certain freedom of observance.

In an instance peculiar to Luke the same phrase would seem with equal clearness to be part of an editorial comment, though appearing upon the surface as part of a saying of Jesus. It is that of the parable of the Unjust Judge.[2] The obvious purpose of the parable is to exhort men to patience and to a continued belief in God's justice. The parable closes with the question, "Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find the faith in the earth?" Noting the article before the word "faith," one asks, "What faith"? And answers, naturally, the faith which Jesus had taught, the faith of the Christian church. But who was in doubt about the continuance of that faith? Not Jesus, certainly. Who then? Luke himself. In the mouth of Jesus, spoken at a time when

[1] Mark 2:28; Matt. 12:8; Luke 6:5. [2] Luke 18:8.

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he was not "coming," but was actually there, the words add nothing to the parable, and are quite out of place. But in the mouth of Luke, written during a period of persecution and uncertainty, they bear pathetic witness to the difficulty of maintaining the new faith in view of the long delay of the parousia.

An equally clear instance of the misplacing of our phrase is found in Matthew's form of the question addressed by Jesus to his disciples, "Who do men say that the Son of Man is?"[1] Matthew and Luke take the entire passage from Mark. Luke, like Mark, makes Jesus ask, quite naturally, "Who do men say that I am?" Matthew's insertion of the phrase "Son of Man" spoils the question by making it carry its own answer. Considering the fact that when Matthew goes on to make Jesus direct his question to his disciples, it reads, not "Who do ye say that the Son of Man is?" but "Who do ye say that I am?" one may conclude without much hesitation that the phrase in the earlier question is a gloss upon the original gospel of Matthew.

Equally plain is the case of the incident recorded by Luke[2] of the reception of Jesus in the Samaritan village, closing with the words, "For the Son of Man did not come to destroy men's lives (souls) but to save them." As in so many instances where this phrase is used, the tense of the verb is aorist. It is not, "the Son of Man has come," or "is come," but "came"; thus seeming to betray the point of view of one who looks back upon the life of Jesus and sums up its significance in a single statement. That in this instance the words are an editorial addition, and not a part of the speech of Jesus, is clearly confirmed by the fact that they are lacking in the best manuscripts and are omitted by Westcott and Hort. The same may be said of Luke's words[3] appended to the conversation between Jesus and Zaccheus. Though in this instance no manuscript authority exists for the rejection of

[1] Matt. 16:13. [2] 9:51–56. [3] 19:10.

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the words, "For the Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost," they obviously constitute an editorial addition to the actual speech of Jesus, explaining why he spoke so graciously, and indicating the developed conception of his work which prevailed in the church at the time of the writing of Luke's gospel.

A similar instance is that of Jesus' discourse on true greatness.[1] "Whoever would be great among you," says Jesus, "let him be your servant." Matthew follows Mark in the additional words, "For even the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." The words are well attested. In Luke's rendering of the same speech,[2] however, which has evidently been somewhat worked over by Luke or has been influenced in his account by other sources than Mark, the words are lacking. In Matthew, also, the words are followed, in various manuscripts, by a considerable addition in the same vein. Quite without the suggestion contained in these facts, one can but consider this sentence of Mark's (and Matthew's), with others of the same kind already considered, as an editorial comment of the gospel writers, intended by them to enforce Jesus' advice by his own example both in life and death. The perfectly definite reference to the death of Jesus, and the developing conception of what that death meant to the world, would almost of themselves stamp the words as an utterance of the growing faith of the church, and not as an utterance of Jesus himself.

We may advance the matter a step further by observing somewhat more in detail some of the passages where the phrase "the Son of Man" is inserted in one gospel where the parallel passage in one or both of the other gospels is without it. Thus in the passage which Matthew takes from Mark,[3] he inserts (vs. 28) the phrase "the Son of Man coming in his

[1] Mark 10:45; Matt. 20:28. [2] Luke 22:24–27.

[3] Matt. 16:24–28; Mark 8:34—9:1; Luke 9:23–27.

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kingdom." Bousset has called attention to the fact that in this instance, and in several others peculiar to Matthew, the conception of a kingdom of Christ seems to have taken the place of the Kingdom of God about which Jesus preached. Any such substitution of one conception for the other must of course be much later than the time of Jesus. That such a substitution has taken place in this instance is confirmed by the fact that Mark and Luke not only lack the phrase "the Son of Man," but instead of "in his (Christ's) kingdom" read simply and naturally, "the Kingdom of God."

Matthew has a similar insertion of our phrase in his sentence,[1] "When the Son of Man sits upon the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the tribes of Israel." The body of this section appears to be taken from Mark,[2] but to have been influenced in both Matthew and Luke by a non-Markan source common to them. The part of the discourse containing our phrase is apparently taken by both Matthew and Luke, not from Mark but from this other source. But though Luke has thus derived his statement "Ye shall sit on twelve thrones judging the tribes of Israel" from the same source as Matthew, Luke's version of it does not contain the phrase "the Son of Man." Matthew has added it. The source of Matthew and Luke is here obviously an old one, probably older than Mark, going back to a time of predominantly Jewish Christianity; but the phrase added by Matthew does not appear to have been contained in it. Matthew's habit of heightening the eschatological character of various passages is further illustrated by the fact that elsewhere in this same section he reads "the Son of Man upon the throne of his glory," where Luke reads merely "my kingdom." Here again, of course, in both gospels, occurs the substitution of the kingdom of Christ for the Kingdom of God.

In Matthew's twenty-fourth chapter[3] occur two instances of our phrase peculiar to him, though he is here depending

[1] Matt. 19:28. [2] Mark 10:28 f. [3] Vss. 30 and 39.

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upon Mark. "The little apocalypse," to which the passage belongs, is now generally considered to be a Jewish document worked over, or worked into the speech of Jesus, by the evangelists or by a tradition anterior to them. In the first instance just referred to, Matthew has the words, "And then shall be seen the sign of the Son of Man in heaven"; they are lacking in both Mark and Luke. In the second instance, the passage concerning "the days of Noah," Matthew and Luke (Mark has here no parallel) once use our phrase in common;[1] but Matthew adds it a second time[2] where it is lacking in Luke. That the words are to be credited to Matthew (or his source?) instead of to Jesus, is further indicated by the fact that here, as in other instances where the phrase is peculiar to him, he has coupled them with the word "parousia," a usage peculiar to Matthew.

While Matthew contains a larger number of the insertions of our phrase where Luke or Mark (or both) in parallel passages are without it, Luke is to be credited with a few such insertions. In his beatitude[3] "Blessed are ye when men shall hate you . . . . on account of the Son of Man," Matthew's somewhat close parallel to this beatitude is without this phrase. This is one of the few passages where the phrase is not used in an eschatological sense. But Luke's language here, implying that the Christians are or have been persecuted for their messianic expectations concerning Jesus, certainly betrays a time much later than that of Jesus himself. The passage[4] "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will the Son of Man confess before the angels of God" is obviously eschatological. It contains the same confusion of first and third persons which has been noted in other instances. In his parallel verse Matthew says simply, "Him will I confess."[5] In most instances, therefore, it is Matthew, but in a few

[1] Matt. 24:37; Luke 17:26. [2] Vs. 39. [3] 6:22. [4] Luke 12:8.

[5] Other instances of Luke's peculiar use of our phrase have been discussed above, but they occur in passages not duplicated in the other gospels.

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instances it is Luke, who represents Jesus as referring to himself as "the Son of Man" where in the other gospel he says simply "I," "me," or "mine."

In one or two instances Matthew and Luke agree in the use of our phrase where they are dependent upon Mark but where Mark does not use it. Most notable of these is the passage concerning "the sin against the Holy Ghost." I suppose that any reference to "the Holy Ghost" in the mouth of Jesus is liable to suspicion on general grounds; since the Fourth Gospel undoubtedly represents the early tradition that "the Holy Ghost was not given" till after the death of Jesus. In this case, however, we are not left to such general considerations. Matthew and Luke agree in making Jesus say,[1] "Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him." They thus contrast those who speak against Jesus, with those who speak against the Holy Ghost; the former may be forgiven, the latter not. Mark,[2] from whom the passage is taken, does not contain this contrast, as he does not contain our phrase. He does, however, have the phrase "the sons of men." If Mark had before him the same source from which Matthew and Luke derived their phrase "the Son of Man," it is hard to say why he should have replaced this phrase, with its direct and unmistakable reference to Jesus, by his more general and colorless phrase. But the entire passage, either as recorded in Mark or in some earlier source or as worked over by Matthew and Luke, obviously comes from a period of the developing life of the church when the members of the church were recipients of the Spirit and those outside were not. Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost was then much worse than blasphemy against the Son of Man, because one might speak ill of Jesus without knowing or understanding him, but one who spoke ill of the Holy Spirit struck at the very life of the church, and reviled the gift by which all Christians lived. The pas-

[1] Matt. 12:32; Luke 12:10. [2] 3:28–29.

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sage reminds one of Paul's statement, "I give you to understand that no one speaking in the Spirit calleth Jesus accursed," and was probably written, or assumed its present form, somewhere near the time these words of Paul were written.

There remain certain instances where the phrase "the Son of Man" is used by both Matthew and Luke, in parallel passages not derived from Mark. Such is the passage in which Jesus compares himself to Jonah and Solomon.[1] Luke says simply that as Jonah was a sign to his generation, so the Son of Man shall be to his. The meaning seems eschatological. Matthew however changes the meaning by introducing the extremely definite prediction about the "three days and nights in the heart of the earth." The definiteness of this prediction, so different from anything else reputed to have been said by Jesus, has of itself led many to suspect that the exact wording of Matthew's passage took shape after the resurrection. This explanation would certainly relieve Jesus of the responsibility of comparing himself so freely with Solomon, and claiming such superiority to him—a thing eminently proper for the early church to do, but somewhat strange as coming from Jesus himself.

A similar passage, open to a similar objection, is that in which Jesus compares his parousia to the lightning.[2] Of this comparison, Bousset[3] remarks that it can be attributed to Jesus only upon the supposition that he had "completely mythologized his own person." Of the passage, "Ye know not in what hour the Son of Man cometh,"[4] it need only be remarked how ill the words fit the time of Jesus himself, and how well they fit the period in which the gospels were written, when men were looking with eager expectancy for the parousia. The same thing is true of the statement, "Ye shall not finish the cities of Israel before the Son of Man be come.[5] If as has been suggested by Mr. James Hardy Ropes (if I remember

[1] Matt. 12:40; Luke 11:30. [3] *Kyrios Christos*, pp. 11–12.
[2] Matt. 24:27; Luke 17:24. [4] Matt. 24:44; Luke 12:40. [5] Matt. 10:23.

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correctly), the section in which this saying occurs was first compiled as a book of instructions to the early Christian preachers, the words fall beautifully into place; the preachers are to make haste, as their task can hardly be completed, at best, before the parousia. In the mouth of Jesus, alive and well and with no immediate prospect of death before him, they are strangely out of place.

It would be too tedious to ask the reader to examine every passage in which our Synoptic Gospels use the phrase "the Son of Man." By far the larger part of them have now been gone over. To the writer's mind, not one of them is unsuspect. In many instances the phrase is obviously inserted by one writer into a context where one or both of the other gospels are without it. In others, it is textually suspicious. In others it is obviously an editorial remark which the author never intended to be taken as part of the speech of Jesus. In others its introduction produces confusion in the persons of the verbs and in the structure of the sentence. In others it betrays a point of view obviously unlike that of Jesus and impossible in his time. It abounds in passages which speak of the death and resurrection and "parousia" of Jesus in precisely such terms as he would not have been likely to use but as were entirely natural for his followers to employ after his death and while awaiting his parousia.

If Jesus did not call himself the Son of Man, the question naturally arises, at what period the phrase began to be applied to him. Light is thrown upon this question by the fact that the phrase is never employed by Paul. It is found once in the book of Acts, in the mouth of Stephen; but the speech of Stephen is probably much later than Stephen himself. It occurs in the common non-Markan document that lies behind Matthew and Luke; whatever that document be called, its most probable date is a few years later than the Pauline epistles. The title is used oftener by Mark than by this earlier source, and oftener by Matthew and Luke than by

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Mark—an indication that it only gradually acquired its place as a recognized messianic title of Jesus.

If Jesus did not call himself the Son of Man, the further question remains whether, and how far, he thought of himself, in any way, at any time, as the Messiah; or whether, if he did, he connected with that idea those images of a return upon the clouds and a messianic throne and kingdom which the early church reports him as having entertained. The present study is of course not conclusive upon such a point. But many or most of those messianic conceptions which are most materialistic and most obnoxious to modern minds, find their expression in precisely those passages where the phrase "the Son of Man" is most freely used. The present study does certainly throw doubt upon the authenticity of these passages as coming from Jesus, and therefore relieves him of the responsibility for the grosser elements of the messianic conception.

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THEOLOGICAL DOCTRINES AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

A. M. SANFORD
Columbian College, New Westminster, B.C.

Recognizing the importance of doctrinal formulation in influencing ideals, this article makes certain suggestions concerning theological tendencies today. The older theology employed analogies taken from a régime of political autocracy. The modern social consciousness protests against these conceptions. This protest is responsible for the modern emphasis on divine fatherliness, the modification of the doctrine of retributive punishment, and the ideal of God as a never-ceasing co-worker with man in the achieving of good.

Correct intellectual conceptions of life must necessarily be a large factor in the origination and furtherance of movements for the improvement of the race. It must be acknowledged that individuals often act in a way conducive to social progress even though their systems of belief logically work toward reaction. In such cases their action is wiser than their doctrine. Many who believe that the present world is not only getting worse but must get increasingly worse until the Son of Man returns with catastrophic power to overthrow unrighteousness will nevertheless vote right upon measures such as Prohibition which are designed to make the world better at once. With a professed despair concerning the conquering power of the spiritual forces now in operation under the guidance of the Spirit of God, they nevertheless often unite in practical action with those who believe that the Kingdom of God may be established through the larger incoming of the spirit of Christ into the life of humanity.

It is undeniable, however, that such contradictions between theory and action make rapid progress in social development impossible. If we are to have enthusiasm and conquering power we must have a theory of life that will unloose all the energies of our souls. Men cannot achieve much success in

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social reform when they believe in the inevitableness of failure. The spirit that promotes progress rests upon a belief that righteousness may be established and must be established now by the use of forces that our Lord and Master has placed at our command.

Clear, consistent thinking greatly promotes effectiveness of action. Whether we approve or disapprove of the Marxian theory that the making of profit upon the labor of others involves the robbery of the toiler, we can see that with its clear-cut definite message, it has done more to promote the present social unrest prevailing in all countries than almost all other factors put together. Every day the might of this theory is revealed. The number of thoroughgoing Marxian Socialists in America is not large but the influence of their propaganda has endangered capitalistic interests everywhere. They are mightily effective because they have a clear-cut theory as to the rights of labor, and have the enthusiasm and vigor for propaganda that such thinking always inspires. And this theory will doubtless continue to produce unrest and industrial strife until either the system of profit ceases or profit is shown to be socially necessary and advantageous.

If there is such dynamic in any clear-cut theory, why should we not bring our theological doctrines under review and see whether they have in them the power of moving men to action in the direction of promoting a world-order based upon righteousness? If we are able to interpret doctrinal beliefs to men so that their social value is evident, there will be a new interest in religion and a great acceleration of progress in everything that pertains to the welfare and happiness of humanity. If they cannot stand this test of social value, let them be added to the large list of discarded opinions and beliefs that men once considered the essentials of religious truth but which have been thrown aside never to be taken up again.

The development of the social consciousness has wrought havoc with many ideas that once were considered essential to

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the Christian faith. As an illustration let me give a few lines from Joseph Alleine's *Alarm to Unconverted Sinners:*

> Know therefore that while thou art unconverted, the Infinite God is engaged against thee. . . . . As much as heaven is above the earth, omnipotence above impotence, infinity above nullity; so much more horrible is it to fall into the hands of the living God than into the paws of bears and lions, yea, furies or devils. His face is against thee. His heart is against thee. His hand is against thee The holiness of God is full of antipathy against thee. He is not only angry with thee (so he may be with his own children) but he hath a fixed, rooted, habitual displeasure against thee. The power of God is mounted like a mighty cannon against thee. . . . . Power and anger together make fearful work. . . . . The wisdom of God is set to ruin thee. He hath ordained his arrows and prepared instruments of death and made all things ready. His counsels are against thee to contrive thy destruction. He laughs to see how thou wilt be taken and ensnared in the evil day. . . . . All the attributes of an infinite God are bound by an oath to punish thee. . . . . If the Almighty hath power to torment thee, thou shalt be perfectly miserable in soul and body to all eternity unless it be prevented by speedy conversion.

Where do we hear such a voice today? What has occurred? Simply this: The world has largely passed out from autocratic systems of human government, and with the larger emphasis placed upon the rights of men has outgrown those conceptions of God which made him a capricious and unreasonable tyrant. Alleine's preaching was effective in the day when absolute monarchs, filled with caprice, hatred, and self-glory, wrought their own will upon the persons and possessions of their subjects. But in an age of democratic ideals and institutions it awakens no response. In fact it repels all right-thinking people.

In the nineteenth century great social questions tended to bring out the contrast between tyrannical and humane conceptions of God. When the system of human slavery was in danger, its defenders turned to the Bible for weapons to use in the struggle. The fact that at that time the great mass of the people believed that inspiration involved infallibility and

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that all parts of the Bible were equally inspired made it possible to build up an argument that slavery was an institution sanctioned by God. On the other hand, the moral consciousness of many good men was in revolt. Whittier, reading in the *Courier* of Charleston, S.C., concerning a celebrated pro-slavery meeting held September 4, 1835, was mightily indignant when his eyes rested on these words: "The clergy of all denominations attended in a body, lending their sanction to the proceedings, and adding by their presence to the impressive character of the scene."

> Just God! and these are they
> Who minister at thine altar, God of Right!
> Men who their hands with prayer and blessing lay
> On Israel's Ark of light!
> What! preach and kidnap man?
> Give thanks,—and rob thy own afflicted poor?
> Talk of thy glorious liberty, and then
> Bolt hard the captive's door?
> What! servants of thy own
> Merciful Son, who came to seek and save
> The homeless and the outcast,—fettering down
> The tasked and plundered slave!
> How long, O Lord! how long
> Shall such a priesthood barter truth away,
> And in thy name, for robbery and wrong
> At thy own altars pray?

The logic of events was that a system of biblical interpretation which outraged the growing moral consciousness of men could not stand.

Contemporaneous with the changes from autocracy to democracy in government, and with the development of humaner feelings and methods in regard to the slave, the outcast, the unfortunate, changes were taking place in the realm of theological thought and in the method of studying the Scriptures. The scientific spirit was abroad and could not but affect the viewpoints of men concerning religion. The criticism of biblical writings began to shake the old foundations of faith.

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In the midst of great uncertainty concerning some of the books of the Bible, many persons fell back upon the narratives which tell how Jesus moved among the masses in the days of his flesh. The human Jesus was re-discovered and the more clearly his spirit was discerned, the more fully did men feel that he truly represented the attitude of God to men. His great message of the Fatherhood of God, a Fatherhood which was beautifully portrayed in the Parable of the Prodigal Son, awakened a response in the moral consciousness of men. They felt that this presentation of God and his love must be the truth. Thus all conceptions of God that made him tyrannical and unloving were gradually but surely undermined. Crude views may long survive, but the great mass of good men will refuse to retain pagan conceptions of the character of God. The Eternal Father cannot be lacking in all those virtues that we expect an ordinary good father to have today. As Whittier said:

> Can hatred ask for love? Can Selfishness
> Invite to self-denial? Is he less
> Than man in kindly dealing? Can he break
> His own great law of fatherhood, forsake
> And curse his children?

The changes that have taken place in government, social conceptions, and theology have made it impossible for many preachers of Christianity to proclaim the doctrine of an everlasting fire in hell from which there can be no escape for a sinner who dies unforgiven. Eternal loss is possible. If I have sinned against God and men today, if I have failed to do my duty toward them, I have lost something that I can never regain. But belief in eternal unconditional punishment is not easy in an age which believes that Jesus truly interpreted God's thought and spirit, that God is a real Father to men. It is not easy in an age which is adopting programmes of prison reform and the parole system, which is emphasizing the principle that punishment should be preventive and remedial

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rather than retributive, which recognizes that many crimes are the result of abnormal physical or psychical conditions, which is looking forward to the abolition of capital punishment. The idea behind this modern attitude toward offenders is that God expects his children to put forth the best possible effort to effect the restoration of the lost. Will he himself fail to honor the principle? "Is he less than man in kindly dealing?" The eternal damnation of unbaptized infants was once accepted almost universally as an essential truth of Christianity. But it is rejected by countless millions today who feel that it is a reflection upon the character of God. It has broken down before the logic of a mother's love and before the development of humane feelings in the hearts of the people. In an age charged with social sympathies it is strangely out of place.

Theological and social progress are inseparable; they act and react upon each other. Sometimes the impulse forward comes from the social reformer and sometimes from the student of theology. Where doctrines are crude or social conditions unjust, there is bound to be a revolt which sooner or later affects both realms. In the Protestant Reformation religious and economic factors worked together. Luther was stirred by the sight of religious abuses and from this was led to call into question the whole ecclesiastical system. Many of the princes of Germany were glad to be free from the political domination of Rome and were particularly pleased to support a movement which interfered with the continuous stream of gold flowing to the Vatican. In England likewise the great change was brought about and maintained by governmental, social, and religious influences working together. In our modern age we see the revolt against unjust conditions in the industrial realm, and on the other hand we witness a great revival of interest in the messages of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, brought about by the application of the historical method to the study of the Scriptures. In the center of all the conflicting and co-operating forces stands the personality of Jesus who is

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claimed alike by the theologian and by the industrial reformer. Thus by many lines of impulsion the Spirit of God is pushing the world forward to clearer conceptions of truth and to a larger, fuller life for humanity. The Christian church should open its heart to the inspiring, energizing, and unifying influence of that Spirit. It should have broad social ideals and sympathies and such a theory of God's relationships to men that in thought and action it would be the most consistent and influential of all organizations in ushering in the better day.

This transformation of theological conceptions under the influence of social ideals may be illustrated by noting certain aspects of the modern conception of God.

We must recognize that all static views of God are inimical to social progress. He is the living God and as a great personality has ever given expression to himself in many and varied activities. Some of our teachers, however, would have us believe that he did not begin to work until about six thousand years ago. The logic of their theory is that previous to that time he existed as a Being inert, silent, motionless, finding satisfaction in self-contemplation. Through all eternity, forever and forever, he lived without even matter around him out of which to fashion a universe. This earth with its resources, problems, and destiny was only an afterthought. About six thousand years ago he created matter out of nothing by fiat and in six days made the world and created man. Such a theory dishonors God and deprives man of all inspiration for a life of service. If God did nothing for all eternity, why should man look upon a life of activity as either necessary or desirable?

Fortunately, scientific men have given us a much more extensive view of what the Christian may rightly term the activities of God. Perhaps man has been living upon this planet for 100,000 years. This in no wise should give a shock to theological students except that the time claimed may be altogether too short. From a doctrinal point of view I would be glad if they could prove that man's life upon this or some

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other planet extended over millions of years. It would show that the heart of the Eternal Father always appreciated children.

Nor should there be any dismay over the claim that this earth is some hundreds of millions of years old and that the universe as a whole has a history that can hardly be measured. Any statement of this kind is preferable to the idea that God just began to work a few thousand years ago. In fact it is just as easy for me to believe in the eternity of matter as to accept the theory that this vast and mighty universe was created out of nothing. So long as the personality of God is retained, I see no reason why we should not think of him working in every part of this great world throughout an immeasurable past. The fact that the human spirit reveals its directing and controlling power in the operations of a material body does not destroy its supremacy. Rather, therein does it reveal its supremacy, its transcendence. My spirit is now operating through my brain and hand but it is greater than either. It is transcendent and immanent. Is it a thing impossible that the great Personality whom we call God should always have operated through the material universe? The Pauline doctrine given in Eph. 4:6 is strictly up-to-date: "One God and Father of all who is over all and through all and in you all." This view may seem to place limitations upon the nature and operations of the Divine; but we do this also in other phases of our reasoning, as for instance when we attribute personality to human beings, accepting the fact that they have the power to will either for or against the purposes of God. To escape this dilemma thinkers have often resorted to Pantheism, but I would prefer to accept the theory that there are limitations to the power and activities of God. This makes it possible for us to accept the theory of the everlastingness of matter so long as we guard the point that through it all the Divine Spirit has been ceaselessly operating and using all things for the expression of his will.

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Let us return to the aim of this phase of our discussion which is to establish the theory of God as the Eternal Worker. As Jesus said, "My Father worketh until now and I work" (John 5:17). The Christian view of life involves work, a proper use and development of the material world for the good of mankind. Such effort is not optional. It is the law of the universe; it is the will of God. Every man is bound to do his best even as God has been doing his best. God *has* been doing his best. You cannot accept the alternative that he has only been using his resources in a limited measure. If you do, you have no legitimate ground upon which to demand that men should put forth special effort in any line whatever. The view of God advocated in this paper makes it imperative for every person to use his powers to the fullest extent possible for the good of humanity. We must seek to discover and utilize all the resources of our world to the end that the personalities of men may be developed to the highest possible degree. There is no slackening in production according to God's plan of life. Just now the Eternal Worker is calling upon all men to cease fighting and to *produce, produce, produce, to distribute, to distribute, to distribute.* The scientist, the miner, the fisherman, the carpenter, the farmer, should co-operate with God not for increased profits but to meet the needs of millions who are sorely pressed for the bare necessities of life. The "slacker" in peace is just as unworthy as the "slacker" in war.

If the aim of God is the enrichment of the personalities of men so that they may have fellowship with himself and live helpfully and happily together among themselves, then the preacher, the teacher, the philosopher, the poet, the musician, the artist, all may find their places as workers together with God. Every sphere of human life is dignified by this thought and every worker has the highest inspiration for service.

Such a view of God not only sets before us a great example but it indicates the imperative nature of our responsibility. In the spiritual realm as well as in the physical, if anything more

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is to be done for men, *we must do it.* God cannot do any more until we put forth more effort. When we begin he will work through us. There are some who think that God has great resources of power that he is not using, power that he will only use when we intercede earnestly with him. Such a view means that he could look on a world in sin and misery without doing his utmost to help it, that he could take a half-hearted interest in the salvation of men and that anything he might do would be in the nature of a condescension. This is the old aristocratic view of God. The God whom I seek to worship and serve is One who could not look upon a world in need without putting forth all his power to save, One who is now doing everything possible to lead humanity to fulness of life. If anything more is to be done—and every sane person recognizes that the needs of every nation, material and spiritual, are enormous and that great constructive plans must be carried out to save the people and the interests of civilization—then the most tremendous responsibility comes to each one of us to enlist in the service and to do our best. We cannot depend upon an upward tendency or even a Divine Urge to ensure progress. Civilization may fail, chaos may become universal, the darkness of medieval night may once again settle down upon the world. God could not have saved Europe from the barbarism of the fifth, seventh, and tenth centuries or he would have done it. If he could have done it, what view are we to take concerning his character? The trouble was that too few persons shared in his sympathies and activities. Altogether too few were under the influence of his great heart of love and the guidance of his Spirit. And today as seldom before in the world's history every interest of God and man is imperilled. Progress is not inevitable. Eternal vigilance is not only the price of liberty but of everything upon which man depends for nobler living. Good will not be the final goal of ill unless we make it so. And in the effort to win the world for truth and love and righteousness every last man will count.

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Let us go out and get more men! With hearts and lives fully surrendered to God and his purposes we shall share with him in the achievement of the great desire of his heart—the emancipation and perfecting of the race, the full establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The view thus advocated concerning God will help to answer some of the questions presented to us by perplexed Christians and critical unbelievers. Why didn't God prevent the sinking of the Lusitania? the death of the soldier boy for whom mothers and sisters prayed? the war itself? Some will answer, "He didn't choose to do it." Could he have prevented these things? "Yes, but he did not choose to prevent them." Can we not see that such answers call into question the character of God? At this stage let me say in all humility I would sacrifice the theory of God's absoluteness at any time rather than leave ground for the impeachment of his moral character. I do not believe he could have prevented the war. Through the messages and life and sacrifice of Jesus, through all the great prophets before and after Jesus, through every earnest soul that has been seeking to lead mankind into an understanding of the love and peace of God, our Heavenly Father sought to turn men away from the spirit that produced the war, but men would not be turned away. And when millions of soldiers lined up against each other, armed and supported with the most deadly weapons that the mind of man could invent, God could not save the life of every boy whose parents were praying for him. For all the loss and sorrow, the degradation and the shame of recent years man, not God, was responsible.

Men might as well face their responsibility. We are free to make this earth the Kingdom of Hell or the Kingdom of Heaven. Every unjust act, every deed of selfishness and greed, every untruth, every abuse of power, every lustful act or licentious look tends to make possible the Kingdom of Hell. If we live falsely, selfishly, dishonestly, we are making a direct

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contribution to strife, chaos, hopelessness. There is a glorious alternative, however, which may be realized if we bring ourselves fully into line with the principles of brotherhood exemplified in Jesus. The point to be emphasized is that it rests with the people of the present generation to determine what shall be the conditions of life for those succeeding us. If we do not co-operate with God in working out His thought, God alone cannot avert the disaster that must follow.

To quote Whittier again:

> The Crisis presses on us; face to face with us it stands,
> With solemn lips of question, like the Sphinx in Egypt's sands!
> This day we fashion Destiny, our web of fate we spin;
> This day for all hereafter choose we holiness or sin;
> Even now from starry Gerizim, or Ebal's cloudy crown,
> We call the dews of blessing, or the bolts of cursing down.

It may be objected that the view of God thus presented makes him a very human Being. To this we may reply that non-human conceptions of God entirely fail to move people to devotion or service. The inhuman conceptions of former ages moved men to fear if not to love; the non-human conceptions offered by some today do not move men to anything. You cannot stir any passion for righteousness by talking about an Absolute who is above all relations. Man needs a human God, a Heavenly Father, not an abstraction. We do not get very far in inspiring people for service when, in our search for a unity in which all differences, even those of right and wrong, are harmonized, we arrive at a non-personal Absolute. Neither do views of a personal Absolute, which reduce human personality to appearance rather than reality, have driving power in them. While we must not depend upon the pragmatic test alone, we may safely conclude that all true conceptions of God have in them a dynamic impelling men to social endeavor.

The Christian view of God must not underestimate the fact that he is a living Being and that as a Great Personality he lives intensely. Everything that takes place in his great

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universe is a matter of vital interest to him. Through the love and service of his children, his life is enriched every hour. He is ever having new experiences. The history of men is not the rehearsing of a drama thought out and prepared in eternal ages but a real living vital experience in which God and men share. Highest joys and deepest sorrows are his according as men work with or against him. He doubtless is vastly more than we can conceive him to be but he cannot be other than good and purposeful and active. All this may be anthropomorphic but it accords with the highest and noblest desires of the human heart and has in it the mightiest dynamic for service. The one great necessity for social progress is that men shall accept, with all its implications, the teaching of Jesus that God is our Heavenly Father.

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CAN INDIA'S CASTE SYSTEM SURVIVE IN MODERN LIFE?

A. S. WOODBURNE
Madras Christian College, Madras, India

This article gives a careful description of important social regulations of the caste system in India. Various influences in modern life are then considered in their effect on the system. The criticisms of Indian leaders of thought, the influence of education, the exigencies of trade and travel, and the political ambitions of the men of lower castes are compelling a reconsideration of the traditional prejudices.

At the time when the Aryans migrated from their homes in the northwest into India, there is no evidence of such a rigid stratification of society as characterizes the caste system. The Rigveda and Avesta both portray the life of the people of that age, and they give no indications of any divisions beyond the ordinary classes of priests, nobility, and peasantry. However, the migrations into a country already populated gave rise to a new line of social cleavage, namely, between the Aryan invaders who were white, tall, and cultured and the aborigines who were short, dark, and primitive. This division was expressed as *Aryas* or kinsmen and *Dasa* or friends, a word which subsequently came to mean slaves or servants. Again the classification was made on the basis of color (*varna*) because the aborigines were so much more black (*krishna*) than the invaders.

Toward the close of the period of the composition of the Rigvedic hymns, a hymn was introduced which indicates a classification on the basis of the original threefold Aryan division plus the aborigines. The classes were referred to as Brāhmans or priests, Kshatriyas, Rājanyas or nobles, Vaisyas or common people among the Aryans, and Sūdras or the conquered aborigines. In this passage the four classes are sharply defined and said to be created from parts of Purusha,

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the creator. "The Brāhman was his mouth; the Kshatriya was made from his arms; the being called Vaisya, he was his thighs; the Sūdra sprang from his feet."[1] Yet even in this passage it is doubtful whether caste has yet begun. Evidently it was the beginning of that classification which later became so well defined and involved such rigorous exclusiveness of function. In the earlier times it was possible for a member of one class to become a member of another class, and there was also a great deal of intermarriage because the origin of certain subclasses is traced to such combinations.

In the Laws of Manu, we have another reference to the creation of classes, paralleling the Rigvedic pronouncement, references to the origin of certain sub-castes, and a delineation of the occupations and duties of the various castes. Manu gives his approval to Brāhmans and other caste men marrying, in addition to a first wife from their own castes, another from each of the lower castes. He then proceeds to illustrate by showing the resultant castes from intermarriages of this kind. In the code of Yajnavalkya it is laid down that the twice-born may have one wife from each of the first three classes, but they must not marry Sūdras. The castes of Aryan origin are known as twice-born, and Manu permits all of them to study the Veda, though the duty of teaching it belongs to the Brāhman only.

The Brāhmans are the priestly class and, by virtue of their origin from the mouth of Purusha, are above the others in authority and sanctity alike. The Brāhman (masculine) who aspires to union with the Brāhman (neuter) must faithfully perform the six works, study the Veda, sacrifice on his own behalf, make gifts, teach the Veda, sacrifice for others, and receive gifts. If a Brāhman is not able to obtain a livelihood within the regulations prescribed for his own caste, he has the alternatives of adopting the pursuits of the Kshatriya or Vaisya, or of becoming a mendicant. It is by means of the

[1] Rigveda, X, 90, 12.

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mouth of the Brāhman that the gods are said to consume the sacrificial food, and that the spirits of the departed ancestors consume the offerings made to them. When a Brāhman is born there is a fresh incarnation of the divine law. His superiority is so profound that when one of another caste gives to him food or clothes, the giver is presenting to him that which is really his own, so that receiving a gift is equivalent to bestowing it upon himself. No matter what crime a Brāhman commits, he must never receive capital punishment, for the killing of a Brāhman is the most heinous of sins. His sin will bring about the divine order of punishment through the operation of *karma* and transmigration. For example the Brāhman who consumes intoxicants will be reborn as an insect, an unclean bird or as a destructive animal. And a Brāhman who neglects the duties assigned to his caste may look forward to rebirth as an evil spirit that lives on what others vomit. On the other hand, the Brāhman alone can hope for deliverance from *karma* and the eternal round of rebirths if he be faithful to his duties, for he alone has the true knowledge which is the basis of deliverance, realization that the *atman* (individual soul) is identical with the *Brāhman* (world-soul).

The Kshatriyas or Rājanyas are the second of the Aryan classes, originally the warriors or protectors of the people. The Law makes it incumbent upon them to protect the people, offer sacrifices and gifts, study the Vedas, and abstain from sensuality. Kings must be of the Kshatriya caste, and they are exempt from purificatory rites such as are required of ordinary Kshatriyas and members of other castes on occasions of ceremonial pollution. It is particularly meritorious for one of this caste to be slain in battle, and thereby he is considered as having performed a sufficient sacrifice. "The Kshatriya who dies fighting goes to heaven," says Manu. At the same time members of this caste are constantly reminded of their inferiority to the Brāhmans, an inferiority evident both in origin and function. A Brāhman of ten years is to be con-

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sidered as the father of a Kshatriya centenarian. If he comes to the house of a Brāhman, the Kshatriya may not be considered as a guest, and he is only permitted to eat after the Brāhman guests have all been fed. Ceremonial impurity demands a longer period for its removal in the case of the Kshatriya than a Brāhman. Moreover the prince who exhibits generosity in offering gifts to Brāhmans thereby acquires much merit, particularly if the Brāhmans be learned in the sacred lore. It is especially the prince's duty to attend to the physical requirements of Brāhmans, just as he would for his own sons, for nothing can bring to him prosperity comparable to the blessing of the Brāhman.

The Vaisyas were originally the farmers and artisans among the Aryan invaders, and were said, as we have seen, to have sprung from the thighs of the creator, Purusha. Like the Kshatriyas, they also were permitted to study but forbidden to teach the Vedas. The code of Manu prescribes their duties as caring for cattle, plowing the land, buying and selling, lending money, and offering sacrifice. The Vaisya and Kshatriya are enjoined to give alms, and promised that in so doing they will acquire merit equal to presenting their Brāhman teacher with a cow. When a judge is about to hear evidence in court, if the witness be a Brāhman, he need only say, "speak"; if it be a Kshatriya he must say, "speak the truth"; but if he is addressing a Vaisya he must warn him by dwelling on the guilt of stealing cattle, grain, or gold, or warn him of the danger of losing what he holds dear should he resort to perjury. Thus is the inferiority of the Vaisyas to both Brāhmans and Kshatriyas recognized. Just as a Brāhman in distress may follow the occupation of one of the two lower castes, and a Kshatriya of the Vaisya, so the Vaisya may take refuge in the manner of life of the Sūdra, but he is warned to get out of it as quickly as possible and to avoid all practices forbidden to his own caste. As in the case of the Brāhman, so with the Kshatriya and Vaisya,

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unfaithfulness to the caste entails rebirth as an evil spirit which feeds on carrion and other filth. Of the twice-born, the Vaisya is essentially a servant, everywhere made conscious of his inferiority to the other Aryan castes, his one consolation being in his superiority to the subdued aborigines.

The Sūdras are the fourth or servile class in ancient Hindu society. They were the original inhabitants who were reduced to servitude by the Aryan invaders. In the *Institutes of Manu* they are contrasted with the Brāhmans, as being at the opposite pole of the social order. The Sūdra is declared to be unable to commit an offense involving loss of caste, to be unworthy to receive a sacrament, and unqualified to hear, learn, recite, or teach the Veda. The only occupation open to him is that of humble service to the three higher castes. A Sūdra, whether bought or unbought, may be compelled to serve a Brāhman. For a Brāhman to slay a Sūdra is but a minor offense, comparable to killing a flamingo, a crow, an owl, a lizard, or a dog. Should a Brāhman die with the food of a Sūdra in his stomach, he will be reborn as a village pig. If a Sūdra touch a Brāhman while eating, the latter must cease. On the other hand, if a Sūdra should insult one of the twice-born, his tongue may be cut out, and for many kinds of offenses to the higher castes, like debasing penalties are prescribed. Even the touch of a Sūdra to the corpse of one of the twice-born is regarded as polluting, and hindering the passage of the soul to heaven. A Sūdra's duty, first and last, is to be a servant. By serving a Brāhman he makes the best of both worlds. If he be pure, a faithful servant, gentle in speech, and humble, always seeking the protection of Brāhmans, he will be reborn in the next life in one of the higher castes. "The self-existent one created him to be the slave of the Brāhman. Even though his master sets him free, he is still a slave, a slave by nature and by birth."

The Hindu population of India includes, besides those who are ranked among the four main castes mentioned, fifty

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millions of non-castes. It is evident from the ancient literature that these classes were not in existence in the early Hindu period. Their origin has been a matter of much conjecture and investigation. At the time of Aryan migrations, as we have already noted, the aborigines were assimilated into the social order. By the time the Laws of Manu were codified, we have reference to a class (the Chandāla) who were of mixed origin and were regarded as holding a definite place in the society below that of the Sūdras. The present out-caste communities include those despised servile peoples who occupy a position parallel to that assigned by Manu to the Chandālas, including the leather-workers of North and South India and the Pariahs of the South; and also those who have been expelled from the caste communities for breaches of Hindu social law. For example, intermarriage with one of the out-castes and acceptance of food from one of them are regarded as offenses against social regulations. These peoples are sometimes referred to as the Panchamas, or fifth class. They are of all people in India the least privileged, the most despised, their touch or even their shadow falling upon a man of high caste being considered a source of pollution. The regulations which determine the association of non-castes with the castes, the occasions of pollution, and the ceremonials of purification vary in different parts of the country.

It is well to remember that the word *caste* is inclined to be misleading, because it is not an Indian word. It originated from the Portuguese *casta*, meaning race or class, and began to be used by Portuguese sailors in the sixteenth century to describe the class divisions which seemed so curious to them. The Hindus use such other words as *varna* which means color, *jāti* which means birth or descent, *kula* which means family, and *gotra* which means race. It is only necessary to make the statement for one to appreciate the meanings of the Hindu concepts. Evidently the beginning of class divisions was purely functional, and the element of exclusiveness, carried

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even to the point of hereditary distinctions and separations, is a matter of gradual evolution. Moreover, along with the hereditary rigidity there still persists the functional distinctions to a very large measure. The Brāhman fulfils the priestly and clerical offices. The Kshatriya is the prince. The Vaisya is the trader. The Sūdra is the laborer. And the various sub-castes among the Sūdra peoples are marked by occupations. Doubtless one of the reasons that the system has persisted throughout the centuries has been the measure of functional stability which it has accorded to Hindu society, permitting a wide range of differentiation and specialization without impairing the social fabric. By it the professions and trades have been assured of new recruits, because birth or descent predetermined the individual's occupation as well as his status. At the same time the religious basis given to the system has enabled the higher castes who enjoyed its advantages to perpetuate the differences, and even to gain the assent of those lower in the scale to the existing order. The profound belief of the whole people in *karma* and *samsāra* (metempsychosis) has undoubtedly been one of the sustaining foundations upon which popular assent has been built.

The great criticism of the caste system is that it is such a rigid organization that it does not permit enough free play and adjustment to the human factors. Its virtual motto is "Man was made for caste, and not caste for man." And when any organization becomes the master instead of the servant and instrument of humanity, it has ceased to serve its best usefulness. The very conservative tendency of caste is quite deadening to human initiative, and numbing to social progress. Its primary concern is the preservation of the established order rather than any effort at the improvement of human welfare. The only possibility of progress is within the caste, unless it be in the hope for rebirth higher up in the scale. On the other hand, there must be constant vigilance in the keeping of approved regulations, or regress to a lower status is inevitable

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both in this life and in the next. Neither individual ability nor personal character count for anything. It is taken for granted that the accident of birth must be the sole determinant of occupation and of status. Personality is subordinated to system. Value is judged in terms of origin within rather than service to the community. Of course the limitations of the caste system work more hardship on the depressed classes, though the higher suffer to some extent. As Professor McDougall says, it deprives men of the potent motive, "the desire to rise in the social scale and to place one's children at a more advantageous starting point in the battle of life."[1]

While it is quite true that caste still retains a grip upon the Hindu consciousness, yet indications are not wanting that the caste hold is in some small degree weakening. It is possible to indicate the movements that are at work in the direction of disintegration. The first of these influences is education. An educated man usually demands the right to enjoy the comradeship of other educated men, without respect to differences of birth. Moreover, he insists on freedom in the manner of choice of occupation, whether his choice happen to fall within the prescriptions of caste or not. The educated man declines to be bound by the orthodox regulations in regard to food. The old taboos have lost much of their hold. Even the old prohibition against caste men crossing the ocean or having to undergo *prayachitta* (a ceremony of atonement in which the subject has to partake of the five elements of the cow) on their return, is becoming a dead letter, and students who return from Europe and America, where they have quite disregarded caste, are received into Hindu society without prejudice.

But education is undermining caste not merely in the case of the educated, but also in the matter of treatment accorded to the less fortunately born. For education is inducing the spirit of social reformation and human brotherhood. Prohibi-

[1] *The Group Mind*, p. 289.

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tions against certain foods, against interdining and against intermarriage are declared to be contrary to progress and humanity. Organizations such as the Depressed Classes' Mission are definite attempts on the part of the caste communities to extend the privileges of education to those to whom it is forbidden by the regulations of caste, and this is but one phase of the tendency to accord as well as to demand social justice for all alike.

A second influence that is working toward the corrosion of caste is the economic. India under the British Raj has become vitally a part of a larger world. Trade with Europe, America, and Japan has meant the introduction of commodities from these lands, enlarging the possibilities of the Indian market, and forcing competition upon some of the Indian industries. This has resulted on the one hand in a demand for broader economic opportunities than caste permits, and on the other hand in a necessity to choose other than caste-determined occupations through industrial rivalry. Even the Brāhman, with his inherited abhorrence of certain occupations of traditional pollution, will engage in the leather or any other business whereby he can be assured of a good income. Thus the old economic taboos are gradually but surely disappearing from the social consciousness. The expansion of transportation facilities within the past half-century has also stimulated the tendency toward disintegration. The railroad has on the one hand steadfastly refused to take cognizance of caste, and the low-caste man who pays for his ticket has the same right to a seat in any compartment where there is room as the high-caste man. On the other hand, this increase in transportation has made possible a great deal more movement among the people, and travel and new associations tend to break down conventions and to stimulate the spirit of freedom and adventure.

Another influence tending to undermine caste is the religious. The presence of Christianity has been more potent to

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that end than Islam. Mohammedanism recognizes no caste, but has neither emphasized education nor human brotherhood, so that its centuries in India have had little effect on the caste system. But Christianity has at once spread the light of science and the doctrines of equality and fraternity. Unfortunately there is an occasional community of converts which perpetuates its pre-Christian class consciousness; but for the most part Christians from all communities freely mingle in a common brotherhood. Moreover, Christianity has accomplished what orthodox Hinduism claimed to be the impossible in the elevation of the depressed classes. One of the by-products of this influence is to be seen in the reforming movements within Hinduism which seek the material betterment and the enlightenment of the out-castes in the interests of revitalizing Hinduism, and redeeming India from her social injustices.

Today there is a growing movement in opposition to caste from the political angle. For the past quarter of a century India's political leaders have been holding before themselves and their fellow-countrymen the ideal of self-government. Increasingly these leaders of public opinion are expressing their conviction that political liberty cannot be attained without social liberty. Lala Rajpat Rai, the Punjabi leader, has declared caste to be "a disgrace to our humanity, our sense of justice, and our feeling of social affinity." Sir K. G. Gupta says that "the caste system had served useful purposes in the past, but it has not now a single redeeming feature." Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the Bengali poet and prophet of internationalism, has said in frequently reported words:

> This immutable and all-pervading system of caste has no doubt imposed a mechanical uniformity upon the people, but it has, at the same time, kept their different sections inflexibly and unalterably separate, with the consequent loss of all power of adaptation and readjustment to new conditions and forces. The regeneration of the Indian people, to my mind, directly and perhaps solely depends upon the removal of this condition of caste.

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So there is a movement among the educated leaders in the direction of a direct repudiation of the old sanctions for the sake of a bigger, better India.

Still others are saying that the caste system must remain, but needs to be purged of its iniquitous features, and in the main of the doctrine of untouchability as applied to the outcastes. These men do not always define very clearly which features must go and which remain. Notably among the advocates of the inner reformation of the system is "Mahatma" M. K. Gandhi, the present leader of the Nationalist party. One of the insistent elements of Gandhi's program is the necessity of removing untouchability in the interests of attaining a solidarity, social and political. This is quite essential to the attainment and the maintenance of self-government. He further insists that social distinctions between Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians, Zoroastrians, Buddhists, and Jews must give way, so that all the communities may make common cause the attainment of political liberty. In this effort Gandhi has a very influential following among Hindus and Mohammedans. The significance of this movement is far reaching. Never in her history has India attained so large a measure of national self-consciousness. And she is realizing in the person of her recognized leaders that one of the greatest barriers to the attainment of her national aspirations is this rigid social system. The long historical associations of the system with all that is Indian, and its religious associations with all that is Hindu make it very difficult indeed for the Hindu to declare himself against it. Such a declaration, more especially where it is seconded by practice, demands great moral courage and determination. But men of moral insight are beginning to realize that the issue is clear. They stand faced with the alternative of caste reformation or abolition and national progress on the one hand, and orthodox adherence to tradition and the stifling of a national *ésprit de corps* on the other hand. For no nation that shackles its personality by

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a system of social bondage can hope to achieve the possibilities of an unfettered life of progress.

There is another phase of the present political movement that is telling against caste. The progress of education has involved the training of a growing number of men from the lower castes who are able to take their places abreast of the Brāhman, and who resent the operation of any system which would rob them of the privileges they have earned. More especially from the great Sūdra communities a large number of such men have arisen, and the community of their interests has given them a group consciousness. Within the last decade this group mind has asserted itself in a definite political party, called the Non-Brāhman party. In South India the party has attained more strength than elsewhere as yet. It publishes a newspaper under the name *Justice* which is the medium of its platform. Sometimes it is known from the name of its organ as the Justice party. The avowed aim of the party is to put an end to the Brāhman ascendancy which has existed for centuries, and to place Non-Brāhmans instead of Brāhmans in office as rapidly as possible. Under the Reform Scheme which came into operation a year ago the Non-Brāhmans captured the majority of seats in the Madras Legislative Council, and the Council is led by Non-Brāhman ministers. Hitherto the Brāhman community, though only constituting about 3 per cent of the total population, has held 90 per cent of government positions. But the Non-Brāhmans have determined that this shall cease. Since they have come into power they are seeing to it that whenever possible vacancies that occur shall be filled with men of other than Brāhman castes. The success of the party in the Madras presidency is being watched and admired by other parts of India, and there are indications that it will spread as time passes. To be sure the movement is political rather than designedly social or religious. But the influence upon the social and religious life is unavoidable. Occasionally one hears of a Brāhman

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priest being deposed, and a lower-caste man elevated to the priesthood. In the political arena, the Non-Brāhmans regard those of other religions as their allies. The continuation of the movement will in all likelihood involve much more far reaching effects than any yet realized. Many Brāhmans feel that they see "the handwriting on the wall," and are beginning to prepare themselves for an inevitable change in the social order in which their ascendancy will be a matter of history.

Yet we must be guarded against hasty conclusions. The caste system is still a vital force in Indian life. It is still the recognized social organization for orthodox Hinduism. It took centuries to evolve, it may take centuries to devolve. The reforming movements are very powerful in the larger cities, but scarcely noticeable in the smaller towns and villages which hold the masses of India's peoples. But the reformation has begun and is gaining in impetus. We may well believe that India's final judgment on the caste system lies with the future rather than with the past.

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CURRENT EVENTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Statistics of Church Membership in the United States.—In the *Year Book of the Churches*, compiled by Dr. E. O. Watson, Washington secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, statistics show that of every 106 persons in the United States, 10 have no religious affiliation and 96 are affiliated, through membership, financial support, attendance, or other connection, with religious bodies. Of these 75 are Protestant, 18 Roman Catholic, and 3 of other faiths. In total church population the Protestants lead with 75,099,489, the Roman Catholics claim 17,885,646, the Jews 1,600,000, Latter Day Saints 587,918, and Eastern Orthodox 411,054, giving the country a total church population of 95,584,107. Among the denominations the Methodists head the list with 22,171,959, the Baptists are second with 21,938,700, and the Roman Catholics stand third, with the figure named above. The Year Book calls attention to the fact that the Roman Catholics compute membership as "Catholic population," whereas the Protestants usually count communicants only as members. For this reason it was necessary to introduce a factor to convert the Protestant membership into Protestant population, so that the figures might be comparable. Dr. Laidlow, statistician in the Census Bureau and in the New York Federation of Churches, has determined that the figure given for communicant membership multiplied by 2.8 will give church population. Figures so corrected are used in the preceding statements. The most remarkable growth in the churches during the five-year period preceding 1921 occurred in the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. It is due largely to this growth that the Methodist population surpasses that of the Baptists at the present time.

An Appreciation of Herrmann's Theology.—Herrmann was by far the most influential exponent of Ritschlian theology in recent years. Professor Karl Bornhausen gives a suggestive estimate of the great theologian's work in an article entitled "Die Bedeutung von Wilhelm Herrmanns Theologie für die Gegenwart" in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (1922, 3 Heft, pp. 161–79). The secret of Herrmann's power was his spirit of profound and fearless candor. For him religion was truth itself, and demanded utter consecration. Bornhausen discusses Herrmann's contribution to religious thinking under four captions. (1) In

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answer to the question, "What is Religion," Herrmann clearly showed that religion is fundamentally a personal experience in which a man feels himself to be seized and upheld by a power not himself. This insight enabled Herrmann to direct thought away from rationalistic or external authoritarian discussions of religion and to promote a direct study of religious experience itself. (2) In his ethics Herrmann built upon the Kantian ideal of utter reverence for the moral imperative, but he enlarged this into the religious conception of a divine power which enables us to live rightly when through Christian faith we yield to the summons of the good. (3) In his discussion of the relation of historical criticism to Christian faith, Herrmann belongs to a generation already gone. He thought of criticism as a process of inquiry which makes us question the historicity of ancient records. Faith cannot build upon the uncertain and tentative hypotheses of critical historians. Herrmann sought to base faith on the actual power which we experience from the historical Jesus—a power which discloses itself, no matter what the critics may say about the records. Herrmann wished to emancipate faith from dependence on historical science, as he believed he had emancipated it from dependence on natural science. Bornhausen rightly remarks that our present-day social and evolutionary conception of history requires a different interpretation of the relation of faith to history. (4) Herrmann represents the eternal youth of vital religion in his interpretation of Christian faith as a great creative activity of the human soul in response to the experienced power of God. It is in this realm of creative experience that the heart of religion is found.

Steps toward the Realization of a Chinese National Church.—The National Conference of all the Protestant church and mission agencies of China brought together in Shanghai, from May 2 to 11, 1922, 1,189 Chinese and foreign men and women for the purpose of considering the establishment of the Christian Church of China. It is a unique conference in many respects. Among its many significant achievements, the following probably will have great influence upon the life of the new church:

(1) A National Christian Council of one hundred members was born in the conference. Of the total number, 51 are Chinese, 43 are foreign. The council is no other than a clearing house for the work of the church in all its forms and a central agency to deal with such national issues as no one church group could adequately meet alone.

(2) The conference declined to have any credal or doctrinal statement in the constitution of the new council on the ground that the conference

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is not constituted as a church council and therefore has no authority to draw up a creed or to pass upon questions of doctrine and of church policy.

(3) The message of the church delivered by the Chinese put chief emphasis upon international friendship and justice, a united church for China, and the need of a social gospel for the regeneration of China.

(4) The following labor standard was adopted by the conference and the new council was authorized to give it the widest possible publicity: (*a*) No employment of children under twelve years of age. (*b*) One day's rest in seven. (*c*) The safeguarding of the health of workers, by the limitation of working hours, improvement of sanitary conditions, and installation of safety devices.

Is the Community Church a Fad?—An interesting discussion of this subject by Rev. David R. Piper appears in the *Homiletic Review* for August, 1922. Statistics show that the get-together movement in religion is a laymen's movement and not the work of a few denominational leaders. Replies to questionnaires sent to more than 500 community churches reveal the fact that 80 out of 100 community churches are formed because of the spontaneous desire of the people themselves, and almost three-fourths of these are actually organized without the assistance of ministers. In some instances the people got together in spite of the active opposition of denominational officials.

The writer of this article suggests that the development of a community consciousness stronger than the group consciousness through co-operation in secular pursuits is one of the fundamental causes of this get-together movement on the part of the churches. Farmer's co-operatives, consolidated schools, chautauquas, and better roads are helping directly to foster the community church. Again, the changed emphasis in religious thought manifesting itself in the multiplication of interdenominational agencies and in the social application of religion through such agencies as the Y.M.C.A. is bearing fruit after its kind even in the most isolated corners of America. When once the social gospel becomes recognized, sectarianism loses its reason for existence.

The Place of Religion in Irish Politics.—The chief reason that Ireland has failed to achieve national solidarity and union is found in the religious differences which exist within her borders. So says Edward G. Mackay in his interesting discussion of the situation in Ireland which appears in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* for April, 1922. The following excerpt gives the writer's view of the problem which Irishmen are facing in their efforts to achieve national unity:

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I do not mean to say that it is necessarily the intolerance between one religious group and another which has kept Irishmen apart. There are no more bigots there than elsewhere. But it is the separate existence in the things most unifying—school days, worship, love, marriage, friendship—which has forbidden that fusion of interest and blood, without which there can be no real national unity. A difference in religion in Ireland means a different residential section in the city, a different school, a different church, a different place of business, a different social set, a different cemetery—separation from the cradle to the grave in those intimate and human experiences that touch the soul. There are exceptions, but this is the average; and it is the average that counts.

How Can the Church Find Its Real Mission?—How the church shall face the immense tasks of today is discussed by Dr. Angus in the *Review and Expositor* for April and July, 1922. Laboring classes and capitalists both are dissatisfied with the church's practical efforts to secure social justice. Multitudes of cultured men and women are out of sympathy with the church's teaching and dogmas. How shall the church meet the present emergency? The writer discusses various proposed methods such as, (1) a better organized and better equipped church, (2) modernizing the church's teaching and faith, (3) church union, and (4) going back to apostolic Christianity. Dr. Angus concludes that the church must devote itself primarily to its high calling of stimulating the spiritual life. "It is not the function of the church to organize or conduct society, but to inspire it with Christian ideals. It is unnecessary for the church to return to the political arena, or to enter the economic. It is not a judge or divider in questions of wages." The duty of the churches is "to create the atmosphere in which social reforms are possible." Thus, "if the church stands forth for a true brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God it will thereby solve the social and economic problems of the time. If it once convinces men of the reality of the unseen, of the life hid with Christ in God as the plenitude of life, the profiteer will disappear, and labor will not only receive but give a fair return. So far as the church succeeds in asserting the primacy of the spiritual, in that measure society will be remade."

The Religious Defects of Spiritualism.—"The times demand a more definite and coherent teaching on the part of the church concerning the problems of human destiny, and especially do they demand a clear policy regarding the growing cult of spiritualism." This is asserted by A. D. Belden in his discussion of "The Church and Spiritualism" which is found in the *Pilgrim* (April, 1922). The writer suggests that the

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churches, in their attitude toward spiritualism, ought to be very careful of their evaluations of the considered and weighty findings of men of known integrity and intelligence. "Let us listen carefully to the scientist, but be on our guard against the 'charlatan' and discourage any 'popular' cult in this thing." It is also suggested that one of the chief perils of spiritualism is a forgetfulness of Christ and his service. "If we are to be kept faithful to Christ's work in the world, we need all the inspiration we can draw from communion with him, and we must be careful that interest in others does not rob him of the fulness of our energies." The writer feels that a spiritualism which ignores sin as a factor in life, and begins and ends in mere communication of spirits, "without any real interest in a gospel of redemption and the saving grace of Christ, is utterly inadequate to human needs, and in so far as it absorbs human interest and energy, it is pernicious."

In Defence of Creeds.—It is necessary and desirable that the church have a creed according to R. Winboult Harding, whose discussion of this question appears in the *London Quarterly Review* (July, 1922). The writer holds that the church creeds stand for the New Testament conception of Christ as being God and man in ideal unity, and that if this conception is overthrown we have no guarantee that God is approachable and no hope of salvation that rests on his interest in men. The church, says the writer, has "facts" verifiable by experience, about Christ, and his relation to God and to humanity, so she can be no other than dogmatic. And in the flux of thought so characteristic of our time this dogmatic assurance can be maintained only by some form of creed.

Religion in Germany.—An interesting article on "Religious and Ethical Conditions and Outlook in Germany" by Professor König appears in the *Homiletic Review* (August, 1922). The rights which the Kaiser formerly exercised as supreme bishop of the national church, are now exercised through three authorities constituting the supreme Church Council in Berlin. The church has thus become more autonomous, but there has been no complete separation of church and state. Their relations are comparatively friendly. The Marxian socialists have agitated withdrawal from the church but their efforts have had only a very slight effect upon the membership of the churches. "One significant pointer of earnest religious life is diligent attendance upon divine service. This is in evidence stronger than before the war, not merely on fast and festival days, but also on the Sundays throughout the year." In spite of the colossal increase in the cost of living the amount of the collections Sunday

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after Sunday is nothing less than astounding. The spirit of self-sacrifice is much in evidence.

Regarding education, the theological faculties are being supported by the state the same as the departments of general science. There has been an agitation for the elimination of religious instruction from the other schools supported by the state. But the opposition to such a plan has been very great and is likely to defeat it.

The State and many unofficial leagues are striving with all earnestness to abolish prostitution and other evils. The youth of the high schools and universities in many instances are taking a large part in the task of cleansing the cities of their moral filth.

Healing by Autosuggestion.—In the *Living Age* we read that "M. Émile Coué has for some time been the most talked-of man in London, whither his reputation as healer, first won at Troyes and Nancy, has recently extended. He claims numerous cures and his formula is, 'Every day, in every respect, I grow better and better.' M. Coué was a pupil of Liébault, 1855–86, and gradually formulated his own thought during the closing years of the nineteenth century. His theories are distinct from those of the Freudian School, although his chief disciple, Dr. Baudauin, declares that 'the two outlooks are complementary.'" While lecturing in England, M. Coué supported his theory with some very practical observations. Having for many years taught the people of Nancy how to restore their own health with such extraordinary success, his observations are based on not a few cases and patients. According to the English report, he has proved to hundreds, day after day, in his bare clinic at Nancy "that in conscious autosuggestion there is a fresh start for the weary and a new hope for the despairing." The imagination, or the subconscious—Dr. Coué uses the terms synonymously—regulates all the bodily functions and further influences conscious thought and action to an incalculable degree. For any individual, so far as his own personality goes, what his imagination believes is true, what it expects will happen, what it dreads is terrible, what it rejects is impossible. A consciously formed wish, within the range of personal performance, will not be fulfilled until the imagination accepts its possibility. The words "I can," not "I will," are important. But when the imagination conflicts with the will, nothing can be achieved. In other words, the limit of the efficacy of autosuggestion is "what is reasonable." A thing is reasonable when the will and the imagination both reinforce it. But when the imagination and the will conflict, performing an act of faith on rational grounds is impossible.

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Evangelism for the Times.—"One of the chief elements in eloquence," said Ralph Waldo Emerson in his last public lecture, "is timeliness." And this factor, according to Dr. C. L. Goodell in the April number of the *Biblical Review*, is applicable in religion. "Styles of manner and dress are relegated to the limbo or attic. To what extent will this occur in religion? Will the Lamb's Bride, 'clad in linen pure and white which is the righteousness of the saints' be also troubled lest her garment be out of style?" No, for religion is not a garment to be put on; it is a life to be lived. True religion like its Author is not the old-time religion; it is timeless, the same yesterday, today, and forever. "Love is always new. Time cuts no furrows on its brow, and fire and flood cannot destroy it. We are quite prepared to believe that this must also be supremely true of the love of God, and since the evangel is only the proclamation of that love, something of the evangel must remain forever unchanged." The kind of truth that evangelism must present today is felt truth, the truth of experience, the truth that has so much of life that if you cut it, it would bleed. This is the news that fits the hour and saves the soul. Men do not want stale news. They light their fires with yesterday's newspapers. They want such news as Jesus gave to the disheartened on their way to Emmaus. Men want sight for God is filling all the air with light. This is the evangel which our pastors must proclaim. By its power, "the false will become true, polluted lips will speak the truth and those who took God's name in vain will now take it to such purpose that brazen-hearted sin will flee and the stout quail before it." Then will men come to love and serve their fellows because they love Him who came not to be ministered unto but to minister.

Religion in Soviet Russia.—The religious situation in Russia is described in an article by Professor Jerome Davis which appears in the *Missionary Review* for March, 1922. He visited Russia during the summer of 1921 and tells us about the religious situation in that land as he saw it.

Professor Davis says that in religion the Soviet government has been hostile to all forms of Christianity. The church has been separated from the state and in some cases church lands have been confiscated. This opposition however has in a measure helped the orthodox church. The persecution has helped to weed out the less consecrated from the priesthood and has brought to the front the more earnest religious leaders. Some of these are liberal-minded men who have had experience in the Russian church in America.

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But while the Bolsheviki oppose the church, many still believe in the teachings of Jesus. They find that while their communist theory opposes the church, it does agree with many of the teachings of Christ. They find themselves quite in agreement with Jesus in His attitude toward women, children, and workingmen. The churches however are permitted to remain open and to hold services, and the people are flocking to the churches as never before, for it affords an escape from unprecedented hardships.

Since the breaking of the Tsar's control, the priests of the Russian church are enabled to adopt new methods. They wish to introduce Sunday schools, men's clubs, social service, the best Christian literature, and many other features of Western Christianity. Moreover, these priests are anxious for representatives of the American church to help them in the great task of making the church of Russia an effective agency of a practical and social Christianity. Here is a great opportunity for the church of America to help the religious leaders of Russia to make their religion practical.

Do Mission Schools Supply What China Most Needs?—Build up a China of men and women of trained independent thought and character, is the thesis of Professor Dewey in an article entitled "America and Chinese Education" in the *New Republic*, March 1, 1922. The failure of American missionary education in one particular is reflected in the conduct of the Chinese official delegation in Washington. Two of them who studied in missionary schools before they came to America to study have been most unsatisfactory to Chinese at home and in this country. This is due to the fact that (1) American missionary institutions in China had simply transplanted the American college curriculum and American conceptions of discipline; (2) they do not represent what China most needs from the West, namely, scientific method and aggressive freedom and independence of inquiry, criticism, and action. But above all Professor Dewey is very much afraid of fanatic meddlesomeness from without, for he says "that at present some American millions of a special fund are being spent in China for converting souls; that they go only to those who have the most dogmatic and reactionary theological views, and that the pressure of these funds is used to repress the liberal element and to put liberal institutions in bad repute as well as in financial straits." It is evident that we have too easily taken for granted that occidental ideas and institutions when transplanted unchanged will supply what the Orient needs. Fortunately the best missionary statesmanship is now insisting on a preliminary social survey.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A NEW DICTIONARY OF RELIGIONS[1]

In a period of pioneering when there is no accepted standard by which to evaluate a dictionary of religions, what is the task of the reviewer? The temptation in the present instance is to express sincere appreciation of the courage, breadth of sympathy, and capacity for toil evidenced in the production of an encyclopedia single-handed; to give thanks for the collocation of scattered materials into a handy reference volume and to hope that such efforts will lead at last to an adequate dictionary. But there is also the more serious way of collaborating with the author, taking the place of the general reader or student of comparative religion to whom the volume is directed and so attempting to test the work in the light of its use.

Since to see clearly what we need is perhaps the first step toward securing it we may ask, What ought a Dictionary of Religions to furnish its readers?

1. It ought to deal with all the topics and terms which are significant in the religions of the world. Needless to say there is no such volume yet available. The present work does furnish hundreds of terms nowhere else accessible to the general reader. But if one is happy in the possession of this new wealth he is at once saddened by the omissions. To take the letter *M* as an example; surely some reader might want to look up Mars, materialism, Mecca, medicine man, Mencius, Mennonites, Mercury, metamorphosis, Minerva, Modernism, Moksha, monasticism, monotheism, mythology. All are missing and many more.

2. It ought to give a concise statement of the meaning of the topic or term in the light of the best scholarship. This demand is not satisfied by presenting, in quotation, the opinion of a single author as the writer does so often. The collection of such data is the beginning. When it is digested, valued and presented in a clear statement we have a dictionary definition. In the Semitic field the author frequently achieves this result.

3. Where topics have a variety of meanings in various religions it should indicate the particular meaning in each field. The work, as a

[1] *An Encyclopedia of Religions*. By Maurice A. Canney. London: Routledge & Sons; New York: Dutton, 1921. ix+397 pages. $10.00.

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whole, is weak in this respect. "Salvation," for instance, is not treated at all and "baptism" only from the Christian standpoint.

4. Where a term has changed in meaning through the centuries it should give a statement of the development. This is perhaps the weakest phase of the present work. When a student refers to "Yahweh" it is valuable to have presented an explanation of the Tetragrammaton and guesses at the meaning of the name; but more important, surely, would be to learn of the origin of this idea of God and the story of its transformation in significance through the centuries of Israel's history. Such a genetic treatment would have prevented Avalokitesvara from appearing twice with different definitions under different spellings.

5. Where a term has several meanings it should give them all. A student turning to his book to learn more about the Jewish courts would be surprised, probably, to find "Sanhedrin" defined as a section of the Mishnah; or, seeking information regarding the Japanese sacred literature, to find that "Kojiki" was a Buddhist god.

6. Where terms are common to the whole thought-world of a people it should give the general meaning and then the usage in particular groups. The Hindu terms, Karma, Manas, Prana, will illustrate this point. They penetrate the entire philosophic thinking of India and it is not adequate to define each of them as "a term used in Theosophy." This is like defining sin as a term used in the Salvation Army.

7. When sections of religious literature are treated it should give at least some idea of the contents. For the biblical literature this is excellently done. But a student who has heard the Dhammapada mentioned would not learn much about it by finding it defined in his dictionary as a "section of the Buddhist Canon, a kind of hymn book."

Perhaps the balance of a book is a minor matter if the information is sound. Yet there seems to be extravagance in giving the "Canon of the Old Testament" more, and "Swedenborgians" almost as much, space as "Christianity." "Zoroastrianism" gets only about a quarter of a page and the influential Tendai Buddhism four lines. And why should "Balaam's ass" have space equal to that of "Disciples of Christ"?

All this pathetic appeal for what we would like to have in a Dictionary of Religions lessens not at all a genuine gratitude for what Professor Canney has given. His work will find a welcome among reference books and perhaps the desired dictionary is beyond the powers of individual scholarship.

A. EUSTACE HAYDON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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RECENT INTERPRETATIONS OF THE PSALMS

It is with keen relish that one takes up a new work by Professor Smith. It is sure to be scholarly, sane, and illuminating. Even when we are pursuing a well beaten path, new vistas are opened out. There is always, too, the breath of pure air from the hills.

The present book on the Psalms[1] is neither technical nor devotional in the strict sense of the term. "The effort is rather to present the meaning of the Psalms as it lay in the minds of their authors and earliest readers." But one cannot follow the train of their feeling, under the lead of so sure and sympathetic a guide as Professor Smith, without having one's own spiritual nature warmed and quickened.

The Psalter is the hymn book of the Second Temple. As such it cannot stand on the poetic heights of Job or the greatest of the prophets. Still less may it be expected to blaze out bold new tracks of thought. The wonder is, "not that there is some poor poetry in it, but that there is so little of that kind," and that it expresses so successfully "those sentiments and attitudes of soul that are fundamental in worship."

There are Psalms like the 13th, 16th, 18th, etc., that are clearly communal. But "as the Psalms were composed by individuals, they must almost necessarily be to a large extent the reflection of individual experience." A Psalm like the 116th, for example, can hardly be understood in any other way. Even so, "the interests of the pious individual in Judaism were so closely and inextricably bound up with the interests of the community as a whole that in many cases it is practically impossible to distinguish between personal and community songs."

On the question of authorship Professor Smith occupies just as sound a position. He does not deny the possibility of Davidic elements in the Psalter. But he sees that the general tone of the book lifts it quite beyond the moral and religious world in which David lived. If there are Davidic elements, these have been so completely overlaid and transmuted in the process of revision that it is "little more than a waste of time" to attempt to discover them. "The really important question, after all, is not, Who wrote the Psalms? but, What are the meaning and value of the Psalms themselves?"

Like all great products of poetic art, the Psalms are mainly born in suffering. Of the 150 Psalms which compose the book, "about 90 con-

[1] *The Religion of the Psalms.* By J. M. Powis Smith. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922. ix+170 pages. $1.75.

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cern themselves more or less directly with some aspect of this problem." Professor Smith discusses with fine insight the various reactions upon suffering that are reflected in the Psalter—among others the fierce wrath of the Imprecatory Psalms—and justly celebrates the splendor of the faith that could endure so long the sickness of hope deferred. Two ways of escape offered themselves, messianism and personal immortality. The former hope Professor Smith finds on every page bursting forth "in one form or another . . . . like a fountain of pure water from the well-spring of life." The latter he restricts to Ps. 73:22–26, though we think a good case can be made at least for 49:5–20. "However that may be, the fact remains that there is practically no thought of life after death in the Psalter as a whole." But this is a matter of relative unimportance, for the Psalmists counted their present fellowship with God as the supreme good. "With God at his side, the Hebrew was able to face all his foes, material and spiritual, and to triumph in the realm of the spirit even when routed on the field of battle."

In the last chapter Professor Smith treats of the idea of God in the Psalms. When we remember that the ideas of the Psalter are "those held by the plain man," we need not expect to find here the most exalted speculative conceptions of God. But again "the wonder is that the thought of God in the Psalter is as noble and lofty as it is." And the wonder grows when we set the Psalter against the background of religious worship opened up to us by the Assouan papyri. From the Psalter "practically every trace of polytheistic thought has disappeared," and there rises in clear relief the image of the just and holy, good and gracious God, whom Jew and Christian alike can reverence as the Lord and Father of their spirits. Hence the universal popularity of the Psalter. "It has helped us to keep alive in our souls the sense of our divine kinship. It has brought the God of the universe down into the simple homes and loyal hearts of the plain people."

ALEX. R. GORDON

PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE OF MONTREAL

Duhm's Commentary on the Psalms first appeared in 1899. This second edition[1] differs from its predecessor chiefly in its mechanical make-up. It is printed in larger and clearer type and the translation is taken out of the midst of the comments and printed continuously at the top of the successive pages, with the interpretative matter below.

[1] *Die Psalmen erklärt* [Kurzer Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament], 2d edition. By B. Duhm. Tübingen: Mohr, 1922. Pp. xxxvi+496. M. 120.

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The Introduction is reprinted with practically no change, except that the Bibliography is brought up to date. Here it is noticeable that the work of the last twenty-three years in England and America is ignored. The view that the Psalter is largely Maccabaean and post-Maccabaean, many of the Psalms being placed under the Hasmonaean Kings, is retained and in some cases carried further in its application. But the Commentary, like the Introduction, is identical with the first edition to a surprising degree. There are no important changes. Here and there a detail is modified. In Ps. 1, for instance, vs. 6*a* is now transposed to follow vs. 3. This is done solely in the interests of strophic structure, which in and of itself is not a safe guide. Nor is there in the nature of things sufficient reason for changing "in his law" of vs. 3 to "therein," the repetition involved in the present text not being offensive. Similarly, for the sake of the needs of strophic structure only, 2:7*a* is transposed to follow 2:5, as was first proposed by Bickell. Such propositions as these, of which there are many, are too subjective to command general assent. The general position of the commentary as set forth in the first edition is well-known to scholars and has been adequately discussed in the literature of the last two decades. It receives no material reinforcement here.

Dr. Peters' book on the Psalms[1] marks the close of a long and active career. In addition to his official duties as rector of St. Michael's church in New York, he found time to keep up an active interest in biblical and Semitic studies. His early work at Nippur and his report of his excavations there made him well known and honored among workers in cuneiform literature; and his *Religion of the Hebrews* had already entitled him to the respect of Old Testament scholars. Dr. Peters has long sought to associate certain Psalms with certain local shrines and published occasional articles in support of this interest. In this book he undertakes to treat the Book of Psalms as a liturgical manual throughout.

The book contains a long introduction discussing the usual questions, but drawing in much material from Babylonian and Egyptian rituals for illustrative purposes. Dr. Peters makes the Psalms of Korah to have belonged to an early collection of psalms in use at the temple of Dan; and, in like manner, the Psalms of Asaph are said to have originated in the liturgy of the temple of Bethel The first three books of the Psalter arose before the Exile and all of Pss. 1–134 were written by

[1] *The Psalms as Liturgies.* By J. P. Peters. (Being the Paddock Lectures for 1920.) New York: Macmillan, 1922. Pp. 494. $4.00.

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300 B.C., while the Psalter was complete before 180 B.C. This rules out of the question the existence of Maccabaean psalms in the Psalter. The introduction is followed by a commentary, in which each psalm appears both in the rendering of the Authorized Version and in Dr. Peters' own translation. The notes are very brief and chiefly concerned with the liturgical character of the psalms.

The main proposition of the book to the effect that the Psalms arose in close association with and as a part of the ritual is certainly correct.[1] This fact has been insufficiently stressed thus far in the history of interpretation. But Dr. Peters, carried away by the enthusiasm of a new idea, has gone beyond the bounds of fact and has indulged too largely in the play of his fancy. To make Ps. 3 a morning hymn because of the words, "I laid me down and slept, I awaked," etc., and Ps. 4 an evening hymn because the Psalmist says, "I lay me down in peace to sleep," is to turn poesy into prose and deny the poet any figurative language. To assign vss. 3*b* and 5 of Ps. 6 to the priest is purely imaginative. Similarly it is a purely subjective procedure to make Ps. 14 (=53) a "Siege Psalm" on the basis of "God has scattered the bones of their besieger"; and it is but slightly less so to call Ps. 24 an "Ark Song" descriptive of the bringing up of the Ark into Jerusalem; here again poetry is turned into prose.

A new translation is always to be welcomed. To put familiar thoughts in a new dress is always worth while. A translation of the Psalms should combine accuracy and poetic style. Dr. Peters has made many improvements in both respects, for which we shall all be grateful. But the rendering is very uneven; and there are many things to mend. It is a little disturbing to find "thy club" instead of "thy rod" in Ps. 23; "many steers" for "many bulls" in Ps. 22:12; "this is the ilk of his seekers" for "this is the generation of them that seek him" in Ps. 24:6; and "He learneth sinners" for "teach" in Ps. 25:8, 12. There is no sufficient ground in Ps. 8:5 for changing "God" to "gods". In Ps. 18:35 the rendering "thy humility" reproduces the Hebrew text but can hardly represent the Psalmist's thought. It would have been well to amend the text here, as Dr. Peters has done frequently elsewhere. It is apt to lead the unwary to wrong conclusions to find "Christ" taking the place of "anointed" or "Messiah." The interpretation of Ps. 82 fails to recognize the fact that the "gods" there are deified kings whom the Psalmist derides.

[1] See my article on this subject in the January (1922) issue of this *Journal*, pp. 58–69.

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The book shows a lack of careful and exact scholarship;[1] but its main contention is sound and it will stir thought upon many matters of detail. This is justification enough for any book.

J. M. POWIS SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE[2]

A tender interest attaches to the review of this book, one of the two last works of Dr. Peters. In an easy, intimate, but informing way the author talks to us of the "Ancestry of the Hebrews," "Cosmogony and Folk Lore," "History and Prophecy," "Hebrew Psalmody," all in the light of his own travels in Bible lands and the excavations in recent times. He then sketches for us a history of exploration in Palestine and closes with archaeological illustrations of New Testament times, with special reference to the Oxyrhyncus papyri. The book does not aim to be an exhaustive or precisely methodical discussion of the subject with which it deals, though it provides a good archaeological background for the study of the Bible. But its chief interest and charm is the autobiographical and reminiscent note that sounds all the way through the lectures. He tells us, himself, in his chapter on "Cosmogony and Folk-Lore," that he is not attempting to give an exhaustive account of all the myths and stories in the first eleven chapters of Genesis. "I am more particularly noting those things which I have myself found or observed, or which have become especially my own through study and observation" (p. 73). This sentence might be taken as the text for the book as a whole, and it is the point of view implied in it which not only lends to the book its special charm, but also gives it its special value. Dr. Peters stood somewhat outside the beaten paths of the critical study of the Bible. But he was a close observer, a man of imagination and of inde-

[1] The following errors in proofreading have been noted: Page 55, line 7 from top, read "two" for "three"; p. 68 in note, read "Lammenazzeah"; p. 94, l. 5 from below, read "sacrificial"; p. 95, l. 16, read "4" for "3"; p. 131, delete last word "wall"; p. 143, l. 14 from below, read "outburst"; p. 250, vss. 2 and 4 of Ps. 68 are in disorder; p. 307, read "salvation" in vs. 12; p. 360, in vs. 7*b* insert "in"; p. 416, in vs. 1 transpose "of" to follow "servants"; p. 456, vs. 2 of Ps. 130 is in disorder; Ps. 31, vs. 10, on p. 172 is badly disarranged; it should read:

For my life is consumed by grief,
And my years by groaning;
By my guilt my strength is brought low,
And my bones are wasted.

[2] *Bible and Spade* (the Bross Lectures). By John P. Peters. New York: Scribner's, 1922. xii+239 pages. $1.75.

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pendent judgment. He always seemed to be reading he Bible for the first time, and was therefore impressed by many things which escape the attention of the casual reader, or even of the close student in search of support for various hypotheses. Everywhere in these pages we have the testimony of the eyewitness, one who has reflected on the meaning of the Tower of Babel under the shadow of the mighty ruins of the ziggurat at Borsippa, or who has read the Pilgrim Psalms as he journeyed westward in the hot days and cold nights along the Euphrates, with the camp fires of the Bedouin gleaming threateningly around him, or who has sought to look beneath the surface of Jerusalem and thus to reconstruct the true background for the dramatic scenes which have crowded its narrow streets throughout the ages. The reviewer used to feel, himself, that he could never penetrate the mysteries of that most fascinating city in the world until the soles of his feet had become so sensitive that he could distinguish between a twenty-foot layer of débris and a forty-foot layer just by walking over them. As one reads his pages, the joy which Dr. Peters experienced in revisiting the Holy City only a few months before his death, his growing certainty of the genuineness of the tradition as to many of the sacred sites (the City of David, the Temple, the Holy Sepulchre, Gethsemane, the Praetorium), become contagious. The fact is, the force and value of tradition are factors which those who have never felt its mysterious power, because the privilege of a lengthened sojourn in the Near East has been denied them, are tempted to underestimate. It was an especially kindly providence which permitted this veteran traveler and excavator and devout biblical student to revisit at the end of his life the scenes he loved so well, and to record for us his final impressions of what they signify for the understanding of the Scriptures.

KEMPER FULLERTON

OBERLIN GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

CREATIVE CHRISTIANITY

For two or three decades Christian theology has been hampered with a negative conception of the significance of historical criticism. The historical investigation of the Bible and of the events of Christian history has made it evident that traditional views must be revised in the light of more exact knowledge. Inasmuch as theology in the past has undertaken to set forth an unchanging truth, this demand of historical criticism has been unwelcome. For the most part theologians have attempted

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to redefine the nature and method of theology so as to avoid any entangling alliance with the tentative and varying outcome of historical criticism.

There are signs that a new era of theological scholarship is beginning. Historical investigation has now come to be primarily social in its character. It discloses the vital movements of human thought and activity, and uses the records of the past as the means by which we may discover the rich content of ongoing human life. Professor George Cross has made a valuable contribution to this conception of theology in his recent lectures delivered on the Nathaniel W. Taylor Foundation at Yale.[1] He begins by stating with admirable candor the significance of critical historical study. The general outcome of this criticism may be said to be the elimination of the possibility of any fixed and final tests. We discover that the personality, with its ideals and its limitations, of every reporter of historical facts is so blended with the facts which he records that what we have in any document is quite as much the personal confession of faith of the writer as it is a record of historical events. Moreover, it is impossible by any process of historical analysis to draw with absolute certainty a dividing line between the facts-in-themselves and the person-in-himself who records the facts. The two are indissolubly blended in the record. This means that in our Bible we have the convictions of the writers and compilers so interwoven with the events which they narrate that we are inevitably left with a large personal equation in the biblical records. On the older hypothesis that we ought to seek to attain the unmixed divine as the basis of our theology, such an interweaving of the human element is a disturbing factor. Professor Cross, however, sees clearly that a constructive use may be made of this personal equation. If, instead of regarding the biblical writers as mere channels through which a message comes to us, we give them their proper creative place in the making of an ever-developing faith, we have the clue to a conception of religion which the author happily calls "creative" Christianity.

Professor Cross makes use of this aspect of the matter by turning theological interpretation in the direction of personal idealism. In his second lecture, entitled "The Discovery of the Perfect Personality," he sympathetically sketches the various attempts to describe Jesus as the absolutely perfect one, and shows how these descriptions, in so far as they leave the character of Christ sharply contrasted with humanity, will require some artificial means of bridging the chasm. The perfect

[1] *Creative Christianity.* By George Cross. New York: Macmillan, 1922. 164 pages. $1.50.

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personality of Jesus is actually to be discovered in the creative life which he produces in those who have come into contact with him. Thus the perfect personality is best defined, not in terms of opposition to humanity, but in terms of creative personal relationship by which those who become Christians share the life of Jesus.

If this is the significant thing about Christianity, it faces us toward the future rather than toward the past. The third and fourth lectures deal with this future-looking Christian faith. The making of a better world is the characteristic outcome of this discovery of the power of creative personality. For a long time that better world seemed to be out of reach of human endeavor, and so was located in a transcendent realm. But our present-day Christianity is daring to hope for the transformation of our present social order through the power of a creative social Christianity. The final lecture indicates the consequences of this faith in the realm of cosmic interpretation. Here Dr. Cross builds on the foundations of an idealistic philosophy and indicates that just because the idealist, with his creative interpretation, is part and parcel of the cosmos his interpretation is more valid than any account which omits the factor of personal consciousness. Believing in the unity of the cosmic order, we are compelled to attribute to the whole of it the spiritual realities which we find in any part of it. The personal faith of the Christian thus becomes the ground for a religious interpretation of the world with its hope of eternal life.

The suggestiveness of Dr. Cross's book is out of all proportion to its modest size. It is a sign of a new constructive era that theologians have passed beyond the Ritschlian attempt to make theology immune from historical criticism, and are beginning to make positive and constructive use of the social interpretation of history which is so fruitful in other realms of thought. One may raise the question whether the particular solution toward which Professor Cross points does not depend too much upon an a priori idealistic philosophy to be convincing to everybody. It is probable that some theologians will take a less metaphysical pathway. They will define Christianity in terms of a social movement, namely, the life of the ever-living church rather than in terms of so individualistic a religious philosophy as that which Professor Cross suggests. But the conception of Christianity as a creative force rather than as an officially fixed system will give new vitality and impetus to theological interpretation.

The interpretation of Christianity by a representative of a church which claims to possess its authority on the basis of an official ministry descending in unbroken line from the apostles is always of great interest

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to dissenters. As a rule these interpretations show an admirable zeal and devotion coupled with an exclusively rigid conception of a valid ministry. It is refreshing to read so broad-minded and searching a message as that of Dr. Leighton Parks, the gifted rector of St. Bartholomew's Church in New York.[1] Written in brilliant style and with charming candor, this book will doubtless challenge fruitful discussion. Dr. Parks first confronts us with the formidable question as to whether our civilization can endure. His recital of the number and the power of the forces which may overthrow our culture is enough to make everyone stop and think. He declares that the spiritual force of Christianity will possibly be the determining factor in the answer to this question which confronts the world. In the light of this unexampled responsibility and opportunity he inquires whether the churches are equal to the task. He finds that at present Christianity is weakened and divided by sectarian disputes. Sectarianism he rightly sees to be an expression of the habit of claiming exclusive divine authority for some one branch of the Christian church. Such a claim of authority means that men are always looking backward and are attempting to vindicate a divine commission which they believe to have been officially given. In particular, Dr. Parks boldly criticizes the proposals for organic church unity which are advocated by some leaders in his own communion. In emphatic terms he declares that neither his communion nor any other can claim to be the sole "true" church in contrast to other bodies. He would recognize without qualification the entire validity of all Christian denominations. When this is once recognized he finds that there is as a matter of fact a real spiritual unity of Christendom which binds men together in a common purpose and a common faith shared by Christians of all periods of history and of all varieties of belief and practice. Says he: "I see no sign that the spiritual unity of the church has been broken. What I do see is that another sort of unity has been substituted for the original one, and that because of that the rivalries of the churches have been increased. I think the time has come when we should ask ourselves whether a more spiritual union should not be sought."

Having thus eliminated all suspicion of superior claims on his own part, Dr. Parks then indicates why he believes that the Protestant Episcopal church has a great mission. He holds that it is in a peculiarly favorable position to bring to realization that actual spiritual unity which has been obscured because of emphasis upon technical questions of authority. The Christian church which is to serve the needs of the world

[1] *The Crisis of the Churches.* By Leighton Parks. New York: Scribner, 1922. xxx+256 pages. $2.50.

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today must make abundant room for self-determination, must recognize that the forms and the creeds of historical Christianity stand as landmarks of a living and growing faith rather than as rigid forms to which life must perpetually be molded. The Apostles' Creed, for example, is to be used not as an adequate intellectual expression of the faith of today, but as a great historical statement of the faith of an earlier century. In repeating it we signify our purpose to continue the spiritual vitality of that faith in our own day and to interpret it in our own language.

While this book is not a theological treatise, it nevertheless implies a conception of Christianity which is historical in the best sense of the word. It would conserve for us the driving power of the church in the past centuries without in any way impairing our freedom and our responsibility to create expressions of Christianity adequate in our day for the task which confronts us. When leaders of all denominations shall come to share Dr. Parks's point of view the practical unity of Christendom will not be far away, and this newly united Christendom will be one which makes a positive and constructive use of the best historical scholarship.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

For a review of *The Reconstruction of Religion*, by Charles A. Ellwood, see article, "Social Science and Religion," by Harry F. Ward.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

[The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length]

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

PETTAZONI, RAFFAELE. *Dio: Formazione e Sviluppo del Monoteismo Nelle Storia Delle Religioni.* Vol. I. *L'Essere Celeste.* Rome: Athenaeum, 1922. xxii+396 pages. L. 35.

This first volume of a series on the historical evolution of monotheism deals in a comprehensive way with the gods of primitive peoples.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

BAUMSTARK, ANTON. *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der christlichpalästinensischen Texte.* Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, 1922. xvi+378 pages. M. 190.

This is the work for which Syriac scholars have long waited. Its comprehensive, encyclopedic character makes it a *vade mecum* of Syrian literature from the fragmentary beginnings in the second century, down through the schism of the fifth and sixth centuries, thence along the streams of the Nestorian and Monophysite branches to the Arab invasion. Thereafter the Nestorian and Jacobite Syrian literature is followed down to the seventeenth century—an ecclesiastical, biographical survey.

SOUTER, A. *Tertullian Concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan, 1922. xxiv+205 pages.

To this excellent new translation there is appended a collation of a hitherto unknown manuscript recently brought to light by Dom André Wilmart, of St. Michael's Abbey, Farmborough.

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

CAUSSE, A. *Les "Pauvres" d'Israël.* Strasbourg: Librarie Istra, 1922. 173 pages. Fr. 8.

The common people are coming to their own. For ancient Israel that class of citizens now has an advocate of no mean ability in this little essay. The most striking part of the treatment is his picture of the poor as it is displayed in the Psalter. The faith of Israel was exemplified and perpetuated by those who were not wealthy and aristocratic. A useful presentation.

POTTS, CYRUS A. *Dictionary of Bible Proper Names.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 279 pages. $2.00.

Bible proper names are a fascinating study. But Potts's book is a compilation of authorities, good, bad, and nondescript. On three pages selected at random we find five mistakes in references, six errors in translation of the plain Hebrew word, five misspellings of names, four pairs of names that should have been consolidated, and definitions that no modern scholar can find in the original word. The Latin definitions are useless in a would-be popular work. Not a dependable dictionary.

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CONCERNING JESUS

MICKLEM, NATHANIEL. *The Galilean.* London: Clarke, 1920. 157 pages. 5*s*.

Sketches of various aspects of the life and teachings of Jesus, designed to set forth his spiritual authority in non-theological terms.

ROBERTS, RICHARD. *The Untried Door.* Second edition. New York: Doran, 1921. xii+174 pages. $1.50.

Forty short inquiries into the mind of Jesus for today, each one based on his definite words; germinal enough for a session's discussion of a study group "that in a fellowship of thought we may discover the truth that shall make us free."

SCHMIDT, KARL LUDWIG. *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu.* Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1919. xviii+322 pages. M. 80.

An important critical investigation of the first three gospels as sources of information for the life of Jesus. The author is Privatdozent in the University of Berlin and his book augurs well for the new generation of German New Testament scholarship.

DOCTRINAL

BELLWALD, A. M. *Christian Science and the Catholic Faith.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xvi+269 pages. $2.50.

A carefully written account of Mrs. Eddy's life and an exposition of the main tenets of Christian Science. The book is frankly intended to vindicate the Catholic faith over against the antisupernaturalism and the pragmatism which the author finds in Christian Science. An unusually complete bibliography is a valuable feature of the volume.

CADOUX, A. T. *Essays in Christian Thinking.* New York: Doran; London: Swarthmore Press, 1922. $1.60.

Courageous, candid discussions of some of the crucial questions in modern religious thinking, with the purpose of relating religious beliefs vitally to the life of our day.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

BAKER, EDNA DEAN. *Parenthood and Child Nurture.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xvii+178 pages. $1.50.

A book for parents presenting the major findings of modern child study covering the period from birth to eleven years.

HAMLIN, MARY P. *The Rock.* Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1921. 37 pages. $0.35.

A biblical drama showing the character development of Simon Peter.

WEIGLE, LUTHER A. *The Training of Children in the Christian Family.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1922. ix+224 pages. $1.50.

A textbook and syllabus for parents' classes. It is based upon the belief that the development of the parents is the assured way of developing Christian behavior in children. The book gives suggestive material on the child in his relations—physique, habits, play, work, study, reading, friends, devotional life, etc. One of the best features of the book is its bibliographies on each subject with questions to stimulate first-hand investigation and reports.

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SERMONS AND RELIGIOUS ADDRESSES

GLOVER, T. R. *The Nature and Purpose of a Christian Society.* New York: Doran, 1922. 85 pages. $1.00.

A lecture delivered at the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends in which the ideals of Jesus are set forth as the basis for a modern Christian society.

HOUGH, LYNN HAROLD. *A Little Book of Sermons.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 173 pages. $1.25.

A baker's dozen of sermons, dedicated to the author's church in Detroit, for which a majority of them were prepared. One turns to "The Ministry of the Mystic" for the keynote—and finds these sentences: "There is a mystic who is a robust evangelical Christian. . . . . And the Christian mystic keeps us aware of our citizenship in eternity."

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

BRUNNER, EDMUND DE S., and MARY V. *Irrigation and Religion.* New York: Doran, 1922. 128 pages.

One of the twenty-six intensive rural surveys by the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys, which attempts to show by two typical California counties the effect of prosperity upon the life of the church.

1. PAGE, KIRBY. *Industrial Facts.* New York: Doran, 1921. 32 pages. $0.10.
2. PAGE, KIRBY. *Collective Bargaining.* New York: Doran, 1921. 30 pages. $0.10.
3. MATHEWS, BASIL, and BISSEKER, HARRY. *Fellowship.* New York: Doran, 1921. 31 pages. $0.10.
4. PAGE, KIRBY. *The Sword or the Cross.* New York: Doran, 1921. 61 pages. $0.15.
5. PAGE, KIRBY. *The United States Steel Corporation.* New York: Doran, 1922. 26 pages. $0.10.
6. EDDY, SHERWOOD. *America: Its Problems and Perils:* New York. Doran, 1922. 30 pages. $0.10.
7. PAGE, KIRBY. *Incentives in Modern Life.* New York: Doran, 1922. 31 pages. $0.10.

These seven pamphlets deal with various phases of the industrial situation and the responsibility of Christianity for the same.

MISCELLANEOUS

BAILEY, ELMER JAMES. *Religious Thought in the Greater American Poets.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1922. 258 pages. $1.50.

Suggestive studies of the religious ideals of Bryant, Poe, Emerson, Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, and Whitman. Brief citations from poems serve to illumine the exposition.

BLOCH, LOUIS. *The Coal Miners' Insecurity.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1922. 50 pages. $0.50.

An investigation made under the auspices of the Sage Foundation, containing statistics and facts which must be known in order to appreciate the complexity of the present crisis.

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THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION

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THE MODERNIST MOVEMENT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

C. W. EMMET
University College, Oxford, England

"Modernism," originally used of a special movement within Roman Catholicism, is now used of the liberal movement within other churches. It represents a way of approach rather than a set of opinions. Important stages are marked by (1) *Essays and Reviews*, (2) *Lux Mundi*, (3) Thompson's *Miracles in the New Testament*, (4) the Girton Conference of 1921, Privy Council Judgments, and Resolutions of Convocation.

The strength of the movement is focused in the Churchmen's Union, but is widespread in academic circles, among the parochial clergy, the older laity, and still more among the younger (Student Christian Movement, etc.). Modernism is an attempt to meet the difficulties of the two latter sections.

Concerning the attitude of the Church, the Extremists are definitely hostile, but responsible leaders recognize that Modernism has a serious message, and many both among Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics are anxious to come to terms with it. There is danger from the "left wing", this, however, does not direct the policy of the movement in England. Two main problems present themselves: (1) a restatement of religion which shall be a gospel and preserve the fundamental values of the past; (2) the question of honesty involved in assent to creeds and formularies which embody the ideas of a past age.

"Who gave you this name?" is a question which may be addressed to parties no less than to individuals, and the godparents responsible are often popular instinct and the press. It is so with Modernism. It was first applied to the movement within the Roman Catholic church, of which Loisy and Tyrrell are the best known exponents. This movement was prepared to go to extremes in criticism and philosophy, while apparently keeping intact all the doctrinal formularies and the whole working system of Catholicism. It distinguished the Christ of

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faith from the Christ of history, and extended Newman's doctrine of development to lengths which would have astonished its originator.

Many would wish still to confine the term "modernism" to this particular school. But the god-parents who preside over such things have bestowed it upon a wider movement. It has come to be the popular designation of what was formerly called the broad, or liberal, school in the Anglican church. Many, indeed, of its adherents regard the name with some distaste, and we find, for example, the somewhat confusing spectacle of a prominent liberal such as Dean Inge inveighing in no gentle terms against "Modernism." In such cases it must be understood that what he is attacking is the Continental variety with its handful of representatives from other churches. But, generally, the term is now accepted in the wider sense; it has probably come to stay and it is obviously convenient. "Broad Church" suggests a somewhat negative and academic outlook; and "liberal" has associations with politics. We shall therefore use the term "Modernist" as denoting the movement in the Anglican church, and, indeed, in other churches, which believes that religion needs to be interpreted afresh to the modern man and that it can be so interpreted without the loss of any essential element. It is prepared to welcome without reserve the results of historical criticism and scientific discovery with their new outlook on the world. It strives to preserve a real continuity with the past and is resolved to work within the church to which its adherents belong. At the same time it recognizes in varying degrees that the time has come when services, formulas, and doctrinal statements require revision. It needs, however, to be said very clearly that Modernism is not primarily the acceptance of a set of opinions and new dogmas, critical or scientific. Any given Modernist may or may not believe in the Virgin Birth, or the empty tomb, or the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel. The essence of Modernism lies, not in its

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conclusions, but, in the way they are reached and the temper in which they are held. Modernists agree that we can no longer appeal to the authority of Bible, creeds or church as something fixed and decisive; they agree that the Spirit of God is speaking in divers channels and by divers voices and that we must be ready to hear all that He saith to the churches; and they agree that truth flourishes best in an atmosphere of freedom and that the church must be brave enough to suffer a great variety of opinions within its walls.

What have been the main stages in the development of this movement?[1] Not to go too far back, we may mention the publication of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860. This was a collection of essays written, as is well known, by prominent members of the Church of England, including Temple, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, Mark Pattison, and Jowett. The positions taken up would in most cases be regarded today as very moderate, but the book was received with a storm of indignation. An archdeacon spoke of it as containing all the poison which is to be found in Tom Paine's *Age of Reason*, while it had the additional disadvantage of being written by clergymen. It was denounced in Convocation, and proceedings were taken against two of the contributors. They were sentenced to a year's suspension by the Court of Arches, but acquitted by the Privy Council, the main point at issue being whether the formularies of the Church of England required a belief in everlasting punishment. This Privy Council judgment vindicated the position of the Broad Church party, as it was then called, in the Church of England. It should be carefully noted that the same court vindicated the position of the Evangelical party in the Gorham case, and of the High Church party in the Bennett case.[2]

[1] The writer would venture to refer the reader for fuller details to his discussion of the subject in *Conscience, Creeds, and Critics* (Macmillan & Co., 1918).

[2] In the Gorham case the point at issue was Baptismal Regeneration, in the Bennett case the doctrine of the Eucharist.

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The Privy Council is a lay court and a State court, and its jurisdiction is vehemently objected to by many High Churchmen. One of the main arguments urged in favor of disestablishment is that it would enable the Church "to rid itself of this incubus," and to decide its heresy trials by purely ecclesiastical courts. It is interesting to speculate what would have been the position of the Church of England today if this had been the procedure during the nineteenth century; for in each of the cases referred to above the lay court stood for freedom, while the ecclesiastical court proved itself conservative and narrow.

A further stage was marked by the publication of *Lux Mundi*. It showed that a large section of the High Church party was prepared to accept Old Testament criticism almost without reserve, refusing, e.g., to regard *obiter dicta* of Christ as decisive evidence of the Davidic authorship of Psalms. With regard to the New Testament it was more hesitant, and it is only fair to the writers to point out that they regarded their position as completely in harmony with the main trend of the teaching of the Fathers and with the pronouncements of Councils. Without going into the manifold questions raised by this position, the important point to notice is that it proved that biblical criticism and a recognition of the teachings of modern science had now established themselves in the center of church life.

Our next landmark may be the publication of Mr. J. M. Thompson's *Miracles in the New Testament* (1911). The writer definitely rejected miracles as ordinarily understood. He was deprived of his license by the Bishop of Winchester, who had jurisdiction over the college to which he belonged, and there followed a deluge of pamphlets and sermons on both sides of the controversy. The most definite outcome was a debate in the spring of 1914 in the Upper House of Convocation, the assembly of the diocesan bishops of the Church of England. A petition was presented by the Churchmen's

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Union demanding freedom to study and discuss critical problems and to publish the result of studies, and also urging that a wide liberty of belief should be allowed with regard "to the mode and attendant circumstances" both of the Incarnation and of the Resurrection. A resolution was carried in which the Bishops expressed their resolve to maintain unimpaired the Catholic faith as stated in the Creeds. The most important paragraph may be given verbatim:

> We express our deliberate judgment that the denial of any of the historical facts stated in the creeds goes beyond the limits of legitimate interpretation and gravely imperils that sincerity of profession which is plainly incumbent on the ministers of Word and Sacrament. At the same time recognising that our generation is called to face new problems raised by historical criticism, we are anxious not to lay unnecessary burdens upon consciences, nor unduly to limit freedom of thought and enquiry, whether among clergy or among laity. We desire therefore to lay stress on the need of considerateness in dealing with that which is tentative and provisional in the thought and work of earnest and reverent students.

This resolution was markedly cautious and conciliatory. The Bishops, it will be seen, refused to condemn any book or statement explicitly, or to encourage prosecution. A good deal had gone on in the background before the debate and the official resolution, and no doubt something had been sacrificed on both sides in order to retain episcopal unanimity in the face of the public.

Attention was soon occupied by the more immediate issues of the war, but the question of Modernism came to a head in the Conference held at Girton, Cambridge, in August, 1921. The Conference was organized by the Churchmen's Union, and its subject was the Person of Christ and the Creeds. For some reason the attention of the press was attracted; it was a slack season and the public was waiting for the arrival of Charlie Chaplin. Fragmentary and misleading reports of some of the papers appeared with scare headlines—"Dean denies Divinity" and the like. It is hardly worth while going into

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the whole story. Sensible people recognized that such fragments could not be relied on as giving the whole truth, and this view was fully confirmed when the papers were published in full in the *Modern Churchman* of September, 1921. But public attention had now been drawn to the whole subject. The average man had known vaguely that something was going on in the direction of the spread of modern ideas among the clergy. Now he began to talk about Modernism himself in his club and workshop. The Modernists had not engineered the advertisement, but their opponents had given them a boom such as the most astute of publicity agents might envy. It was realized on all sides that Modernism was very much alive and must be taken seriously. The case could no longer be met by sarcastic references to "the sterile party" or to "a handful of academic liberals."

Two definite attempts were made to stem the tide. The Rev. C. E. Douglas seized a broom which broke very quickly in his hands. He delated Mr. Major for heresy on the ground of his denial of the physical resurrection of the body. In the choice of the person to be attacked he showed a sound instinct. Mr. Major is editor of the *Modern Churchman*, the chief organ of the Modernist movement in England; he is also principal of Ripon Hall, Oxford, a theological college for the training of ordinands. Not having the status of a beneficed clergyman, he might not be so well protected as those who enjoy "the parson's freehold" in a living; for the Established Church gives a very secure tenure to its incumbents.

But the ground on which he chose to fight was less well-selected. It is not only Modernists who, while believing wholeheartedly in Immortality as the full survival of the personality, reject any idea of a resurrection of the flesh or the physical particles of the body. A condemnation on this issue would have involved a great mass of central church opinion, and it was no surprise when the Bishop of Oxford, having sought advice from three of the leading theological

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professors of Oxford, refused to proceed with the prosecution.

The second line of attack was a series of attempts to persuade the Bishops to condemn the Girton Conference. A petition was presented by the English Church Union calling attention to "erroneous interpretations" concerning the Godhead of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity, urging that by these opinions the minds of many had been deeply distressed, enemies of the faith greatly encouraged, and the honesty of the clergy as a body seriously called in question." The petitioners, therefore, desired the Bishops "to declare that such opinions are contrary to the teaching of the Bible and the Church."

It is no secret that strenuous efforts were made to secure the desired result. But once more a counter-petition, with few but weighty signatures, was organized by the Churchmen's Union, and important debates took place in the Convocations of Canterbury and York in May of this year. The Convocation of Canterbury passed a resolution declaring its own adhesion to the teaching of the Nicene creed and calling attention to the fact that the church commissions as its ministers those only who have solemnly expressed such adhesion. It went on:

> Further, this House recognises the gain which arises from enquiry, at once and reverent, into the meaning of the Faith, and welcomes every aid which the thoughtful student finds in the results of sound historical and literary criticism, and of modern scientific investigation of the problems of human psychology; and it deprecates the mere blunt denunciation of contributions made by earnest men in their endeavour to bring new light to bear upon these difficult and anxious problems. At the same time it sees a grave and obvious danger in the publication of debatable suggestions as if they were ascertained truths, and emphasises the need of caution in this whole matter, especially on the part of responsible teachers in the Church.

The York Convocation adopted a report to much the same effect.

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Two points deserve to be noted. (1) In spite of the strong pressure brought to bear, the Bishops definitely refused to issue any condemnation either of the Girton Conference itself or of any specific statements made at it. They recognized the absolute necessity of free and full discussion and the futility of *ex cathedra* pronouncements. (2) They went distinctly further in their welcome of the Modernist movement than did their predecessors in 1914.

What then is the strength and extent of this movement? It is focussed in a society already referred to, The Churchmen's Union for the advancement of liberal religious thought. Its objects are:

1. To affirm the continuous and progressive character of the revelation given by the Holy Spirit in the spheres of knowledge and of conduct.
2. To maintain the right and duty of the Church of England to restate her doctrines from time to time in accordance with this revelation.
3. To uphold the historic comprehensiveness of the Church of England.
4. To defend the freedom of responsible students, clerical as well as lay, in their work of criticism and research.
5. To promote the adaptation of the church services to the needs and knowledge of the time.
6. To assert the claim of the laity to a larger share in the government and responsible work of the Church.
7. To foster co-operation and fellowship between the Church of England and other Christian churches.
8. To study the application of Christian principles and ideals to the whole of our social life.

Its activities are varied. Perhaps the most important are the support of the *Modern Churchman*, the monthly magazine already referred to, and the organization of conferences for the discussion of modern problems. The Council includes among many others Bishop Hamilton Baynes, Dean Inge, Dean Rashdall, the Master of Marlborough, the Rev. C. E. Raven, and Miss Maude Royden, a sufficiently varied selection which emphasizes the feature already referred to, that modernism is not the acceptance of a set of opinions. For

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there cannot be many questions in which the Dean of St. Paul's and Miss Royden see eye to eye, except in this fundamental principle of the need of absolute freedom.

It is interesting to note that an American Modern Churchmen's Union is in process of formation, of which the organizer is Dr. McComb, Professor of Pastoral Theology at the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The Churchmen's Union is important and representative, but the Modernist movement itself is very much wider. We may perhaps distinguish the following classes:

1. There are many in academic circles, theologians and others, who share the general point of view, but have the reluctance of the scholar to associate themselves with any movement of a propagandist or popular kind. But in any crisis they are, as will have been seen, ready to range themselves unreservedly on the side of liberty of thought within the church.

2. Not a few among the parochial clergy are semi-Modernists or crypto-Modernists. Often they have not fully thought out their own position. They are modern in Old Testament criticism, but not in New Testament criticism. Or they are prepared to apply critical methods to the Bible in general, but hesitate to do so with regard to doctrines touching the Apostolic Succession or the Sacraments. Others share the dislike to be associated with a party; a few, perhaps, are afraid to avow their position.

3. Again among the older laity, a large number both of men and women, in their private thoughts and in conversations among themselves, practically take up the Modernist point of view, though they may not be able to state their attitude in precise theological terms. But they believe that the church and its ministers are still committed to an old-fashioned traditionalism. When they have tried to formulate their ideas or their problems to a parson, they have often chosen their confidant badly, and found themselves repulsed

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with a snub or a jest. Accordingly they have preferred to keep their thoughts to themselves, and not a few of the clergy still believe quite seriously that there is no modernism in their congregations. Sometimes the laity of whom we are speaking continue to attend the ministrations of the church in a detached and rather cynical mood; sometimes they absent themselves almost entirely. But they have not ceased to care for religion or for their church.

4. Younger folk may be regarded as forming a class of their own, differing from their elders in that they are more articulate and have a clearer idea of what they want. In the Student Christian Movement and similar organizations they have learned to discuss religious problems with the completest frankness in the light of modern knowledge, and they are not afraid to express themselves. They have also found a Christian fellowship with their like which cuts across the divisions of the churches; they are impatient of denominational barriers and resent being herded into separate pens for worship and above all for the Holy Communion.

These younger people are not primarily interested in critical or historical questions, such as the authorship and date of books of the Bible, the evidence for miracles, or the origin and history of Episcopacy. They are prepared on these points to accept the conclusions of the experts. But they want a religion which is clear and intelligent in the fundamentals, which will help them to rebuild a world which seems to them to be falling in ruins, and which will make co-operation and fellowship the ruling principle between nations and between classes. With all their suspicion of dogma they have no use for a religion which does not give the central place to Christ, and they wish to be able to give an intelligible reason for doing so.

It is this concern for a right scale of values which explains the influence among them of Dean Inge, in spite of the fact that they are often out of sympathy with much of his outlook on social questions.

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This group is inclined to despair of all the churches as at present organized. They are watching anxiously and critically to see whether they can rise to their new opportunities. If they fail, they are probably prepared to start a new organization of their own.

It is with these two last classes that Modernism is especially concerned. It is its task to persuade them not only that religion can be saved, but that the church can be saved, if they will come in and share in the work of transforming it from within. The Modernist can assure them of a welcome and of a sympathy which understands their difficulties and is prepared to meet them frankly.

What then is the attitude of the church as a whole toward Modernism? It is undoubtedly more favorable than might appear on the surface to one who knew only the church press, especially in its correspondence columns, and certain of the platform and pulpit utterances on the subject. The somewhat violent and undiscriminating utterances here found no doubt represent a real body of opinion especially among evangelicals and the more advanced Anglo-Catholics. A leading article in a church paper wrote as follows: "Toleration is extended to us [the Anglo-Catholics] on the supposition that we will extend the same toleration to Protestants and Modernists. Things may be different when it is found that Catholics have not lost their missionary zeal, that they believe that they alone are loyal members of the Church of England, and that they are not willing to lie down with Protestants and Modernists in the same bed." And if the Church of England were disestablished and the extremists succeeded in capturing the machine (and they are well organized and know exactly what they want), the position of Modernists in the Church of England might become very critical. It may be noted that this would react on other churches, in America and the colonies, which are in communion with her. From her historic position she to some extent gives the lead to the daughter churches,

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and especially to those who are included in the Lambeth Conference of Bishops. As long as she herself remains comprehensive, they are not likely to narrow themselves unduly, but if, under the circumstances indicated, she expelled Modernism from her own borders, the position of the Modernists in other churches would become very precarious. But though Modernism has need to watch the situation carefully there is no ground for despondency. As has been said, the intransigeant elements are very vocal, but there are other forces working for peace and for understanding.

Attention has been called to the attitude of the Bishops. Under the leadership of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York they undoubtedly realize three main factors in the situation.

1. Modernism has on any view a good deal to say for itself on critical and historical grounds. The leaders of the church are alive to the warnings of history, which show how often the heresy of one age has become the orthodoxy of the next. Official condemnations and loud popular outbursts have only served to make the church ridiculous and are obviously not the right means for the delicate task of disentangling truth from error.

2. The church leaders understand the paramount importance of meeting the younger people sympathetically, and it is a constructive Modernism which seems best fitted to do this.

3. The supply of ordination candidates gives rise to much anxiety, both in number and quality. Unless a full recognition is given to a temper of mind which, while remaining essentially Christian, accepts the modern outlook, there is little prospect of persuading the best and most intelligent of the younger men to give themselves to the ministry.

On such grounds as these far-seeing men in positions of responsibility, while they may not agree with many of the Modernist positions, are yet sincerely anxious to keep the

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ring, to secure a fair discussion of present-day problems on the basis of argument rather than of an appeal to authority, and to encourage the movement itself to develop on sane and Christian lines.

There are many in both of the other great parties of the church who are prepared to adopt much the same attitude. At an Evangelical Conference at Cheltenham a year ago a markedly respectful and sympathetic hearing was given to Modernist representatives. As is well known, the Church Missionary Society is sharply divided on the question of its attitude to biblical criticism. But a recent conference of representatives of both points of view arrived at a statement which included the following: "After prayer and long and anxious conference and with an ever-growing consciousness of the presence of the Holy Spirit in our midst, we have been drawn closer together in a deeper understanding of the movements, intellectual and spiritual, which have been influencing many of us." Those who have begun to fear lest haply they may be found to be fighting against God are at least prepared to be tolerant.

In the same way there is a large and influential element among the Anglo-Catholics which realizes that Modernism has a message and that a sympathetic understanding is both desirable and possible. This section is perhaps more disturbed by criticism of the Creeds and the church system, including Sacraments and Orders, than by criticism of the Bible. None the less many of the younger men, especially those who are prepared to think and read, accept for themselves so many of the Modernist positions that they can hardly become parties to a wholesale condemnation. A good deal depends on which element in the Anglo-Catholic party succeeds in directing its policy.

Some would say that the chief danger to Modernism lies in its left wing. The difficulty is common to all live and progressive movements, whether in religion or in politics. At

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the moment the chief representatives of this wing are two well-known English scholars now settled in American universities. Professors Lake and Foakes-Jackson. To many modernists their position seems equally vulnerable both from the religious and from the critical side. In particular they are dissatisfied with their attitude to Christ. They do not make it clear in what sense he can be regarded as the founder of the Christian religion or what, if any, is the relation of the believer to him today. Their views have in fact been explicitly disavowed by most of the leading representatives of English Modernism, and both the scholars in question have retorted by unsparing criticism of what they regard as a compromising and weak-kneed attitude. It is, then, not unfair to emphasize the undoubted fact that such scholars with all their brilliance and learning have failed to carry with them the great majority of their friends and former associates. These hang back not from timidity or fear of consequence, but in the last resort because they do not believe that the critical and historical position presented by such extremists is really sound. A left wing cannot be regarded as compromising a movement unless it directs its policy, and at present, at least, the policy of Modernism and of the Churchmen's Union is in quite other hands.

There would seem to be two crucial problems which Modernism has to solve in the near future. Can it make good its claim to be constructive? A destructive stage is often necessary; there is rubbish and there are false beliefs to be cleared away. The Book of Job is mainly a piece of destructive criticism; the writer found in the field certain beliefs as to the meaning of suffering which he regarded as untrue to experience and derogatory to God. He destroys these beliefs, though he is not yet clear what solution of the problem he can put in their place. Such a process, though it does not carry us the whole way, is always a clear gain to religion. But the present situation has its peculiar difficulties; it is, for example, very differ-

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ent from that which faced the Reformers of the sixteenth century. Then it seemed only necessary to get rid of accretions and superstitions, and the original gospel would stand out once more. But now more is required than the clearing away of such accretions. Historical Christianity has seemed to imply a view of the world, its origin, its fall, the method of its redemption, a view of the relation between God and man, between Heaven and earth, which is to many untenable in an age of evolution with its wider conception of the universe. There must be a thoroughgoing restatement of religious beliefs, such as will harmonize with the new outlook; the question is whether it can preserve the original and fundamental values. Modernism believes that it can, and there are abundant signs that it is feeling its way toward a restatement which will be a gospel to the modern world, which will have a dynamic strong enough to save souls and which will prove its power to regenerate society. The Modernist believes this, because he believes in the living spirit of Christ.

The second question is less fundamental, but equally urgent. It concerns the question of honesty and sincerity in a period of transition. A grave problem is presented by the requirement of assent to Creeds and Articles which belong to a pre-critical period, and by the constant use in prayers and hymns of language which by common consent can no longer be taken in its literal and historical sense. This problem presses most hardly on the sensitive conscience and particularly on the conscience of many of the best men who are contemplating entering the ministry. Can this problem be solved? Under the pressure of Modernist discussions it is coming to be widely recognized that there is such a problem and that it needs to be taken very seriously, and public opinion is moving in a direction which will profoundly modify the whole idea of assent and subscription to doctrinal formularies. Negotiations on the subject of reunion of the churches have thrust it into the forefront. The Anglican Church lays down acceptance

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of a creed as a condition of reunion. The Free Churchman retorts that he can only accept a creed if it is clearly understood that it is not to be regarded as final or absolute, and that the assent, both of laity and of ministers, must be subject to a wide latitude of interpretation of individual clauses. There are signs that such a position may be accepted on the Anglican side, even in quarters where such acceptance might have seemed very improbable. This implies the recognition of the attitude toward creeds, for which the Modernist has long been contending. But the difficulty of conscience will not be entirely removed until some such position has been explicitly recognized by the church.

We have spoken of these two points as problems which face Modernism, but they are really problems which face the churches as a whole. It is not too much to say that the survival of Christianity, as at present organized, largely depends on the ability of the churches to solve them. Modernism has its contribution to make. And this is why many who disagree profoundly with some of the Modernist positions yet feel themselves impelled to confess, "except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved." The questions raised by the new knowledge are too vast for any one school or any one church. They can only be solved if all men of good will, representing different traditions and different outlooks, are willing to co-operate unreservedly in a spirit of mutual understanding and of Christian fellowship.

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FROM COMPARATIVE RELIGION TO HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

A. EUSTACE HAYDON
University of Chicago

The history of religions is replacing the search for an essential religion. For a long time the bias involved in identifying religion with some particular revelation made comparative religion a new form of apologetics. With the rise of the idea of social evolution there began the effort to discover, by the comparative method, the law of religious evolution and the nature of religion. For many reasons the comparative method proved unsatisfactory. The present interest is to appreciate the unique significance of each individual religion with the consequence that scientific history of religions takes primary place.

Perhaps no branch of study has struggled under so many burdening presuppositions and the handicap of so much vagueness as that which attempts to interpret the religions of mankind. A religion is sacred, involving things of unspeakable value to a human group; religions are universal, common to all races of men in all ages, and yet, after more than half a century of laborious study of this precious and universal phase of human behavior, scholars have not been able to agree upon a definition of religion. There are hundreds of definitions, ranging from some so narrow as to be exclusive to others so broad as to be empty of definite signification. The theological presuppositions inherited by Christian, Jewish, and Moslem writers often color their definitions as in India the bias is likely to be toward a philosophical or mystical emphasis. Some definitions are stiff with dogmatic self-righteousness, some are contemptuous, some prejudiced, and many partial. This fog of confusion has made uncertain sailing for the religious sciences; but a compensation now emerges in that the effort of comparative religion or hierology to string the religions of the planet on the thread of a definition or a law of religious development and to evaluate them in relation to a selected standard is giving way to a new emphasis upon the humbler

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task of tracing the historic development of individual religions. To be sure, history of religions has always held an important position in the science of religion, but a position often preparatory to that of comparative religion which made use of its materials in the quest for the law of religious evolution and an interpretation of religion in general. Development, growth, and change were never taken radically with the result that the search for religion obscured the unique individuality of religions.

This presupposition of a fundamental religion appeared in several forms. The most natural was in the work of the apologist who assumed that his own religion embodied the truth of man's relation to the supernatural toward which all religions were blindly striving or from which they had fallen away. Again, it was philosophical and sought in the drift of cosmic history to trace the temporal manifestation of a universal spirit. Or it was psychological, overemphasizing the "psychological unity of the race" and finding in this unity the clue to the process of religious development. Finally, among men more cordial to evolutionary theory, there was the effort to arrange religious data so as to show the stages of the development of religion from primitive origins to the highest forms of culture religions. Whatever the emphasis, however, theological, philosophical, psychological, or anthropological, the comparative method was the tool and servant of all. Now comes the era of pluralism; and particular religions, even the individual forms and ideas of particular religions, demand that they be evaluated and understood in their own unique and peculiar significance, and not distorted to fit into a mythical concept of religion in general. This means, in a word, that the thoroughgoing application of the historical method in the treatment of religions has begun.

Critical, objective interpretation of the religions of the world is one of the new fruits of modern scholarship. Only students of this last generation use the terms "religious sciences" and

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"science of religion" without a sense of strangeness. Previous to the middle of the nineteenth century any unbiased and open-minded appreciation of all religions was impossible for the majority of men. The reason lay in the ancient understanding of religion as a way of salvation revealed by a transcendent God, embodied in sacred books and mediated by special spiritual means to mankind. The true religion was designated by the revelation. There could be no easy tolerance of false religions. During the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries Judaism, Islam, and Christianity, each confident of its own revelation, faced each other at the Mediterranean in dogmatic defiance. The touch of the Greek spirit in the New Learning brought no softening of religious dogmatism and the Reformation with its warfare of Christian sects held small hope of sympathy for foreign faiths. Yet the new sciences, the new philosophy, the new commerce, political changes, explorations revealing new lands and religions, could not fail to influence thinking men. Historic thought forms became too narrow to contain the new world-spirit. The writings of Alexander Ross, the Deists, Dupuis, De Brosses, Hume, Herder, and Lessing indicate a new attitude toward the non-Christian peoples. Until the opening of the nineteenth century, however, strict theological circles held firmly to the theory of revelation yielding to the new knowledge of other faiths only to the extent of admitting the possibility of a primitive revelation to all peoples which had been lost or obscured among the heathen.

The middle of the nineteenth century marks the beginning of a new era in the study of religions. In the first place, materials were available to act as a check upon dogmatism and a priori, philosophic speculation. The sacred texts of other religions were being translated; archaeology had begun to yield its precious records; traders, explorers, travelers, and scientists furnished reports at first hand from unknown territories. The very mass of materials was a challenge to research. More important perhaps than the availability of documents and

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data was the growing popularity of the Darwinian hypothesis in biology which was being taken over by anthropologists and ethnologists and soon began to appear in theories of social evolution. Then flowered the comparative method by which facts were gathered from the ends of the earth and from all ages and levels of culture, classified under catchwords and used to demonstrate some chosen theory of development. In the midst of this intensive study of culture it was inevitable that religion should be included in the survey. Comparative religion was born and in the hands of Max Müller, Tiele, de la Saussaye, and Albert Réville claimed a place among the empirical sciences.

It would be a mistake to assume, however, that, with the advent of the new science, the traditional theory of a divine revelation was abandoned. It was too deeply imbedded in Christian theology and in social tradition to be so easily shaken. Yet in the works of the late nineteenth century a new attitude appears. Omitting the solid conservatives who thrust aside the materials of comparative religion with the contemptuous remark, "There is no comparison," there were some who made selective use of them to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity, and others who became advocates of a theory of revelation in a new form. Accepting with perfect frankness the history of religions and the idea of development and change, they maintain that the whole process takes place under divine guidance and control. Accepted as a philosophy of religion the theory retains the values of revelation and yet claims to give complete freedom to the study and appreciation of the historic development of all religions. This point of view is much more common than is generally supposed among writers of the last thirty years. A philosophy of religion formulated on the basis of religious facts and experience and growing out of them is one thing; an a priori philosophy of religion continuing in new form an inherited tradition is quite another. The tendency of the latter is to color, distort, or sanctify historic facts.

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In the hands of a man like Réville the search for the leadership of the divine Spirit added a glow to his scholarly treatment of the history of religions. In the hands of others it becomes too frequently a source of blindness and prejudice. This theory has made it possible for Judaism to see in the experiences of Israel the special path of God in history. It has inclined Moslem and Christian writers to localize the divine interposition and guidance in certain great personages and events and to make it extremely difficult to deal objectively with these sacred personages, records, and events. In a word, it tends to erect some particular religion as a standard and to judge others in relation to the selected norm. The result is apologetics rather than the empirical study of religions.

Apologetics has its own value and justification. No one may deny the right of the Christian apologist to use the history and thought-forms of other religions in order to demonstrate the superiority of his own faith. The unfortunate thing is that these writers do not call it apologetics but comparative religion. *A Handbook of Comparative Religion* by Dr. S. H. Kellogg, an American pioneer in the study of religions, asserts that all religions other than that of Christ must be regarded as false. By a comparative study of doctrines,[1] Canon Macculloch comes to the conclusion that, while there was a real preparation for Christian doctrine in every pagan religion, Christianity is the final and normative faith. In a handbook prepared for the Anglican church under the title *Comparative Religion* by Dr. W. St. Clair Tisdall the reader is given the assurance of the divine authority of Christianity, its unquestionable pre-eminence, and its ultimate complete triumph over its foes. The Hartford-Lamson Lectures of 1907 were delivered by Dr. F. R. Jevons under the title "An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion." As an anthropologist he speaks of the evolution of religion but claims that the task of comparative religion is to demonstrate that Christianity is the

[1] Canon J. A. Macculloch, *Comparative Theology.*

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highest manifestation of the religious spirit. All these works are apologetics and should be frankly so named. Scholars who have been working to win a place for comparative religion among the empirical sciences have a just cause of complaint against this appropriation of the name.

Parallel to this group, often antagonistic to it and inclined increasingly to pass over into anthropology and sociology was that formidable array of scholars who labored to establish an evolutionary theory of religious development. They abandoned all speculative and theological presuppositions and sought to discover the origin of religion and the law of its development on the basis of the facts furnished by the study of religions. The titles of the Hibbert Lectures illustrate this point of view. They read, for example, "The Origin and Development of Religion: Illustrated by the Religions of India"; "by the Religion of Ancient Egypt"; "by the History of Indian Buddhism"; "by Celtic Heathendom"; "by the Religions of Mexico and Peru." The quest was for an understanding of religion. Individual religions were merely sources of data to reveal the law of religious evolution. The great instrument was the comparative method coupled with some theory as to the psychic nature of man such as "a faculty of faith," "the sense of the infinite," "the psychological unity of the race," "religious instinct," or "a religious consciousness." Vast stores of material were at hand and labeled under such terms as "fetishism," "magic," "taboo," "animism," "totemism," "shamanism," "sacrifice," and the rest. It remained only for the scholar to arrange the materials to fit his hypothesis in order to present a very plausible sketch of the development of religion.

But the case rested upon three assumptions. First, that religion is a certain basic thing in all religions and that phenomena are therefore similar everywhere leaving to the investigator only the task of discovering the order of their arrangement. Second, that human nature is a unit producing similar

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forms when brought into contact with external nature. Third, that religious ideas and forms are capable of being gathered under universal terms owing to that similarity. The effort to set forth the law of development resulted in confusion and conflict among the investigators. It was soon evident that the selected order of development might be entirely subjective and that the demonstration was achieved by arbitrary choice of a beginning of religion and careful selection from the mass of materials to fit the plan. There followed a period of controversy among the advocates of the various theories. First, as to point of origin. Was fetishism the first stage of religion? Or did it begin in an awed respect for the great powers of nature? Was shamanism the earliest form of religious control or does taboo mark the first stage? Was animism the starting-point of supernatural dualism or did it begin in reverence for the souls of the dead or in the combination of soul and demon or spirit? Or must we push back to a pre-animism or animatism or even to an original manaism, an awed attitude toward the mysterious powers active in nature and in living things? Does magic precede religion in the arrangement or is religion prior and magic a degradation and later development? All theories found advocates and all could be subjectively justified by a judicious use of the endless data.

A second source of difficulty was psychological. The rapid development of psychology greatly reduced the significance of "the psychological unity of man" and discredited such concepts as "a faculty of faith," a "religious instinct," and a "religious consciousness" as original endowments of human nature. This cut under the old confidence that there must be a uniform manner of religious development and directly attacked the uncriticized use of comparative data since forms, apparently similar, might arise from different psychic causes and be really different.

Slowly the comparative method broke down. The classification of materials in pigeonholes of general terms became

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impossible with more intensive research. Fetishism was no longer one thing but many. Totemism had no significance unless it was very carefully specified what, when, and where. Ancestor worship had its own peculiar meanings in different social settings. The same thing was found to be true of other phases of religious activity and thought. It was seen to be a fallacy to group phenomena together under a general term when an examination of them in their own cultural environment might show them to be different. And, because they seemed to the observer to be similar, to extract them from their own milieu where they had their peculiar individuality and make them march with others in the line of a scholar's theory was to compound the fallacy. Moreover it was pointed out that a phenomenon at one stage might not have the same psychic significance in its later functioning even in the same society; borrowed by another group it might have almost none of its old meaning and to treat it uncritically as the same thing was to miss an important distinction. The arrangement of materials in a line of development became a most dubious undertaking. Since all races of men have lived a long time on the earth it seemed quite possible that the various elements of early religions might not represent stages of development in relation to each other but might be the accumulated technique of ages and exist side by side at the dawn of history. The comparative method hoped to draw general laws on the basis of widely scattered data apparently similar. It now appeared that similar things could not be taken as the same thing when they were different. If scientific accuracy demanded that every religious idea and form be interpreted with all the thick meaning it carried in its own cultural and genetic setting the comparative method was robbed, if not stripped, of value.[1] Its worth, as a source of suggestion as to possible developments and contacts, when individual religions were under survey, would depend upon a careful, critical appraisal of the local

[1] For a searching critic of method see Frederick Schleiter, *Religion and Culture.*

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significance of the data. This cautious and restricted use of the comparative method is well illustrated by Dr. L. R. Farnell in his studies of the development of the Greek religion.[1]

The failure of the comparative method was first evident to the anthropologists. Comparative religion still held its ground. After the bad lands of origins were abandoned there were still the broad areas of the history of culture religions. Professor J. E. Carpenter writes:

> The study of comparative religion assumes that religion is already in existence. It deals with actual usages which it places side by side to see what light they can throw upon each other. . . . . It is not concerned with origins. . . . . Just as the general theory of evolution includes the unity of bodily structure and mental faculty, so it will vindicate what may be called the unity of the religious consciousness. The old classifications based on the idea that religions consisted of a body of doctrines which must be true or false, reached by natural reflection or imparted by supernatural revelation disappear before the wider view. Theologies may be many but religion is one.[2]

Thus is maintained the old quest to find religion under the manifold manifestations of religious thought and activity through the ages. A variant of the quest is found in the work of George Foucart[3] who selected the religion of Egypt, owing to its antiquity, its long untroubled development and abundant materials, as the ideal basis of comparison. With this all others are compared. Here apologetics is abandoned and the exaltation of one religion to the supreme place is not the goal. The search is seriously made for the meaning of religion and the laws underlying its development. The most tireless modern champion of comparative religion, Mr. L. H. Jordan,[4] is especially vigorous in his repudiation of the misuse

[1] *The Cults of the Greek States;* cf. also his "Inaugural Lecture of the Wilde Lectures in Natural and Comparative Religion," p. 9.

[2] *Comparative Religion*, pp. 30, 31, 34.

[3] *La Méthode Comparative dans l'histoire des Religions.*

[4] See *Comparative Religion, Its Genesis and Growth; Comparative Religion, Its Method and Scope*, etc.

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of the study in the service of apologetics. But the more one becomes detached from bias and from special admiration of one religion, the more objectively the data of religions are studied, the more it appears impossible to draw them into a neat generalization. To appreciate them truly is to see them in their peculiar individuality. To set them side by side with others in order to look at them serves only to make them more distinctly different. Comparative religion loses meaning unless one has already some preconceived idea as to the standard of religious excellence or some philosophical presupposition as to a single cosmic power at work under all the forms. As an instrument for discovering the law of religious evolution the comparative method is hopelessly inadequate. The comparison of data is meaningless unless some connection can be shown. If the effort is to secure an appreciation of the many religions of the world that result can be achieved more perfectly by the history of religions. If the desire is to explain why certain ideas and forms arise under certain conditions that task falls under the scope of psychology of religion. If one seeks to show how interaction and borrowing have taken place the history of the religions concerned will reveal it. If religion, after all, is not one but many, a valid religious science will devote itself to the conscientious interpretation of each one of the multitude.

When the comparative method fell into disfavor there still remained the hope that the law of religious evolution might be discovered by another method, namely, by selecting an isolated group and making an intensive study of a single development. This Durkheim attempted for Australia. No generalization in regard to religion as a racial product seems possible from this method. Even though the data were certain and all contacts with other groups assuredly absent what is achieved may be the history of a unique and individual religious development. This in itself is a very valuable result but no inference may safely be drawn from it as to the early stages of any other single religion.

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What remains then is the study of religions in all their vast variety. History of religions assumes a new dignity. Its task is to deal not with religion but religions, each of them the product of the life of a human group and claiming to be interpreted in all the richness of its individuality. The given thing is human life seeking satisfaction in a specific environment. The story of this co-operative quest for the good life in relation to varying natural surroundings is the story of the religion in its early stages. There are certain basic needs and desires. The geographic situation presents advantages, dangers, and problems. The slowly expanding appreciation of the cosmic powers with which men deal, the slowly developing technique of control from rudimentary forms of magic word and rite to the sciences, the enlarging conception of the good life from fundamental physical needs to the higher spiritual values all enter into the story. And each religious development has its own distinct individuality not to be lost or obscured by any preconceived idea of religion as ideally represented in any other group or as formulated by a comparative study of many. This demands a sincere and thoroughgoing use of the historical method in the treatment of every particular religion and of the ideas and forms of every religion and an appreciation of their unique significance to the people who use them. If this great labor can be carried through it holds out the hope of a sympathetic understanding of all religions as products of human groups rooted in the earth and striving, not always successfully, to achieve a worthful life. Not only will it give an authentic vision of the varied gropings of the families of mankind for the higher values of life but it will make possible an appreciative knowledge of the distinctive religious attitudes, heritages, and attainments of the races now intermingling in a narrowed world and so, perhaps, open a pathway for the coming of a religion of humanity as the co-operative quest of the good life of the race.

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PSYCHOANALYSIS AND RELIGION

ABRAHAM CRONBACH
Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio

Psychoanalysis leads to the real motives in behavior, in contrast with supposed or professed motives. It may thus serve to reveal a person's true self, and so reinforce religious self-searching.

Psychoanalysis would clarify religious controversy by disclosing the actual motives lying behind religious attitudes.

The real reasons for the success or the failure of devices in religious education would appear. Mixed or obscured motives in the teacher could be evaluated in the interests of a more sincere educational process.

A suggested list of subconscious interests in religious belief and action is given to indicate the direction in which inquiry would be led.

A new technique for religious development would be made possible by an understanding of sublimation.

I

The most valuable illumination that psychoanalysis has to offer is that touching the disparity between real motives on the one hand and alleged or avowed, professed or supposed, motives on the other. The problem of psychoanalysis may, with close approximation to exactness, be characterized as the ascertainment of the real motive, using the word "motive," of course, as interchangeable with the "wish" or the "desire" of the psychoanalytic writers. Whether in dreams or in neuroses or in ordinary waking experience, one motive is consciously professed while another is half-consciously or subconsciously or unconsciously entertained. In a dream, our apparent concern may be to escape a pursuing beast or foe, although our real concern may be something sexual. The neurotic may suffer from insomnia the underlying purport of which may be an Oedipus or Electra complex. A politician may believe himself devoted to social reform, yet, could he look deeply into himself, he might discover his real motive to be self-aggrandizement, while the expert analyst probing still deeper might discern who knows what infantile sadistic or exhibitionistic vestiges.

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There is such a thing as taking stock of one's self. Periods of self-examination for winnowing the true motives from the presumed are enjoined by all religions. "Search me, O God, and know my ways; try me and know my thoughts," said the Psalmist. Nor is the elaborate apparatus of psychoanalysis always necessary in order to expose the duality. "Ofttimes a work seemeth to be of charity," says Thomas à Kempis, "and it is rather a work of the flesh; because natural inclination, self-will, hope of reward, and desire of our own interest are motives seldom absent." The outbreaks of petulance on the part of persons engaged in public or charitable endeavors betray only too frequently the dominance of the *amour propre* in the background over the altruism in the foreground.

In the domain of controversy and in the domain of education and consequently in the domain of religion embracing, as this does, controversial and educational tasks, these considerations are of overwhelming significance.

The paramount theme in every contention is duplicity of motive. Where such is not suspected and insinuated, altercation and its handmaid, sarcasm, have scant food for subsistence. "Wilson found it necessary to cancel the G.A.R. appointment but he did have leisure to address the Confederate veterans." "The church is solicitous for the salvation of your soul; of course, prayers and masses cost money." "He hasn't any money to pay his debts but he does have money for a trip to the coast." "Congress can appropriate billions for military purposes and millions for the study of hogs, fish, and chickens, but it takes years to get a small appropriation for child and maternity welfare." "He cannot attend church; he is too busy at the card table." All querulous censures seem to be directed not so much at the assumedly real motive of the person censured as at the presumed discrepancy between the real motive and the avowed. Hypocrisy is the most prolific of charges.

The motive predicated of us by our antagonist is as likely to be false as the motive defensively avowed by ourselves. Never-

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theless, all controversy appears to move in the sphere of motives that are seldom real but nearly always assumed. Spinoza is probably right in his assertion that, could we glimpse the real motives of ourselves and of others, there would be no antipathies and consequently no quarrels. The real motives on both sides of any quarrel are perhaps mutually more tolerable than the instinctive concealment of them would imply.

Or take the matter of education. The application of psychoanalysis to pedagogy is undoubtedly among the hopeful prospects of the future. Interest and sympathy are fundamental in education, but where are interest and sympathy rooted if not in the individual's motives? To awaken interest and sympathy is the problem of the school mistress and of the statesman alike. From the games of the nursery to the persuasion of the world, success depends upon the effectiveness of the appeal to the desires by which human beings are actuated. Tact and diplomacy, indispensable in the kindergarten as on the rostrum are also akin to the perception of underlying motivations. One's own self-discipline requires such knowledge; speed or dilatoriness, achievement or failure, depending upon the connection established or not yet established between the subject of study on the one hand and our innermost proclivities on the other.

II

Let us now apply these thoughts to the questions of religious controversy and religious education.

The interminable disputations in the religious domain are due to misapprehension of motives. While tenets and ceremonies are the ostensible points at issue, motives are the actual factors involved. Yet each side is misinformed concerning its own no less than concerning its opponent's real motives. The flimsy logic and the conspicuous irritability characterizing these discussions evidence this; as also the fact that controversy ceases, although no other agreement is reached, the very moment that one side recognizes the "sincerity," that is, the worthy

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motivation of the other. When controversy is at its bitterest, each side affirms its own motive to be justice and truth, with falsehood, greed, or arrogance as the motive of the other side. Even when the antagonism is mild, the intimations of error with which the opponent is charged carry with them the insinuation that there are volitional causes of the error, "wilful error," as the phrase goes. In this spirit "Homousion" has fought "Homoiusion," Atheist has been arrayed against Theist and Theist against Atheist, Trinitarian has contended with Unitarian, Protestant with Catholic, Liberal with Conservative, Rabbinite with Karaite, Pharisee with Sadducee, and thus throughout the history of religious conflict.

But what if investigation were to show family affection or self-preservation or "free exercise of personality" or even the sexual inexorabilities to be the true motives involved? Yes, what if behind the diversity of doctrine there should prove to be an identity of purpose? What if it were to develop that "the objects on both sides are virtually the same," as President Wilson said of the belligerents in the Great War? Obviously the course of the controversy would be profoundly affected. How much less sterile, in all events, religious discussion would become could we grapple with the real points at issue and cease to flounder among the spurious points! We would no longer reply to him who is inordinately attached to his social group, by proving that the earth revolves around the sun or to him who is enamored of his ancestry by demonstrating that the Pentateuch is of post-exilic origin.

Relative to all of this we might then proceed to put to psychoanalysis some further questions. We have observed that loyalty to truth can be a motive avowed although not actually cherished. Does it ever happen, however, that avowal and fact coincide? Is there such a thing as perfect objectivity, devotion to truth unalloyed?

Again, would a person completely devoted to truth be likely to engage in controversy? Is the truth-seeking attitude com-

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patible with the controversial attitude? The familiar psychoanalytic term for the truth-seeking attitude is "the reality principle." Can the susceptibility toward disputation harmonize with the reality principle? Is not perhaps the very soul of controversy non-reality, its very essence that misconstruction of motives in one's self and in others already discussed?

Another possible query is this: The "reality principle" itself—may it not be a special manifestation of something more nearly fundamental such as "the instinct of self-preservation" or "the instinct of grappling with the world" or whatever else psychoanalysis may divulge? One is reminded in this connection of the pragmatic school in philosophy which regards truth as "that which works out in practice." Reality is, according to pragmatism, an attribute of man's handling of the universe rather than of the universe independent of human reaction. Were psychoanalysis to find the reality principle to be a phase of some deeper "self-preservation" or "world-confronting" principle, its conclusions would be, in a marked degree, ancillary to those of the pragmatic philosophy.

III

We proceed now to the question of education in the religious domain, using "education" in a sense broad enough to include not merely preaching and instruction but all forms of propaganda, persuasion, inspiration, and edification. The problem, here as elsewhere, bifurcates into two questions: (1) What is the end in view? (2) What are the means best adapted to the end?

Before answering the first of these questions, it may be necessary to meet the preliminary question whether the end of religious endeavor is something that admits of verbal expression. Language is fully capable of designating the subordinate ends of life such as health, food, shelter, order, recreation, lawfulness, etc., which are themselves but means toward higher and larger ends. Whether life's ultimate end is amenable to lin-

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guistic designation is not easy to decide and yet, when religion is under consideration, we may not stop short of life's ultimate end. What is the measure of adequacy of such words as "God," "Salvation," "Love," "Personality," "Self-realization," "Life more abundant," "Heaven," etc., as denominatives of the final goal? Even should we fail to justify these terms as nomenclature for life's ultimate, we may still find their use warrantable as indexes of the direction in which the ultimate lies. They may, in mathematical parlance, be variables though not constants. They may be signposts though not the destination.

Outside of the religious domain, it does not require unusual introspection to disclose the ends that are sought. Where the object is to learn a science or a language, to amass wealth, to enact a law, to institute a social reform and the like, the end is some definite, clear-cut, objective state of affairs. With the religious ends, it is otherwise. In religious teleology, the entire human personality is involved and this includes of course the unconscious which is said to be the greater part of that personality. The more, therefore, that we understand the unconscious, the more we shall comprehend regarding the ends of human existence. The *summum bonum* must remain a mystery as long as the greater part of the personality seeking the *summum bonum* abides in mystery.

The same must be said about religious methodology. Not only for the sake of interest and sympathy already noted as essential in all education but for additional and unique reasons must religion disinter the motives underlying. Since the ends involve the entire personality, including the unconscious, the means must reckon with the unconscious. The unconscious belongs to the very raw material of religious education. It is that which is to receive the education. What, for instance, is the unconscious utility and effect of our customary religious equipment and resources, literary, musical, artistic, architectural, oratorical, financial, social? For good or for ill what is

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the unconscious potency of our churches, songs, phrases, stories, creeds, paintings, sermons, classes, church receptions, and entertainments? That these often fail of their purpose—inspiration, consolation, moralization, or whatever that purpose may be—is patent to the friendliest. Why do they fail? If these means fail, what means will succeed?

Moreover, what is the rôle, in this connection, of the reality principle just alluded to? How shall we who are scientifically inclined substantiate our conviction that obscurantism, dogmatism, and sentimentalism are wrong and that the scientific attitude of undeviating search for facts is ethically as well as physically imperative? Allied to this is the further inquiry: What religious aptitudes, if any, harmonize with the reality principle? Which violate the principle and which affront it most flagrantly?

Even more salient than the motives in the learner's psyche are those in the religious teacher's or leader's psyche. How often is the teacher's character as an individual and his efficiency as an instructor impaired by adulterated motivations. Ambition edges up against aspiration. The desire for prestige, admiration, or financial betterment breaks the singleness of purpose in the religious teacher's soul, perturbs and emasculates his efforts. Add to this the sectarian and the racial, the social and political complications of religious endeavor. Group interests of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews mingle with the true religious motivations in the minds of teachers and learners, leaders and followers alike hampering or preventing progress toward the "highest good." How shall these adulterations be detected and excluded? If psychoanalysis can render assistance on this head, its religious value were inestimable.

IV

A tentative division of the field could offer the following lines of inquiry: (1) doctrines; (2) rituals; (3) phrases; (4) various combinations of doctrines, rituals, and phrases figuring in the

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preferences and aversions of various individuals. Opposition or aversion to certain doctrines, rituals, and phrases is as important, from our standpoint, as belief and acceptance. The motivation behind the negative is as significant as the motivation behind the affirmative. Indeed, we are told by the psychoanalysts that the unconscious has no negative but that some latent affirmation is the counterpart of every conscious negation. We must therefore probe to the unconscious bases, not only of the belief in God, immortality, miracles, etc., but also of the opposition to those beliefs.

Anterior to any inquiry or real knowledge in the matter, let us, for purely illustrative purposes, venture a few guesses why a given individual or class of individuals may affirm belief in God. (1) Esteem for parents or elders who held and taught that belief. (2) Race or class loyalty. (3) Resentment of the non-believer's implied disrespect for the believer's parents, elders, race, class, or for the believer himself. (4) Unwillingness to "take chances." (5) The domineering instinct. (6) Reluctance to be troubled with doubts and questionings. (7) Dread of public opinion involving jeopardy of monetary, professional, or social prospects. (8) Gratification over escape from some pain or danger. (9) The experience of mystic satisfactions such as "the peace that passeth understanding." Would the psychoanalyst call this experience the sublimation of a disagreeable repression?

It will be noticed, in our conjectural analysis, that we have boldly ignored the "arguments" for belief in God. This is because we are concerned not with "arguments," but with the real reasons. Arguments are camouflage. We should pause for the arguments only long enough to spy out of them the traces of the actual motivations.

Perhaps the expert analyst will find implicated in the God belief factors much different from those conjecturally enumerated above. Like the expert in chemistry, he may discover that what the layman regards as elementary is not an element

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but a compound. Esteem for parents, class consciousness, mystic raptures, etc., may in turn admit of analysis into ingredients more rudimentary.

Every religious doctrine should be submitted to psychoanalytic scrutiny, including, as already stated, not only belief in God, immortality, revelation, miracles, atonement, resurrection, transubstantiation, etc., but also the rejection of those beliefs. Curious questions are sure to arise. Here is one: How account for the ascendancy of the illogical in religion? Why are men who are rigidly logical in other matters ready to relax their mental vigilance in matters of creed?

Rituals also should be studied. The recondite motivations behind prayer, genuflections, candles, communion, hymn singing, benedictions, baptism, scripture reading, and the countless other rites should be exhumed. Professed and alleged reasons should speedily be abandoned and diligent search made for the real reasons. We may have to stand prepared for amazing revelations of masochism, sadism, exhibitionism, or of astounding struggles against these and other crudely primitive impulses at the root of the diverse attitudes manifested in ritual matters.

Still more extensive is the field of religious phraseology. What, for instance, was in the psyche of Tertullian when he said "credo quia absurdum" or of the modern conservative when he berates "infidel science"? What is the unconscious import of "God bless you," "The glory of God," "Life everlasting, world without end," "Inner peace," "Inner light," and even the parallels, in real life, to the jest about "that blessed word Mesopotamia"? The entire realm of religious literature would eventually fall within this section of the field. The unique religious potency of the unintelligible should especially receive attention. Why is it that the phrases and books that people understand least are those by which they are edified most? Like the illogical in doctrine, the unintelligible in phraseology is often the most compelling. Why?

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Particular stress should be laid upon the emotional concommitants of the several preferences and aversions. In the entire scope of religious expression, there is hardly a doctrine, ritual, or phrase but evokes in diverse individuals or in the same individual at different times, diverse reactions ranging from indifference to martyrdom, from jocularity to tragedy. Why this diversity?

Finally, we encounter the striking combinations of tendencies in various individuals. Why will people accept certain doctrines and rituals while rejecting others even at the cost of glaring inconsistency? There are Jews, for instance, who follow the dietary laws at home yet flout them outside of their homes or who will vehemently object to the holding of a religious service on any day except the traditional Sabbath although themselves spending the traditional Sabbath at their customary occupations. Christians will accept the New Testament teachings about hell fire and about the end of the world yet ignore the New Testament teachings about poverty and meekness. Seventh Day Adventists evince extraordinary scruple about observing the Old Testament Sabbath yet would not dream of observing the Old Testament teachings about circumcision, fringes, and the Levirate marriage. Examples could be cited *ad infinitum*. The idiosyncracies of selection in religious matters would constitute a sphere of inquiry unusually fascinating.

V

In seeking these psychoanalytic undercurrents, be it noted, we are entering upon an entirely new departure. Religious discussion has hitherto circled around the scientific or the historical or, at the lowest, the politic value of given creeds and rites. Our concern is the psychoanalytic value. A doctrine may be objectionable from a scientific or historical standpoint and yet, like a dream image, or better, like an excellent novel, epic, or drama, express or arouse something of value in the unconscious sphere. These considerations are closely akin to

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those involved in judging a work of art. The resurrection doctrine, for instance, may have an artistic or psychoanalytic value even though, taken as a scientific or historical statement, the doctrine may be revolting. Suppose that the resurrection belief chanced to indicate hidden longings to aid those who are handicapped by poverty, or suppose that the ritual of baptism should be found to be somehow interwoven with a sense of compassion for the aged, or suppose that a phrase like "the Holy Catholic Church" were to prove, upon analysis, to be linked with an unconscious resolve to live an orderly, systematic life; or suppose, conversely, that psychoanalysis were to detect at the unconscious foundations of a given doctrine, ritual, or phrase, or group of doctrines, rituals, and phrases, a sentiment of class pride, exclusiveness, and arrogance, or—as happens probably with regrettable frequency—an unwillingness to face the realities of life, a reluctance to discriminate between wish and fact. Is it not obvious that a psychoanalytic value may attach to a given doctrine ritual or phrase or group of such entirely different from the scientific or historical value?

Psychoanalysis has much to say about sublimation. Primitive tendencies, socially undesirable, such as promiscuity, cannibalism, and the like are, we are told, either repressed, often with pathological consequences, or are, under happier circumstances, sublimated by being discharged into channels of innocent diversion or of useful endeavor. Suppose that careful analysis were to show this benign process of sublimation expressed, assisted, or inspired by certain beliefs, rituals, and phrases. Since the days of Aristotle, a celebrated concept in art criticism has been that of the "Catharsis," "purification through pity and terror." Various religious beliefs, rituals, and phrases have undoubtedly voiced or exercised a similar cathartic propensity. Consider, for instance, the phrase about "the peace that passeth understanding." Does not some identity between the *catharsis* of Aristotle, the sublimation of psychotherapy and the "wonderful peace," "the healing grace"

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of religion seem highly probable? Suppose now that certain properties of religion could be shown to aid (or to hinder) the work of sublimation. Is not this a feature requiring appraisal entirely independent of any scientific or historical estimate that the doctrine, ritual, or phrase may merit?

VI

An appeal should be directed to all competent psychoanalysts, both in America and abroad, to send to some duly interested, qualified, and responsible individual or committee whatever findings with regard to the problems above mentioned they may encounter in the course of their psychoanalytic practice. The material should be collated, sifted, classified, and studied with a view to the ultimate publication or perhaps periodic publication of the results. Each stage of the research would probably produce new concepts, viewpoints, and bases of discrimination serviceable in subsequent research. It goes without saying that unusual caution will have to be exercised in dealing with the investigator's personal equation. Thoroughgoing objectivity is indispensable, any prejudice or bias, even unconscious, except with due allowance, being fatal to trustworthy results. Still it is not too much to hope that this procedure faithfully and consistently followed may either solve or at least throw new light upon the age-old problems of religious controversy and religious education.

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RELIGION AND ANTHROPOLOGY

S. F. MacLENNAN
Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio

This paper is written from the genetic viewpoint and traces the bearings of anthropology and history upon the science of religion.

Anthropology shows us that religion is an integral function of the human social order: that it varies with the evolution of this order: that its final test must consist in its human service (a) as reflecting the fundamental, effective values of man's life and (b) as also reflecting man's more permanent and intelligent attitudes toward his environment.

From primitive times to the present day, religion has exhibited two permanent types. As these appear in savage life they are denominated *animistic* and *naturistic:* as they are exhibited by our highest civilizations they are spoken of as *monotheistic* and *pantheistic.* The one is distinctively *human* in temperament: the other is *cosmic.*

The future form of religion would appear to depend upon whether man masters his environment and dedicates his powers to worthy social ends or whether man's environment masters him and extinguishes creative impulse toward human uplift.

It is a matter of curious interest that, coincident with the sharp decline in theological values during the past seventy-five years, there should have been an increasingly sharp and constant rise in religious values.

It will scarcely be doubted that the rise and development of modern philosophy and science, but more especially the growth of historical and comparative criticism, has reduced the prestige of theology—ordinarily so called—to a very low if not, indeed, to a vanishing point. The intelligent world of today cares little, if anything, for the theological shibboleths of our fathers. And yet, to this same intelligent world of today, religion is an object of abiding, vital interest. The question, indeed, concerns no longer the "reality" of religion but rather its definition, its function, its range: the description of its objects and processes; in a word, its orientation in this new, modern, and contemporary social order. Nowadays, one has as much right, intellectually, to speak of religion as to speak of art, or literature or science or philosophy. Serious conflict may arise in any one of these fields, but to the intelligent, instructed mind they all have "reality."

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The above-mentioned status of religion is the product of many and diverse inquiries—a rising new theology which keeps more in touch with science and philosophy than the old; the keen and ordered examinations of religious literatures by exegete, historical critic and comparative religionist; the work of the nature sciences especially as concerns the problems of life and mind; the cultivation of the vast and remunerative fields of the social order; the implications of a more natural and evolutionary ethics; the pragmatic thrust of philosophical insights, both negative and positive. These and many other forces have co-operated to the result—the status of religion as an objective and significant reality.

Of these numerous and varied forces I shall trace the influence of but one—that of anthropology. We shall find, however, that its influence is fundamental both in giving a sense of reality to religion and in defining it.

Anthropology is to the life of primitive man what history, taken in the broadest sense of the term, is to the subsequent periods of his development. History seeks to describe, accurately, man's life, especially man's deeds, and, as far as may be, the circumstances which conditioned those deeds and that life. Similarly, anthropology aims to reveal to our view the life of man in all the facts and principles of his culture from its most primitive to its most civilized state.

Now one of the most unquestionable as it is one of the most significant results of anthropological science is the fact that religion is inseparable from human life and human society. Nay, we may even go so far as to contend that anthropology compels us to recognize not merely that religion is inseparable from the human process, but also that it is essential thereto. No matter to what phase or stage of human culture we turn we find religion, and, moreover, we find it everywhere close-locked with the deepest impulses and dearest interests of mankind. Religion is not a late product of human speculation; nor is it a superficial circumstance in man's life; its currents are the

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underswelling tides of life; it infests human life universally. But to recognize such things as these is to admit that religion possesses objective quality. It can no longer be treated as a subjective affair in the sense in which "subjectivity" is made coincident with "unreality."

If, however, religion be accorded an objective status, if it possesses real entity in this present hard-pan world of ours, the question as to its nature, origin, and function becomes one of absorbing interest, and anthropology finds it to be such.

One of the puzzling problems of the modern theologian has been to obtain a satisfactory definition of religion. In earlier days the difficulty was not so pressing inasmuch as the known religious forms were much fewer and there was a more uniform agreement in man's attitude toward them. On the other hand, during the past century and a half the field of the world's religions has been canvassed with increasing zeal and effectiveness, the result being that an awakening consciousness as to the multiplicity of religious forms has so obscured the apprehension of their unity—if such there be—that definition has become well-nigh an impossibility. Yet, of necessity, definitions there have been, and with certain of these we are, all of us, familiar, e.g.: "Religion is the true relation of the soul to God." "It is communion with God." "It is the belief in an ever living God." "It is the apprehension of the infinite." "It is the mystical union with God." "It is a feeling of absolute dependence upon God." "It is the consciousness of our practical relation to an invisible spiritual order." "Religion is the attempt to express the complete reality of goodness through every aspect of our being." "Religion might be identified with his [man's] attitude, whatever it might be, toward what he felt to be the primal truth." These definitions are sufficiently varied we may, perhaps, be agreed, and they are equally true. Each describes a definite body of religious beliefs. In them religion voices its virile presence through intellectual, emotional, or volitional media. But none of them—or so it seems to me—

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meets the demands of definition as applied to the full body of religious facts nor furnishes us with a tool adequate to the proper cultivation and understanding of religion in its lowest as truly as in its highest forms. As a matter of fact the above-quoted definitions of religion are based upon highly developed religious forms. They lack both the completeness and the fundamental character that is necessary if we are both to understand sympathetically other religions than our own and also to grasp the principle by means of which religion may continuously readjust itself to its ever changing environment and thus renew the well-springs of its life.

With the desire, then, to put ourselves in contact with a more dynamic conception of religion than is represented by the definitions previously quoted and at the same time to clarify, to some extent, my own thinking, I ask your attention to a brief discussion of the work being done along these lines by certain of our anthropologists, and more especially by Emile Durkheim in his *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.* If our discussion were taking a wider range we should be compelled to pay tribute to the foundational work done by such men as Tylor; Robertson Smith; J. G. Frazer; Spencer; Gillen; Rivers; Marett; Lévy-Bruhl; Crawley; Ames; and by Miss Jane Harrison, among others.

According to the analysis of Durkheim two fundamental factors are to be found in religion. Religion concerns itself at bottom with the *sacred* and with the *divine:* in other words, it has to do with the *sanctities* and with the *divinities* of life, however differently these matters have been envisaged by the successive generations and races of men.

In this conception of religion, Durkheim, I believe, stands upon solid ground. Whatever else religion may or may not be, it feeds upon sanctities and lives only in the atmosphere of the divinities. Eliminate all sense of the sacred in life and you destroy religion: destroy the divinities and, whatever else may remain, religion vanishes away. On the other hand does not

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religion deepen and expand as our sense of the sacred deepens and expands? Does not religion germinate and grow increasingly with the sense of the divine? It may be objected that our sense of the sacred and the divine is utterly subjective and illusory. The contention in itself is a fair one and must be met by the religionist. But it is not in point here. If true, the objection would lead to the discarding of religion and with that result—or with the reverse—we are not, logically, for the moment concerned. What is of importance is to recognize that the experience of the sanctities and the divinities of life constitutes the essence of all religion. At its lowest observable levels, in its highest forms, and in all the stages between, religion lives and moves and has its being in the medium of the sacred and the divine.

Furthermore, these two factors in religion are everywhere present. Sometimes one factor is predominant and sometimes the other, but the presence of both is essential to the fact. Another way of stating the same point is to say that, although some religions are more explicitly human and some more explicitly cosmic in type, all religions are essentially both human and cosmic. This point becomes especially suggestive when we anticipate a later result and point out that "sanctities" are essentially human, whereas "divinities" are essentially cosmic.

In coincidence with the foregoing statement Durkheim points out that elementary forms of religion divide themselves into two contrasted types. To these he gives the names *animistic* and *naturistic*. They agree in their common regard for spiritual values, but they differ—and fundamentally—in that the one finds its control center in *human* values and principles, whereas *cosmic* principles and *cosmic* significance constitute the control center of the other.

By animistic religions Durkheim understands those in which the religious object (or objects) are thought of as being akin, in nature, to the human subject. Human characteristics and

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human ways are the ways and characteristics of the spirits, of whatever order they may be. True, every spirit is, in fact, a part of nature, a cosmic force, but in all animistic religions the characteristic feature is a belief in the essential kinship or community of kind between the religious subject and the religious object. Hence, we need not be surprised to find that in animistic religions prayer is the characteristic mode of approach to and control of the religious object. As man may converse with, appeal to, argue with, another man, so equally man may converse with, appeal to, argue with, the spirits.

By naturistic religions Durkheim understands those in which the religious object (or objects) is distinctively a cosmic and not a human force. Whatever spiritual values man may find in the cosmos, however much he may seek to adjust his life, beneficially, to it or to its multiple forces in all nature religions, the religious object lacks, as its characteristic dominating feature, the element of human kinship. However vaguely felt or described, elementary nature religions, such as fetichism, totemism, tree-worship, etc., embody their spiritual values in an *It* rather than in a *Thou*. Accordingly, in primitive nature religions, the method of control of the religious object is not prayer but magic. The religious object cannot properly be appealed to; it can only be manipulated.

I would next have you observe that this contrast in elementary religious types holds true throughout the entire history of religion: it is as marked and significant today as it ever was.

In the earliest known form of primitive society—the kinship group—we are met by spiritism and totemism at the very threshold; the one religion being, as we have seen, animistic, the other naturistic. At the close of this epoch we encounter, on the one hand, ancestor-worship and the tribal worship of anthropomorphic, animistic deities; on the other hand, we meet the worship of animals, trees, rivers, mountains, the heavenly bodies, fire, etc., conceived either boldly as mysterious

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nature forces or through such a thin veil of animism that the essential naturism of the worship is clearly perceptible.

But time passes, and here and there about the world-groups, families, and tribes are welded together into more complex organizations, and the nations arise with their autocratic military and ecclesiastical leaders: kinship as the all-dominant social band is displaced by patriotism and retires to the lesser realms of control. The individual slowly emerges as a subject of rights and duties in himself, though these rights and duties are mere gifts and obligations granted to and laid on him by sovereign authority in return for individual loyalty to the sovereign, to the state, its common institutions, and its common laws. We designate such a great social change an advance and perhaps we are right; perhaps, as some would say, not. But, be this as it may, the emergence of the nations with their centralized authority, their more or less unified institutions and laws, their intense emphasis upon individual loyalty to their several national heads—this emergence, I say, was accompanied by a transformation of religion into distinctly national forms in which each form was characterized and stamped with the genius of the national life from which it sprang.

Now these new national religions are some of them animistic and some of them naturistic in type. In Greece and Israel the gods or god developed as great anthropomorphic deities, human in their entirety; among the Greeks as natural men endowed with powers superhuman; among the Hebrews as a spirit infinitely exalted but with a consciousness closely akin to the human. In Egypt and in India the gods are theriomorphic, therianthropic, or thinly veiled powers of nature—the sky, the atmosphere, the lightning, fire, the earth, etc., in all their exalted power in themselves and in their control over the destinies of men.

Now, with this distinction of animistic and naturistic types of religion clearly in mind, let us look a little more closely at the development of the religions of Israel and of India.

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I believe it is safe to say that the Hebrews and the Hindus are the world's most typical and significant examples of characteristically religious peoples. They are peoples of dominantly religious genius, but they are oppositely religious. The Hebrew religion is essentially humanistic; the Hindu is essentially cosmic.

The God of Israel is, throughout its history, a personal god —the epitome and ideal of culture as conceived by the Hebrews, objectified and thrown upon the background of the world. Hence the religion of Israel lives in the realm of human ideals, especially the moral, and operates in terms of human relations. Loyalty—an essentially human loyalty—whether defined as the appeal of kin, or as feudal loyalty to an autocratic king, or as a freeman's service to a moral creator and world-ruler, or again, as in the religion of Jesus, the interested, loyal, and loving participation of children in an ideal home life where God is the Father, the social order is the home, and all mankind are the children. In such a religion God is reduced completely to human terms, and man becomes the measure of the cosmic. No relation is true which is not a humanized relation. Prayer becomes naturally the mode of contact with and participation in the divine. Human culture in its varied forms provides the means for defining the "sanctities" and the "divinities" of life. Social life and service—our common, everyday living—open to us our true religious expression and the real test of our loyalty. Thus the animism of primitive religion, expanded to its full limits, becomes the concrete personalism of the religion of Jesus.

On the other hand, the gods of India are cosmic in character and, under the influence of their own internal development, drop the alien veil of personality and expose their true character in an impersonal monism—a true pantheism. To the Hindu, God is the universal cosmic principle, and religion consists in union with that principle—the realization of the divine. The final religious equation of Indian thought is Atman-Brahman, i.e., there is an absolute identity, in reality, between the soul of

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man and the cosmic principle. And both soul and cosmic principle are impersonal in essence. Thus to find Atman is to find Brahman, but to accomplish this one must slough off all personalism and must attune one's life to the impersonal verities of things. To the writers of the Upanishads and the Vedanta, spiritual values are fundamentally and eternally real, but they are essentially, yet intensely, objective and impersonal. Now, to keep in touch with the cosmic forces upon which he felt his life to be dependent and to bind these forces to his well-being, the Indian first employed magic—the crude magic of the Atharva Veda. Soon this method passed over into the world-controlling formulas of the Brahmans. Lastly, it fashioned itself into a method of inner concentration by which it was believed man might free himself from the illusions of the human, personal viewpoint and attain truth, viz., participation in the all pervading but impersonal being. Tomorrow, to judge from current movements and thoughts, science will replace magic, ritual, and inner concentration as the method of divine realization and, for the Hindu, religion and science will walk hand in hand. In such a religion personalism and prayer have no place; they belong to the realm of illusions. Truth is to be found only in the non-personal, the objective, the impersonal, the naturistic, i.e., in Brahman.

To my mind, Christianity and Vedantism, as thus roughly outlined, furnish the types of positive religious forms upon which the modern world must build. The one is the full expression of a religion in which the human factor is dominant and the cosmic is subordinate in function; the other is the full expression of a religion in which the cosmic swallows up the human factor and makes objective naturism supreme.

Opposed to both Christianity and Vedantism stands Buddhism. It may perhaps be described as a negative religion. It denies human values and is agnostic toward ultimate principles. Yet it is more than a morality; it is a veritable religion—a religion in which both human and cosmic factors

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are written in negative terms. One might speak of it as a negative Christianity or as a critical Vedantism. Beyond these three there is no other universal religion of pure and distinct type. Mohammedanism, the only claimant, belongs to the animistic type and is of mongrel breed.

If, then, we may correctly say that religion is "a realization of the sacred in life and a sense of the divine in the cosmos," if every religion possesses, to its own being, both human and cosmic factors, though now the one and now the other comes uppermost, the further and fundamental questions arise: Whence the sacred? Whence the divine? Do the "sanctities" and "divinities" of human life spring from human soil? How are they related to cosmic activity?

Durkheim's attitude toward these problems I shall endeavor to state as directly and as briefly as possible.

To Durkheim it is incontestable that "sanctities" and "divinities" are human products. The day of sheer supernaturalism has gone by. If, as the facts warrant us in maintaining, religion be indigenous to human life and to human society, everything that is sacred and all that is divine must also spring therefrom.

But whence the sacred? To Durkheim, the sacred is the vehicle, the bearer, the exponent of those human values which are most deep-set, common, well established, significant, and controlling in life and society. Whatever appears to be essential to man's life, whatever grips him or his society centrally and controls his action throughout, whatever distils essentially his permanent interests—that, whatever it may be, gathers to itself sanctity. Thus, to primitive man, the fundamentals and essentials of his group life and organization appear as things sacred. Among the natives of Australia the media of their cultus—stones, storehouses, ceremonies, totems and their representations, rocks, rivers, hills, etc.—possess sanctity of the most pronounced order. Indeed, among all primitive peoples, the customs which embody group organization and control are

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universally held to be sacred. They are held to be sacred because it is commonly believed that they are essential to the life and well-being of the group and that this has been so from the beginning. Similarly, priests, chiefs, patriarchs, kings, institutions, forces of nature, as they have gained the attention of men and have entered vitally into the life of mankind have each and all taken on religious, i.e., sacred quality. To attack a priest, to pollute a temple, to consume the flesh of a sacrifice without warrant, mean not only to profane sanctities but also to arouse the deepest passions of men, and for the very good reason that such action touches fundamental beliefs of men to the very quick. Kings are nowadays passing rapidly into the discard for the reason that, in this democratic age, they exercise an increasingly diminishing rôle in the social life and order to which they belong. Yet we have all heard of "the divine right of kings"—a doctrine once sacrosanct and, therefore, supposedly unalterable. Kings became sacrosanct and even divine because throughout the history of the autocratic state they, with the high priests, also sacrosanct, were the permanent and fundamental media of social organization. The caste system of India first appears, in the history of that people, as a rough division of labor. There were soldiers, priests, agriculturists or herdsmen, and, a little later, slaves, the four forming the foundation castes of India—Kshatriya, Brahman, Vaisya, Sudra. As time wore on, the priest class gained control of Hindu social and political life, indeed of its entire corpus. As this control was gained the priest grew in significance and in sanctity until it was said of him: "There are two kinds of gods, for the gods are gods, and priests that are learned in the Veda are gods." The exceedingly modern Hindu religion of Sikhism organized the lives of its devotees about the sayings of Nanak, which were embodied in the volume known as the Granth. Pre-eminently susceptible to religion, as Hindus are wont to be, the Sikhs had their religious beliefs driven in on them by the sharpest kind of persecution. As a result, the Granth ceased

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to be regarded as a mere volume of religious literature. It first passed into the realm of the sacred and is now worshiped as a divinity.

These illustrations will be sufficient, I believe, to make clear the convictions of Durkheim and with him, of many contemporary anthropologists as to the origin and function of the sacred. But to prevent misunderstanding one further point may be noted. The question may be raised: Does not the sacred often embody future ideals and not merely register past accomplishments? And I answer, "Yes, but the principle of explanation remains the same." For example, looking forward, any principle, any institution, any program that is intensely held by individuals or by groups and that is believed by them to be fundamentally essential to future well-being and reconstruction will gather sanctity to itself and take on distinctly religious coloring. There are individuals today who hold intensely the conviction that the free rights of individuals are being undermined and that the future of democracy and a livable society is being menaced. Many such individuals, uplifted by the thought of all that is humanly at stake, exhibit, as they throw themselves into the fight, a truly prophetic zeal, a holy fervor, a sacred passion. Does not the socialist, in challenging the past and present social order, feel profoundly that he is basing his claims and his actions upon the sacred rights of men—his fellow-men, although his fellow-workers first? He may often rest his argument upon an economic materialism, perhaps, but is not his controlling motive a conviction, absolute and passionate, that his cause is a sacred cause and that upon its success the one true future depends?

Sanctities, therefore, whether static or dynamic, are of the essence of human life.

But what of "divinities," the companion pieces of sanctities?

"Divinities" are duplex in character, they are "cosmic," and they are also "humanistic."

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Few will deny that divinities are thought of as being essentially cosmic in nature. They are "powers not ourselves" that have a deep and abiding significance for men. Spirits, fetiches, totems, gods—what are they but phases of the cosmos, natural and human, or the total cosmos itself? Trees, animals, plants, heavenly bodies, mountains, rivers, the overarching sky, the atmospheric changes, heaven, earth, the mysteries of life and reproduction, the sun, the moon, the stars, the ocean, the volcano—these and many other features of the cosmos have been and still are the materials of which "divinities" are made. They became "divinities" not because of themselves but because of their supposed influence in human life. The point of this contention may, perhaps, be made clear by a brief reference to the ancient Hindu god Indra. Indra finds his opposite and enemy in Vritra. Vritra is the demon, ceaselessly active, whose abiding and persistent purpose is to impound the heavenly cows (the clouds) and thus to prevent men (the protégés of Indra) from obtaining milk (rain) for their fields. To fight Vritra and to stave off from his people drought, famine, pestilence, is the abiding duty of Indra, the god of the atmosphere, lightning, thunder, and all other forms of stormy atmospheric display. Now if we examine Indra and Vritra a little more closely we find ourselves in the presence of an ever recurring Hindu economic problem. The fate of millions of India's teeming population is dependent upon the coming of the rains. With rain there is plenty and happiness; with drought there is famine, pestilence, death. Such is the time-old drama of India's life. Out of it, in the olden days, grew the religion of Indra. On the one hand there were the nature forces—drought, rain, lightning, thunder—conditioning India's weal and woe; on the other hand was the vital ever recurring need of obtaining the beneficent rain and of escaping demonic drought. Brought together, these two factors produce the opposite "divinities" of Indra and Vritra, and all the "sanctities" connected with their service.

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But while it is true that "divinities" are nature-forces, it is equally certain that they are humanistic also. Animism, as we have already seen, is the belief that nature is alive as man is alive; between it and him there is kinship. Consequently, primitive man's attitude toward nature-forces, as expressed in animism, is that they behave as he does, have thoughts and feelings as he has thoughts and feelings, and have organized forms of activity. Thus "spirits" of every variety must be dealt with as men deal one with another; they occupy definite localities and these localities may be organized and characterized after the manner of group organization. When spirits of the family, the clan, the tribe, emerge, they not merely exhibit in their relations among themselves the social organization of their particular groups but they also embody the ideals of their groups. This process is made especially clear through the development of anthropomorphic polytheism and monotheism. In these forms of religion, the gods and the god are thought of, as to their natures, behavior, and relations, after the analogy of human nature, human life, and human social organization. The gods are male and female; there are grandfathers and grandmothers among the gods, as well as fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers; their conduct toward one another and toward their devotees is patterned on human conduct and is regulated by its standards. In the higher polytheistic religions, and in ethical monotheism especially, the gods or god become the vehicles of man's advancing ideals. In the Hebrew-Christian religious development this is fundamentally and peculiarly true. The god of Jesus is a thoroughly humanized god, and the religion of Jesus moves in the medium of an idealized social order.

The gods and god—man's divinities—are, therefore, in every form of animistic religion the projection of man's ideals out from himself and into the cosmic order. This much we learn from Durkheim. In her volume entitled *Themis* Jane Harrison works out the interpretation in detail for the Greek god Zeus.

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So much for the animistic type of religion, but what about the naturistic religions?

In naturistic religions the personal element is held in abeyance wherever it is recognized, and the evolution of this mode of religion has been toward the complete elimination of the personal. The control of naturistic divinities is by impersonal means, and the religious attitude is ever objective. None the less the attitude of the devotees of these religions is distinctly religious, and the "divinities" are essentially spiritual. The difference between Christianity and Vedantism, fundamental as it is, rests upon social conditions. Both interpret the cosmic factor in religion in humanistic terms, but to the one the essence of society rests in persons and in personal relations, whereas, to the other, persons are but the vehicles and temporary embodiments of an inherently objective and impersonal social order. To Christianity, persons in their human relations, are the centers of society and the agents of its progress; to Vedantism persons are but torches to pass on the flame of life; society, in its impersonal agencies and relations, is the all important fact. Thus, whereas to Christianity persons are inherently valuable, to Vedantism they are inherently valueless. Or to state the contrast otherwise: to the Christian the individual, in principle, is everthing and caste is nothing, while to the Hindu the individual is nothing and caste is everything. In the continuity of social institutions in India and in the extreme conservatism of its social life we thus find the clue to its type of spiritual life. Hindu, as well as Christian, regards God as the ultimate cosmic fact; the two differ in the type of humanism which each projects into its cosmic beliefs, and this difference, in essence, is dependent upon a difference in social situation. Should the social organizations of the world ever take on the rigid compartmental class distinctions of India, Vedantism would become the religion of the world; the fate of Christianity, on the other hand, is bound up with the success of militant, creative democracy. However, there is a further

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possibility: should Vedantism and Christianity both fail through the breakdown of both personal and caste values, and should the life of man appear to be, both individually and socially, an essentially worthless thing—mere flotsam and jetsam on the cosmic tides—man's religion would inevitably conform to the type of the religion of Buddha. Of this possibility we possess an excellent illustration and suggestion in Bertrand Russell's *The Free Man's Worship.*

To results such as these, it seems to me, the researches of anthropology directly lead, and they open up to view certain well-defined and ever recurring metaphysical problems which in closing we shall merely indicate. And after all, these problems reduce themselves to one, viz., "What right, as intelligent men, have we to contend that the cosmos may properly be interpreted in humanistic terms, that it possesses in its essential being specifically human characteristics? Unless that question can be answered positively, then religion fails in its objective, cosmic reference. However, in being forced to face this ultimate metaphysical inquiry, religion finds itself in very respectable company—that of science. While in no wise denying the objectivity of science or the independent reality of the scientist's cosmos, one may insist that, after all, science is an ordered humanistic attack upon our vast cosmos. As a process science is an endeavor to read the heiroglyphics of nature, a process to which the clue *is* and the resultant interpretation *may be* essentially humanistic. In a word religion and science, equally, rest upon humanistic first principles in their objective cosmic references. But this is to say that religion and science are not in essence antagonistic: rather they stand or fall together, ultimately.

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THE WEAKNESS OF PROTESTANTISM IN AMERICAN CITIES

WILLIAM H. LEACH
Buffalo, New York

The weakness which is here emphasized is not an intellectual one but rather the failure to take seriously one of the injunctions of the Master which every Christian professes to believe. Constantly praying for the coming of the Kingdom, the Protestant church has not, as yet, equipped itself to preach the gospel to all. The survey of the Interchurch World Movement shows that Protestantism is not taking seriously its task of redeeming the city. Rather it prides itself that it has a message for those intellectual enough and moral enough to understand. The two greatest obstacles to a larger and more comprehensive work are parochialism and denominationalism. Both of these are strongly intrenched in our great American cities. The way to faith is plain but it is a difficult path for Protestantism to follow.

That the Protestant church should have serious defects will seem unthinkable to a great many of the good people who satisfy themselves in their worship that all of the worldliness and commercialism of Christendom is found in the other great branch of the church. Yet here and there the suspicion is growing among Protestant leaders, lay and clerical, that one of the reasons for the critical condition which the church finds itself in today is the failure to follow truly in belief and service the policy of the founder. To the informed Protestant there is no need of argument to convince him that his church is in a crisis today. There has not been the post-war turning to the church that was prophesied a few years ago. Men, unnerved by the world-conflict, are turning elsewhere.

One of our Protestant denominations was so sure that the new day with its influx to the church was coming that it began publication of a new periodical, or rather an old periodical with a new name, the *New Era Magazine.* By a confession of one of the weekly journals of the denomination the new era refused to be coaxed and the magazine has again been renamed. The casual observer will point to increased giving in all branches of the church to refute the view which is expressed here. But the

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increased giving means but little. A letter from the nominal head of one of the greatest of Protestant denominations to his fellow-ministers which is before the writer gives the true situation. Increased giving has not kept pace with the increased cost of operation. The slump in giving has come and on all fields building and equipment are suffering because of the lack of paint and repairs. It is all that the church can do to maintain its own without undertaking any new work.

The widely heralded Interchurch World Movement ended in chaos and shame. Its financial guarantors are still writing notes to satisfy the demands of the banks. It accomplished some things, but its failure has thrown the church in a spiritual reaction which will make any similar movement to be watched with suspicion, and it is doubtful if one could be attempted in the present generation. A prominent churchman of reactionary tendencies proudly asserts in his address given from coast to coast that the church alone of all institutions has come through the trial of fire unchanged. His boast is, sadly altogether too true. The church is apparently planning to meet the new day with an old program—a program which was worn threadbare in the olden days and has little strength for the new.

The old program of the Protestant church and the one which is to prevail in the new day if the traditional attitude of the church maintains its present strength is one which is not true to the spirit nor to the leadership of its founder. Two gospels credit Jesus with a certain utterance before his ascension. According to the Gospel of Mark (American Revised Version) his closing words gave the command: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation." It was the vision given in a number of other instances of the redeemed world. It was the prayer for the world when men everywhere should know of the Son of Man and live in his spirit. Protestantism has always preached blatantly of the coming of his Kingdom but the church of our day has never attempted to preach the gospel to the whole creation.

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Not far away is a group of praying Protestant people who believe that the ministry of the church should be to the pious. Other churches are willing that the gospel should be preached to the well-to-do. Still others believe that the mission of Protestantism is to the intelligent and informed. They are rather boastful of the fact that the ignorant cannot find satisfaction in the Protestant church. Some would have the church save the respectable, others the moral. Others give different limitations, but in actual practice the Protestant churches or denominations which are willing to take the words of their founder seriously are few and far between.

Dr. Frank Crane in an article in the *Century Magazine* gave, as one of the immoralities of the church, its exclusiveness. Another he insisted was that the church was too respectable. It has no message for the immoral, for the thief or the harlot. Rev. James J. Coale, in the *Yale Review* for October, 1921, insists that the Protestant church has no message for the masses but still clings to the traditional idea regarding the virtue of property.

Any one of these charges is serious enough, but the indictment of the Rev. Mr. Coale strikes at the very usefulness of the church in the new day in which we are entering. He contends that the lay representatives of the various denominational boards are chosen for one main virtue—they have wealth which may be secured for the use of the church in its extension program. Every minister knows how frequent the call is from denominational headquarters to "bring several of your leading laymen, particularly those of means." Mr. Coale insists that there is lacking one single instance of a representative of labor being called to act upon the national board of any Protestant denomination.

The church has an answer to this accusation. It insists that it must have money if it is going to work a program which will help the masses. It is the money which is sought, and there are no strings attached to any which it receives. To a

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great extent the answer is honest and true, and yet there are many thinking folk who fear that the entire machinery of the Protestant church has been turned into a money-plucking machine rather than one interested in the salvation of the world. And it may be questioned whether the church has need of money as much as it has of certain life-giving, spiritual qualities. Money has a strange habit of becoming pious and reactionary when once devoted to religious work. And becoming reactionary it becomes impotent to heal the social distresses.

Both of the writers cited above spoke the truth. The Protestant church is not reaching the masses nor beginning to touch the real problem of the modern city. Huge masses pour in and out the Roman churches while at the best the congregations of the Protestant churches may be counted in hundreds. Here and there a welfare or evangelistic mission has been planted, but its equipment is so meager and the energy back of it so puerile that its influence is practically nil when the huge mass of population is considered.

Let the selections from the survey of the Interchurch World Movement express one opinion shared by a large percentage of the church.

With 13,345,545 foreign born in the United States in 1910, and 18,897,837 native born of foreign and mixed parentage—a total of 32,243,382 of foreign stock—the task of the church is seen to be stupendous. All of the mission work being done at present by all the churches is hardly "a drop in the bucket."

The approach to the foreigner has been weak. We have practically confessed that the gospel which is "the power of God unto salvation to every one" is effective for the foreigner only when it is exported through a foreign missionary society; and that when foreigners move into a community the churches usually move out.

There are many normal people of the city who are not reached by the churches. . . . . It has become an accepted fact that workingmen and many other groups will not go to church because they are not spiritually minded.

Here the church has not kept pace with the increasing population, nor is it effectively reaching the great masses of people. In some sections

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of these cities it has failed completely and has been for years in retreat before increasing populations and unbounded opportunities.

The result is that there has been general retreats and withdrawals of the Protestant churches from the centers of the larger cities. The process has been gradual and has taken several forms. Congregations have selected sites farther up town or have moved to the suburbs.

The fact that this indictment of the spirit of the Protestant churches comes from an official church report convinces us that the church is not unaware of its weakness but is caught into a situation from which it lacks spiritual power to extricate itself. Graham Taylor is right when he suggests that the real problem is not whether the church can save the city, for it may be possible for the city to be saved without the church. The real problem for the church is whether it can save itself.

The Protestant church cannot draw from the experience of its past to solve the present problem, for its history has been one of rural and parochial work. The traditional Protestant church type is that of the New England parish. Each church is sufficient unto itself, and its spiritual life is usually judged by its ability to serve its own constituents. These constituents usually had a heritage of Protestantism which gave them common beliefs and practices. The city church has tried to carry the heritage of its past into the new day and has found itself entirely unable to meet the complex situation.

It has not been blind to the situation but has lacked a constructive program to remedy the situation. It has attempted to meet the challenge in several feeble ways. The first was by the establishment of missions or social settlements by prosperous churches. These have embodied an honest attempt and in many respects have done a world of good. Following this came concerted action of several churches or a denomination in establishing rescue missions. The lamentable feature of these is the contrast between the barrenness of the rescue mission and the sumptuousness of the mother-church. One might get a sandwich and religion in a mission but not much else. Mission buildings are usually selected or constructed on the assumption that the person to be reached has lost all appreciation of things

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beautiful and artistic. A third step has been the endeavor of the various denominations to give financial aid to its various churches occupying strategic centers.

One may look with suspicion upon the third step mentioned, for many times a strategic point means possible denominational prosperity rather than city welfare. Sometimes several denominations see the strategic point at the same time and there is a race to see which will be first to equip and man the field. In short, the strategic point means an opportunity for a large church in the future in which the financial and social returns will justify the investment. The policy of the Protestant church of today in its extension program might be defined as, "Churches first to the socially and financially fit." This, of course, does not touch the real problem of the city.

Says Charles L. Zorbaugh in *The Task of the City Church:*

> But to return to the downtown district, I have been struck by the fact that the church does not show a genius for sticking to the crowd; it runs away from it. It is more comfortable with small coteries than with the multitude. Said Dr. Briggs of San Francisco to me, "For thirty years our churches have been running away from the people in a competitive scamper."

Now there are two things which the church dearly loves which stand between it and the abandoning of its great heresy. These are parochialism and denominationalism. These two still reign supreme among Protestant people. Churchmen love their particular parish above their denomination and their denomination above the church. And as a rule they love the church more than needy humanity. It is a contrast with the spirit of the Master who gave himself that the world might be saved.

In well-developed, prosperous communities there are undoubtedly opportunities for the several denominations to maintain strong churches. The traditional Protestant idea may very well be followed in these instances; but in extension work, work with industrial peoples in their poorer localities, in the downtown sections, and in the growing suburban sections denominationalism is today a spiritual curse.

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Here is a typical example of the denominational abuse of today. The section is one which homes industrial people. These American people are crowded on three sides by Polish citizens. In this pocket are seven Protestant churches. None of them has adequate housing facilities and none is strong enough really to influence public opinion. Sentiment is demanding improved church facilities. Could these churches be brought together, a fine edifice could easily be constructed and the church could also do something that the seven have so far refused to do—take an interest in the foreign neighbors. But the attitude of the churchmen trained in denominational schools is that it is better to die separately than to live unitedly. And each claims to have denominational support in maintaining its separate existence. The question of a survey of the community to discover its possibilities was suggested. The reply of one man shows the temperament of modern denominationalism. "You can make all the surveys which you want to," he insisted, "but we are going to carry out the program we have planned."

Denominationalism is so strong in the American city today that the salvation of the church seems at times hopeless. Most of the cities have an office for the Federation of Churches, but with one or two exceptions the federation is but a clearing-house of ideas which most church leaders refuse to take very seriously.

Next to denominationalism, parochialism is the great curse to the modern church. Because of this fetter the average church can see no religious duty outside of itself. A German church which is now surrounded by a Polish population may represent the extreme thought. The minister was proud of the loyalty of his congregation which came from another district to attend the old church. "As for the Poles," he said, "they don't bother us any." The shame is that very few of the Protestant churches are bothering about the masses which at times crowd to their building. It is much easier to move the church away than to admit them to its advantages. Here and

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there one seeks to make the approach in the true spirit of service only to find that the rest of the churches are so parochial that they can give no help in the stupendous task.

The parochial idea must give way to some co-operative plan if the church is to reach the people with its message. The city usually builds its school to accommodate the children. They are not all located on the avenues of wealth. The church on the other hand usually builds its schools and churches where the money is and in doing that leaves vast multitudes without religious facilities. And it is all because of a limited conception of the vision of Christ for the Christian world.

The average church leader will admit the contention of this article that the city field is not being ministered unto. But his explanation will be a different one. He will explain it on the grounds of lack of funds. Splendid programs of extension work are now stalled because of the industrial conditions which make giving slow. There are those, however, who believe that the limit of giving to the work as at present organized has been reached. Many are tired of seeing so much duplication of effort in certain fields in contrast to the absolute neglect of others. The present funds available for church work are not being administered with the whole field in view. The parochial point of view forbids that. The bread has been for our own children, the crumbs which fall from the table for the dogs. Almost any group of informed men could, if they could free themselves from their denominational and parochial prejudices, use the present combined budgets of the churches of any one city in a much more effective way than it is now being used.

The pathetic thing from the point of view of one who loves his church is that so often the churchman looks at the present situation in so prejudiced a way that he fails to perceive that it is not the world, nor civilization, which is being tested in a spiritual way but rather the church. But the church in this period of testing is so busy trying to save its own life that it stands in danger of losing it.

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THE SPIRIT OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY[1]

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH
University of Chicago

The desire to conserve and to strengthen evangelical Christianity in our day is evidence of a vigorous religious life. This solicitude is greatly needed in the transition period through which we are passing. But there is danger that the real spirit of evangelicalism may be missed.

In historical evangelicalism primary stress has been laid on the creation of a profound religious experience in the individual, rather than on the necessity of submitting to an authoritative system. Luther, Pietism, and the Methodist movement all represent this emphasis. We cannot point to a distinctive evangelical *theology* as differentiating evangelicalism from the types of Christianity which it opposed in Protestantism.

The spirit of evangelicalism is the spirit of persuasive appeal rather than that of citing an authoritative system. Whenever heresy-hunting or theological disputation is foremost, the spirit of evangelicalism is in danger of being lost. Evangelical Christianity may inspire a restatement of doctrine in our day.

There is widespread concern today lest evangelical Christianity may be weakened or lost. Serious discussions and controversies in Protestantism are being inspired by this concern. Charges are being made of a widespread apostasy from the evangelical faith, and Christians are being urged to make valiant battle against the forces which are alleged to be set in array against our precious inheritance. All who have at heart the welfare of religion in America recognize that evangelical Christianity has been a most important creative spiritual power. To conserve and to strengthen it means to avail ourselves of the momentum of a type of religion which has commanded general love and devotion.

But what *is* evangelical Christianity? It is currently defined in terms of certain theological doctrines; and it is assumed that, if these doctrines be kept intact, evangelical Christianity will be maintained in all its power. But even a casual survey reveals the fact that doctrinal tests tell us very little about the actual state of religious life. There are here

[1] An address given at the opening of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, October 4, 1922.

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and there churches standing rigidly for the doctrines declared to be "evangelical," which are nevertheless so pharisaical in their self-satisfaction, so marked by a willingness to criticize and condemn those who differ from them, that they seem largely to have lost the spirit of Jesus. Such churches are religiously unfruitful. There are others equally orthodox in doctrine which manifest a warm, persuasive, winsome spirit and are centers of genuine ministry to needy souls. The difference between the two is not due to doctrine. Again, there are some liberal churches which have become little more than esoteric clubs for the edification of a select group. But there are others in which a modernized interpretation of Christianity is the instrument of winning men to a devout consecration to Jesus Christ, and of building up a self-giving missonary spirit. To attempt to define evangelical Christianity by doctrinal tenets leads us only into confusion.

And yet this is the way in which the definition is usually made. Even so broad-minded a man as Garvie defines evangelicalism as "the mode of Christian thought in which emphasis is laid on salvation from sin by man's faith in God's grace through the sacrifice of Christ." As if evangelicalism were a "mode of thought"! The inadequacy of this definition is immediately betrayed by Garvie when he continues:

> It is not committed to one plan of salvation or one theory of the Atonement; but may change and adapt its presentation of what to it is central in Christianity to the changing conditions and forms of thought. It should no more be bound in the fetters of its past than should "pure and undefiled religion" be discredited by the corruption or superstitions of savages, or modern astronomy by ancient astrology, even though the evangelicalism of the past, however defective it may appear to us now, was relative to the thought and life of its age, satisfying and efficient for goodness and godliness to many of the best men and women.[1]

If, as Garvie insists, the doctrinal content of evangelicalism must change with the general changes of thought, it is futile to define it in terms of doctrine.

[1] Garvie, *The Evangelical Type of Theology*, p. 47.

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A historical understanding of the development of this type of Christianity will throw light on certain aspects which doctrinal tests fail to reveal. The *spirit* of evangelical Christianity is quite as important as is its theology.

It is now generally recognized that the central emphasis in Luther's interpretation of Christianity was on the necessity for a genuine personal *experience* of religion. In the place of the word of the priest, absolving the sinner, Luther insisted on an experience of personal assurance of forgiveness. This emphasis has far-reaching consequences. If, as in the Catholic church, the most important thing is the authoritative word of a priest of the church, supreme stress will be laid upon the formal authority of the priest who pronounces the word of absolution, and the formal authority of the system which the priest officially administers. In Catholicism the all-important concept is that of *authority*. The Catholic justifies his beliefs and his official acts by an appeal to an original divine appointment. Christianity exists as a system of doctrines and rites carrying saving grace for all who will avail themselves of the divine provision. But the condition of salvation is submission to this authoritatively provided system. *Salus extra ecclesiam non est.* No one can be saved outside the church.

The Lutheran emphasis on a personal experience leads religious thinking in a very different direction. The power of Christianity is to be proved by asking what it accomplishes in the inner life of men rather than by asking whether it is authoritatively established. One of the most familiar expressions of this experimental testing of Christianity is Luther's famous statement in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, where he said: "Here is a true touchstone for testing all the books; the book which does not teach Christ is not apostolic, were St. Peter or St. Paul its author. On the other hand the book which preaches Christ is apostolic, were its author Judas, Annas, Pilate, or Herod." In other words, *the content which may be experienced is more important than the official character*

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of the writer of the book. Consistently with this conception of religion Luther abolished the distinction between clergy and laity. There are no officially distinct administrators of Christianity upon whom all others must be dependent. A person's capacity to help others depends on the depth of his own experience, not on a special endowment of ordaining grace. In repudiating the conception of an authoritative church Luther logically appealed to the test of a living experience as supreme over claims of official appointment.

But the Protestant movement was compelled to defend itself. And the defense required both by the Roman church and by the current apologetics of the time was along the lines made familiar by centuries of Catholic theology. It was assumed that the sole valid form of Christianity is that officially established by Christ. Protestantism, in order to justify itself before the opinion of the world, was compelled to prove that Catholicism was a perversion of the original intent of Christ, while the evangelical form of Christianity was the type instituted by him. The appeal was more and more made to the authority of an original institution rather than to the evidence of a profounder religious life. Not that the latter was ignored. It was constantly stressed. But it was never permitted to take the first place in apologetics.

One consequence of this retention of the essentially Catholic theological method was the development of bitter doctrinal disputes between different branches of Protestantism. If there is only one authorized form of Christianity, each group in Christendom will, of course, seek to show that it alone holds the divine commission. Those who differ from it in doctrine or in polity must be denounced because they are seeking to operate with false credentials. A Protestant theologian has usually assumed that his main task was to prove the scriptural —that is the official—genuineness of the doctrines and polity held by his denomination. Such a method relegates the testimony of religious experience to a minor place.

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The logical outcome of an appeal to authority is the employment of coercion against those who will not submit. Catholicism, with its practice of coercitive discipline, was entirely consistent here. Early Protestantism saw no objection to the use of coercion. Heretics or dissenters were subjected to imprisonment, torture, and even death. Authority simply *must* be recognized. To permit authority to be defied would be to give up authority entirely. Dissent must be treated as sin. The inner convictions of men must yield to the outer demands of the system. If actual coercion becomes impossible, dogmatic denunciations express the same spirit.

What is historically known as the evangelical movement in Protestantism—that awakening which manifested such power in the eighteenth century, and which has largely shaped our American Christianity—represents a different spirit. If we consider this movement in the Pietism of the Continent, the great Wesleyan revival, and the Great Awakening in America, we find that attention was given primarily to the creation of a profound religious experience. A characteristic feature of the pietistic revival under the guidance of Spener was the formation of what were called *ecclesiolae in ecclesia*—the organization of little voluntary groups of earnest Christians within the larger formal membership of the church, which met for devotional reading of the Bible and for mutual edification through testimony and prayer. The Bible was to be used to create religious life and love in the individual, instead of being regarded as an arsenal of weapons to be employed against heretics and nonconformists. The non-religious character of the elaborate theologies formulated by the traditional Protestant theologians was frankly recognized by the Pietists. One of them, on being inducted into a chair in the theological faculty of a university, is said to have declared that, while it was usually assumed that the duty of a theological professor is to take the Christian students who come to him and make theologians out of them, he intended to reverse the process. He

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expected to take the young theologians who came to him and attempt to make Christians out of them.

Pietism, the Moravian Brethren, and the Wesleyan movement are all remarkable for their freedom from attempts to Christianize the world by compelling subjection to an official system. Persecutions and theological denunciations were largely left to the representatives of the established churches. For these evangelicals the all-important thing was to deepen religious experience in professed Christians, in order that the spiritual power of such lives might overflow in evangelical and missionary endeavor. Mrs. Jonathan Edwards wrote in 1740 concerning the preaching of Whitefield: "He makes less of the doctrines than our American preachers generally do, and aims more at affecting the heart."

It is, of course, true that the great preachers in the evangelical revival used doctrines already affirmed by Protestant orthodoxy, and that they insisted on the necessity of these doctrines in opposition to rationalistic theories. This fact has led to the common impression that the heart of evangelical Christianity is found in the insistence on certain crucial doctrines. The "evangelical test" employed in our modern Christianity is primarily doctrinal. But these doctrines alone do not distinguish the evangelical movement from the formal orthodoxy which evangelicalism condemned for its religious impotence. So far as these doctrines were concerned, they were taken for granted by Christians generally. What the evangelicals desired was not a peculiar theological system, but a deepening of the religious life on the basis of doctrines already accepted as true. The aim of evangelical preaching was to secure a personal experience of salvation in which the doctrines should become something more than mere intellectual affirmations.

In this connection it is significant that the organization of distinctively evangelical groups of Christians was almost entirely free from attempts to prove that the evangelical

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group was the sole authoritative church. Pietism never sought to become a new church. It was a movement for the deepening of the religious life within the existing church. Count Zinzendorf was concerned for the cultivation of a warm personal experience of intimate spiritual fellowship with Christ, and had no wish to found a new sect which should enter into rivalry with other sects. The Methodist movement would have remained within the Anglican church if the Anglicanism of the day had been sufficiently elastic to permit the free expression of unconventional religious activities. The Methodist denomination has never put doctrinal tests first, but has always been looking for a deepened religious experience as the primary thing. Methodism has no "distinctive doctrines." It stands rather for a more profound religious experience of truths which are already presupposed.

In short, the religious power of evangelical Christianity is to be found in its inner spirit rather than in any particular system of doctrines. Theologically, in the eighteenth century, Christendom was divided into the Calvinistic and the Arminian bodies. But in the evangelical movement we find Calvinists and Arminians equally zealous and equally successful. Who would seek to do justice to Whitefield by calling attention to his Calvinism, and to Wesley by emphasizing his Arminianism? The common evangelicalism of these great preachers is far more important than their doctrinal divergences.

The evangelical movement was primarily concerned to create in each individual an experience of salvation which should generate love and devotion. Evangelicalism did not rely on the heavy hand of authority with its penalties and discipline. It sought rather to win the affections of men so that they should voluntarily give themselves to the cause of Christ. Instead of elaborating arguments to prove that Christ had committed the keys to some one ecclesiastical body, evangelicalism sought to present the message of salvation so persuasively that men would gladly trust in the saving grace of God in Christ.

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Instead of setting up a new sect with claims of authoritative doctrine, evangelicalism sought to deepen the religious life in all the various branches of Christendom, using doctrines already taken for granted, and seeking to bring about a real personal experience of the meaning of these doctrines. Instead of being polemic, as were the formal sects of Protestantism, evangelicalism was irenic, interdenominational, democratic. If distinctive evangelical bodies were formed, it was usually because of the intolerance of a parent body rather than because of the desires of the evangelicals themselves. The spirit of evangelicalism is the spirit of loving persuasion in contrast to the spirit of a Christianity which exalts the idea of formal authority and proposes to penalize dissenters. Its motto might be expressed in the words, "Win the world to Christ," while the churches basing their claims on an authoritative foundation would say, "Conquer the world in the name of Christ." It is no accident that, while the standard churches were still disputing over questions of doctrine and polity, evangelicalism first made prominent the missionary enterprise.

If the analysis here given be correct, it throws light on the task of evangelical Christianity today. If it be true that evangelicalism represents an emphasis on a genuine and profound Christian experience rather than a reliance on a doctrinal system, the vitality of evangelical Christianity cannot be preserved by doctrinal disputations. Those who today are laying primary stress on the acceptance of specific doctrines, regardless of what happens to the inner life of men, are being led thereby to revert to the ideals and practices of the formal orthodoxy whose religious barrenness provoked the evangelical protest. We see reappearing all that apparatus of heresy-hunting which marked Christianity when the Roman Catholic spirit dominated the whole Christian world and the church was primarily concerned with rival claims of authority. In an age which is manifesting a deep longing for the union of Christian forces, and which is more and more ready to judge men

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by their ways of living rather than on the basis of theology, we find the advocates of a doctrinally defined evangelicalism introducing division and urging Christians to line up in hostile camps. The attempt to preserve unchanged the doctrines with which evangelicalism operated so successfully in former centuries leads to formidable difficulties in an age when modes of thought and feeling have markedly changed. We ought clearly to recognize that when primary emphasis is laid on doctrinal conformity, even though the doctrines in question be precisely those which were affirmed by the earlier representatives of evangelicalism, men are in danger of losing the spirit of evangelicalism in the endeavor to save the outward form.

But if the strength of evangelical Christianity depends on persuasive appeal, there are one or two conditions which may well command our thoughtful attention. The great evangelical preachers in the past invited those whom they addressed to share with them a precious privilege. The experience of fellowship with God was something so real and so far-reaching in its consequences that they stood before their fellow-men conscious of possessing an inestimable spiritual treasure which they wished to share. No one can be a representative of evangelical Christianity unless religion is a precious personal possession.

It is in this connection that the hostility of evangelicalism to rationalism is to be understood. When the study of religion is primarily an intellectual pursuit, religion tends to lose its spiritual power. It more and more comes to be a form of philosophy to be contemplated with academic calm. But the religion which the evangelical knows is a revolutionary upheaval of the soul. A man discovers within himself a new self, strangely and awfully related to God. The new self dares to repudiate the comfort-seeking conventions of superficial human nature, and to consecrate itself to vast spiritual enterprises. For it relies no longer on the timid counsels of conventional prudence, but is strong with the courage inspired

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by the consciousness that God works within the man of faith both to will and to do. It is the personal discovery that religion is a creative power in the inmost citadel of the heart that admits one to the fellowship of evangelical Christians.

But if the secret of evangelical power is to be found in a personal religious experience, which both humbles a man with a sense of his unworthiness in the presence of God and at the same time creates in him a faith which dares to aspire and to sacrifice, we need to heed a fact often overlooked. So profound an experience is possible only on the basis of an absolute honesty. It is here that the devotees of doctrinal regularity are blind to certain factors indispensable to Christian experience.

Several years ago George Kennan wrote of a winter's experience which he had in Jerry Macauley's mission in New York City. He told how one evening two young men from a respectable church came to the mission and testified in a perfectly correct fashion, using all the phrases dear to evangelistic fervor. But in the atmosphere of that prayer meeting the phrases somehow did not ring true. As soon as the testimonies had been given, Jerry Macauley quietly rose and said: "If you want to get religion and follow Christ, feel honestly and speak the truth. God hates shams." Kennan remarked that immediately everybody seemed to breathe more freely, as if the rebuke had cleared the whole spiritual atmosphere. Here was a noted evangelist who clearly saw that inner honesty was of more importance than doctrinal correctness. We are reminded of Jesus' condemnation of hypocrisy.

"God hates shams." In the acceptance of the specific doctrines concerning the Bible and concerning the work of Christ which marked the work of the eighteenth-century evangelists there was no suggestion of sham. These men believed with all their heart in the truth of that which they professed. Moreover, they could assume on the part of their hearers an equally honest acceptance of these doctrines. They could be single-minded and therefore thoroughly consecrated.

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There are noble and devout souls today who can repeat without any misgivings the creeds of a century and a half ago. We all know such whose purity of life and whose consecration to Christ make us feel very humble in their presence.

But there are others who have been led by their conscientious study of the facts to conceive the world and its laws, the nature of man and his relation to God, in terms consonant with our modern science and our modern social outlook. If God hates shams, what does a religious experience require on the part of these modern seekers after the truth? What does the spirit of evangelicalism suggest? Evidently that the aim of religion should be to deepen the experience of the spiritual realities implied in doctrines which are honestly accepted as true. That revised doctrines are capable of sustaining a humble and prayerful relation to God, a vital consecration to Jesus Christ, a growing sense of unity with the creative presence of the Divine Spirit within us, and a glad devotion to the Kingdom of God is an undeniable fact. It is equally true that in the hands of an irreligious spirit these revised doctrines may be turned into occasions for theological strife. Those who are honestly convinced that the revised theological conceptions so current in our schools of higher learning today are true should be on their guard lest they stop with mere intellectual assent. For a new theology is just as capable of religious barrenness as was the formal orthodoxy which evangelicalism confronted. The evangelical spirit will seek to interpret theology, whether old or new, as the expression of so profound and persuasive an experience of fellowship with God that Christianity shall be brought to the attention of men, not as a formal system, but as a Christlike way of living. Those who know the power and the joy of this way of life are the real representatives of evangelical Christianity.

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CURRENT EVENTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Protestant Fellowship in Europe.—Dr. Charles S. MacFarland, the general secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, has published a very interesting report of his recent visit to Europe on behalf of the Protestant churches of America. Of particular interest is the so-called Bethesda Conference of European Churches which met in Copenhagen in August. Seventy-five delegates, representing thirty-seven church bodies in twenty-one European nations, were present. The state churches in the several Protestant nations, as well as the denominations known as sects, such as Methodists and Baptists, met in democratic form in this conference to consider the common interests of Protestant Christendom. In view of the intensity of the distrust which has prevailed between Protestant bodies in Europe, this conference marks the beginning of a new united consciousness. The encouragement and influence of American Protestantism is especially necessary just now when so many Protestant bodies in Europe are facing extremely difficult tasks of rebuilding their material and spiritual interests after the war.

The World Conference on Faith and Order is making plans for a meeting in Washington in May, 1925. In order to arouse public interest in the problem of church unity the management of the Conference is urging the organization of local groups for the discussion of questions which will come before the Conference. It is interesting to note the topics which are suggested for the consideration of Christians. *First Series:* (1) What degree of unity in faith will be necessary in a reunited church? (2) Is a statement of this one faith in the form of a Creed necessary or desirable? (3) If so, what Creed should be used? or what other formulary would be desirable? (4) What are the proper uses of a Creed and of a Confession of Faith? *Second Series:* (1) What degree of unity in the matter of order will be necessary in a reunited church? (2) Is it necessary that there should be a common ministry universally recognized? (3) If so, of what orders or kinds of ministers will this ministry consist? (4) Will the reunited church require as necessary any conditions precedent to ordination or any particular manner of ordination? (5) If so, what conditions precedent to ordination and what manner of ordination ought to be required?

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It is interesting to observe that attention is here directed almost exclusively to matters of official organization and formal belief. These are questions which have been foremost in Christendom since the days when the Catholic church branded heresy and schism as sins. In view of the fact that there are so many branches of Christendom which glory in their dissent from the authority of the body from which they divided, it is questionable whether a revival of the discussion of these subjects will greatly further the cause of Christian unity. There are large numbers of Christians who are asking whether the most hopeful pathway is not in the direction of a co-operation in practical tasks, with the recognition of inevitable diversities in beliefs and in church organization.

The Increasing Friendliness of Science to Religion.—In an address delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture, published in the *Standard* for October, 1922, Professor M. C. Otto gives an illuminating survey of the relationship between science and religion. He points out the fact that science has won the victory for the rights of its experimental methods of research, and that it is becoming increasingly clear that this triumph has been gained by a rigid kind of specialization. "It is important to insist upon the indispensableness of science, but it is equally important to remember with Clerk-Maxwell, himself an eminent physicist, 'that there are many things in heaven and earth, which, by the selection required for the application of scientific methods, have been excluded from our philosophy.'" Professor Otto notes a very widespread longing on the part of scientists for the stabilizing and guiding of our human life by moral and religious ideals. He deplores the fact that in so many instances scientists know no other pathway than a resort to vague mysticism or indefensible supernaturalism. He pleads for the carrying over of the scientific attitude into the realm of religion so that our human hopes and capacities and achievements may be guided by as exact a knowledge of human nature as physical science possesses in its guidance of physical processes. Not a mere emotional submission to stereotyped religious ideals, but a creative thinking concerning our human needs and possibilities is the imperative task of the present. "For below all theories and creeds and faiths he (the modern man) will hold to the conviction that neither science nor religion nor art nor commerce nor any of the specialized forms of human activity is the end of man's endeavor, but a satisfying life for all who may have a life to live."

Christianizing the Rural Community.—Foremost among the problems of our day is the rural church situation. In the *Biblical Review Quarterly* for July, Kenyon L. Butterfield makes a strong plea for the Christian-

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ization of all the forces of the rural community. Recent surveys have shown many overchurched yet spiritually undernourished communities. This is especially true of those isolated from the main currents of our life. On the other hand, there is an increasing number of communities where varied programs, based upon the needs of the local groups, have been carried out. We recognize that the spirit of Christ is needed in industry today, but we have failed to see that it is needed just as surely in our rural districts. By Christianizing the community the author means every phase of its life, economic, political, educational, and social. There is no such thing as an individual Christian apart from a community. Again, in this process of rural integration, the church is only one of the agencies of Christianization. She is a means and not an end in herself. She should co-operate with every other agency working in the same direction, and should rejoice that the spirit of her Lord is penetrating every phase of life.

The Missionary Awakening among Roman Catholics in the United States.—Kenneth Scott Latourette, in the *International Review of Missions* for July, discusses this very interesting development among American Catholics. With the decrease in immigration and the lessened demand upon the church in assimilation, has come a new interest in foreign missions. Heretofore, the United States has been considered a field for missionary endeavor. In recent years, however, the situation has changed. Catholics of the United States have given more money to the "Society for the Propagation of the Faith" than any other nation. In 1918 it totaled over a million dollars. Several colleges and a number of training schools have been established in recent years for the distinct purpose of training missionaries. The Jesuits and other orders have turned their attention in this direction. The rise of the Catholic Students Mission Crusade in 1917 is significant. The movement is spreading rapidly through Catholic colleges and universities. Another step in the same direction has been the creation of the American Board of Catholic Missions in 1920. And, unless unseen hindrances develop, a continued growth seems certain.

Christian Education in China.—An illuminating survey of the situation in China which calls for a wise program of Christian education is presented in the *International Review of Missions* for July, 1922. The article is written by Professor Ernest D. Burton, chairman of the China Educational Commission of 1921–22.

The writer points out that there is yet no co-ordinated system or general policy of Christian education in China. Again, the Chinese

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government has been developing a system of schools patterned after the modern educational systems of the Occident. In these government schools are found twenty out of every twenty-seven pupils in school in China. But Dr. Burton believes that the Christian schools, if rightly conducted, can make to China's intellectual, moral, political, and spiritual life a contribution of great value and one which cannot come from any other source. "It is indeed not too much to say that without the powerful influence of Christian education there is no prospect that China will either develop a healthy life within the nation, assume the place among the nations which her magnitude, native ability, and resources call for, nor escape being a serious menace to the world at large."

The specific and immediate objective of Christian education we are told is the development of a strong effective Chinese Christian community. "Only through such a community can the task of interpreting Christianity to the Chinese, and on the basis of such interpretation, making China a Christian nation, be accomplished."

The Commission has strongly recommended the establishment of an Institute of Educational Research which would call to its services experts in the field of education. These experts would investigate various problems needing solution and place their findings at the service of all Christian schools and educational boards. It is a conviction of the Commission that all Protestant Christian schools should be co-ordinated into one great system of Christian education.

There is much in China's rapidly growing industrialism which must be remedied. The Commission has recommended the establishment of an Institute of Social and Economic Research, which shall endeavor to discover how business may be conducted in China both profitably and on Christian principles.

The Commission also felt the need of positive and definite measures for the conservation to the Christian movement of the products of Christian education. There are large numbers of intelligent, educated young men and women from the better class of Chinese families, and all too few churches in which they can be at home, and all too few pastors who can claim or hold their attention. "On the other hand, the return of educated non-Christian young men and women from America and Europe is bringing into China a ferment of thought and discussion which is permeating all the educated thinking classes." It is evident that "China cannot be won to Christianity by an ignorant or a divided church. A church must be created that can receive and use the Christian educated product of the Christian school, and deal ably and fairly with the questions and criticisms of the young educated Chinese."

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The Crisis Confronting Protestantism.—"Constructed at infinite sacrifice, cemented with honest blood, productive of eminent spirits and manifold services, and resting upon principles which exercise a legitimate and wide dominion, Protestantism now confronts the world situation which tests the fitness of historic institutions and systems to survive. Shall it perish, or prove itself the master of a grave and well-nigh universal emergency?" This is the core of the issue discussed by S. Parkes Cadman in the *North American Review* (October, 1922).

To meet the present world-problems the writer suggests that the church must first adopt several measures of internal reform. The church should cease its useless quarrel with modern learning. Among the world's chief needs is that of a spiritual ideal in more complete accord with the meditated experiences of life. Protestantism should meet this need without forfeiting intellectual integrity at the behest of blind obscurantism.

Again, the church should be a first-class example of fraternal unification. "That world which refuses to be either entirely Protestant or Catholic does not desire Christians to make a transient truce, but to arrive at a just and settled peace within their ecclesiastical borders. Until they do so, what right have they to preach peace to separated and suspicious states?"

The church must regard the prevalent economic abuses not as accidental but as normal products of the present system. "This verdict, once it is adopted by Protestantism, as I hold it must be, will end its fatalistic attitude toward social iniquities. It will then proceed to their extermination as its third primal duty."

Perhaps the greatest immediate service which Protestantism can render the world is to redress the balance between church and state. "The reaction against the fatal heresy that the state is unconditional and supreme should be promoted and yet restrained by the church." It is the mission of Protestantism to guard the ethical and religious truths which enrich every political heritage. "It can show that the claims of the individual upon the state and of the state upon the individual are reciprocal. But both sets of claims are conditioned by the fact that man's obligations as a spiritual being must be duly honored."

What Should Be the Attitude of Missionaries in India to Political Questions?—An English missionary has tried to answer this question in an article entitled "Christian Missions and the Reforms" in *Young Men of India*, February, 1922. He believes that the missionary should no longer aim at the conversion of men only and let public questions

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take care of themselves. Religion embraces all life, and no one can live in water-tight compartments and merely apply religion to individual life. According to his opinion, there is only a small class of missionaries who are radicals; the conservatives are constantly diminishing in number; and the moderates, who belong to the largest group, declare that not only is the development of self-government in accordance with Christian principles but they also demand that reforms shall conduce to the good of India and shall not result in any injury to the work of missions. They believe that the reform should come through the steady development of the powers that the councils now have and through a constructive program of social uplift and constitutional agitation. They admire Mahatma Gandhi but cannot agree with him in adopting methods which will stir up bitter racial passions.

The Bible League of India, Burma, and Ceylon.—This new movement just launched in India is similar to that of the Bible Union of China. Its supporters, according to the *Moody Bible Institute Monthly*, February, 1922, will fight to prevent modernism and critical views of the Bible from eating their "deadly way into India." The tendency to acknowledge the merits of non-Christian religions and to regard Christianity as in any way comparable to "heathen faiths" is to be resisted. Thus the "fundamentalist" movement is reaching around the globe.

Child Marriages in America.—Recent statistics from the Census Bureau have revealed some rather alarming facts regarding youthful marriages in the United States. According to these statistics 1,600 boys and 14,834 girls, fifteen years of age, entered into the matrimonial relation during the year 1920. Religious leaders and social reformers have been pondering considerably upon that fact. The census reports also state that 82 boys and 499 girls, of the age of fifteen, were either divorced or widowed. According to the figures given by the Census Bureau the number of youthful marriages is increasing from year to year. Here then is another problem which confronts the church and all organized forces which are aiming to establish a better social order.

Looking toward World-Brotherhood.—The seventh annual meeting of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches was held during the third week of May, at Cleveland. Much of the finest international feeling in America was expressed by this meeting. The conference adopted a definition of international morality upon which there should be no disagreement among Christians. It ran:

"Nations are the composite development of the individual and are subject alike to the compensations of love and the penalties of injustice,

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intrigue, and hate. The Golden Rule grants no exceptions to nations or to any group in the social order. Upon organized society is imposed the binding obligation of obedience to the moral law, and neither parliaments nor rulers can remove the ban. The church everywhere must begin to preach the doctrine of applying to governments and international relationships the same moral and spiritual standards of life as are binding upon individuals."

The conference earnestly requested our government to take part in the recently established Permanent Court of International Justice, since the way is open for America to do so on a basis free from "any further international involvement," and since America has long and consistently contended for the settling of international disputes by law rather than by war.

The conference also strongly recommended that churches organize classes for the study of the principles of the Christian religion in their application to international relations.

Palestine Today.—General Allenby's entrance into Jerusalem December 25, 1917, meant the beginning of a new era for Palestine. The *Methodist Quarterly Review* (January, 1922) presents an article upon "The Religious and Social Conditions of Palestine" by J. M. Rowland, who has recently studied that land. The writer tells us that with the breaking of Turkish power in Palestine redemption has come for the women of that country. They are fast throwing off their traditional veils and costumes. The British have established government schools, and the churches have already planted 150 schools in the land. Mosques are almost empty save for lazy loafers. Jerusalem is fast becoming a modern city. It now has a telephone exchange, a splendid new water system, a weekly paper printed in English, Hebrew, and Arabic, electric lights shine over the city, and the people show in many ways that they are catching the spirit of the west.

The Prohibition Movement in Chile.—The Latin-American countries look to the United States as a source of inspiration for their political and social reforms. The prohibition movement in Chile is an example of this, according to Ernesto Montenegro, whose discussion of the present temperance propaganda in Chile appears in *Current History* for March, 1922. The writer tells us that for years there has been a steadily increasing propaganda in Chile for the repression of alcoholism. Thirty years ago a National Temperance League was founded in that country, and ten years later a bill was passed for the taxation and control of alcoholic beverages. At the present time the Chilean government is considering

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a new temperance project. The plan is to limit the quantity of intoxicating drinks produced at every vintage for five successive years; also to tax every vineyard of the country according to acreage, regardless of the amount they produce. Fifty per cent of the taxes on the vineyards will be used to compensate vinegrowers and distillers who wish to abandon their business and engage in other work. The other 50 per cent of the taxation will be used for temperance propaganda, for stimulating the export of standardized wines and for research work to improve the methods of production of fuel alcohol. The liquor interests are more powerful in Chile than in any other Latin-American country, but it looks as if that state will have the honor of leading in a South American movement toward prohibition.

The Church and Negro Education.—The church is playing a large part in the education of the negro in our country. In an article on "Negro Education in the United States," appearing in the *World Call* (March, 1922), H. L. Herod presents some facts relating to negro education and what the church is doing in this work. There are 653 non-state schools devoted to secondary, higher, and private training of negroes. All of the schools are financed mainly through the benevolence of churches and other philanthropic organizations and individuals. The secondary and higher education of the southern negro has been left almost wholly to the church through its mission boards and individual Christian donors. From first to last in all the schools the fundamental aim of character-building is kept to the fore.

There is a great need for many more schools to handle the problem of negro education. More teachers must be trained and a great mumber of elementary schools and colleges established. It is estimated that in order to meet in any adequate measure the problem of educating our 10,000,000 American negroes there are needed at least 3 university centers, 11 standard colleges, and 20 junior colleges. Here is a great opportunity for the church to carry forward still farther the work which it has so well begun.

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BOOK REVIEWS

SELLIN'S COMMENTARY ON THE MINOR PROPHETS[1]

The new series in which the volume here reviewed belongs is appearing apace. It began with Kittel's notable commentary on the Psalms, 1914, and we now have Genesis, by Procksch, Deuteronomy, by König, and the present volume from the hands of the editor of the series. Jeremiah, by Volz, is in press. The series has its own individual scope, shorter than the exhaustive commentaries, of which the International Commentary is a type in English, but more capacious than the *Kurze Commentare* which German scholarship has lately made its specialty. The present volume is more than a quarter as large again as Nowack's commentary on the minor prophets. There is no series in English parallel to this German enterprise, the "Westminster Series" confining itself rather to the use of the English reader. We must note the interest of German scholarship in producing commentaries that are handbooks for the educated biblical student and also for the intelligent layman, but which do not overawe them with too vast a mass of data.

Theologically the series is *conservatif, positif*. The terms are used comparatively. The authors in no way meet the critical problems from a confessional or dogmatic basis as to the inerrancy of biblical text and doctrine. The present volume is proof of the intelligent and rational treatment of all critical questions, while it demonstrates that the writers are fully equipped with the critical armor of offense and defense. They differ from their predecessors in a fresh and often original treatment of the data of criticism, and do biblical science the favor of showing that many critical conclusions have by no means reached finality. That is, there are other combinations, other points of view, which can greatly modify previous conclusions on such questions as those of integrity of text and book and of authorship and age. In a word, we are reminded that, while philology may be a science, literary criticism is not, that the possible combinations are too manifold and the subjective element in the critic too uncontrollable to allow finality. The very elements of textual and of metrical criticism which have been vaunted by some scholars as

[1] *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch.* Übersetzt und erklärt von D. Ernst Sellin. (*Commentar zum Alten Testament.* Herausgegeben von D. Ernst Sellin. Band XII.) Leipzig und Erlangen: Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922.

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scientific tests can be used by other hands to opposite ends. Our judgment on gunpowder or poison gas varies, depending upon whether our enemies use them or we have learned their use.

As we should expect from Dr. Sellin, he has presented a commentary on the Minor Prophets that is fresh and original. It is a tribute to the eternal value of those Old Testament seers that something new can be written on them every few years. It is equally a caution to our biblical learning to mark how we may not rest satisfied with results so far achieved. If a scholar picks up a new commentary on this subject with a certain feeling of satiety, he cannot drop the present volume without breathing a fresh breeze blowing over the dry bones of criticism.

There is not a book of these Twelve Prophets on which Sellin does not present a new point of view, for the whole or in important details. Some of his theories are wholly new, others are modifications or extensions of views of his predecessors. In general he argues for the authenticity of far larger sections of the several books than has been for long the received view. He bases his arguments upon the canons practiced by more radical scholarship, just as radically no doubt, perhaps as arbitrarily, but with the constant wholesome reminder that no soil is so well cultivated but that it can stand fresh plowing.

To give some examples of Sellin's treatment, we may begin with the classic of Amos. He denies the almost dogma of the day that the end of the book, 9:8*b* ff., is a late addition; canceling verse 8*b* as an intrusion, he argues for the authenticity of the passage and connects it with the biographical episode at end of chapter 7 on the cue of the second person singular in 9:15. Amos would then, while predicting the overthrow of the Northern Kingdom, have promised the return of Israel's loyalty to the house of David. This method or rearrangement of various pericopes is pursued also in the handling of that *crux interpretum*, the marriage of Hosea, Hosea 1–3. The section on the purchase of the renegade woman, 3:1–5, he boldly transfers to the beginning of chapter 1, as introductory to the story of the prophet's married life—thus involving himself, as he admits as to the authenticity or correct placing of 1:2. Thus, in part with Steuernagel, he overcomes the difficulty of treating 3:1–5 as a subsequent, unexplained episode in the domestic history. In regard to the current cavalier exegesis of making Hosea merely a prophet of doom, he would restore the book as a whole, minus the usual amount of glosses, to the authorship of that prophet.

A similar judgment is passed upon the integrity of the Book of Micah. The book down through 7:7 is attributed to the prophet's hand. He finds the chief trouble with this hypothesis in 4:1—5:8, but over-

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comes it, literally by the excision of "glosses," and theologically by comparison with Isaiah's position as to the future salvation of the people. He would also extend the historical scope of the prophet in diagnosing perhaps three stadia in his prophecy, namely about 722, 711, and shortly before Sennacherib's invasion. For Nahum 1, which he keeps for the prophet, he holds that the problem of the unfinished alphabetical poem is met by supposing that the prophet proceeded with the alphabet as far as he desired and then stopped with the letter ᶜAin. Sellin is very interesting in the treatment of Haggai and I Zechariah, on whose age his historical studies have thrown so much illuminating light and suggestion. Most original is his new theory of the origin of II Zechariah, chapters 9–14. After a particularly full discussion of previous theories he advances the theory that the chapters (chap. 14 is a *Doppelgänger* to the preceding material) are an apocalyptic work, of about date 300 B.C. (with Stade), in which the writer has assumed the rôle of the prophet Zechariah and given an apocalypse in character like that of Daniel, of which book Deutero-Zechariah would then be early precursor. Joel he would divide into sections of different authorship, chapters 1–2, belonging to the early part of the fifth century, where also he would assign Malachi, and a late apocalyptic addition, chapters 3–4, of date *circa* 400. Obadiah, verses 1–10, is held to be, in its purified form, the eldest bit of written prophecy, harking back to 800 B.C.

These samples of Sellin's very original theories may suffice. They have the same weakness of operating with assumed glosses and numerous transpositions as is the nemesis of all current criticism—a necessary discipline, however unsatisfactory it is. Sellin may be criticized for being too set on working out a fixed scheme for his reconstructions; at the same time it is only so that they can be prepared for judgment, and his positiveness and boldness help forward the critical decision. He pursues the usual makeshift of text corrections, the most unsatisfactory part of our commentary science. There is need here of deeper searching of the heart on the part of philologists, e.g., he "simplifies" Amos 7:4, "he calls to contend by fire," by reading *lahab* for *larib* and deleting the preposition "by," i.e., "he calls for *the flame of fire*." Are not some things too obvious, even for ancient scribes? The root *rîb* has the connotation of the ordeal, and this meaning should be understood here: the Lord calls to the ordeal of fire—and how can Jacob stand?

Two special merits of the book are found in a pair of sections which accompany the introduction to each of the Prophets. The one concerns the origin of the book, and herein Sellin takes much pains in trying to work out the literary history of the document. His treatment of

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Amos' part in the literary preparation of his booklet is, for instance, very suggestive. Also the sections on the "religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung" of the several prophets are capital in their insight and expression. The student of theology should refer to these sections at least, if he has not leisure for the whole book. Sellin takes an uncompromising stand as a Christian theologian in interpreting the prophetical books as part of the divine plan in preparing the world for Christ. On this score he has recently taken up the gage against Delitzsch's *Die grosse Täuschung* in his *Das alte Testament und die evangelische Kirche.*

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

PHILADELPHIA DIVINITY SCHOOL

DOES PSYCHOANALYSIS REALLY INTERPRET JESUS?[1]

Jesus himself replied on one occasion to those who judged him insane, and his answer has generally been accepted as satisfactory. Of late years, however, the question raised by the Pharisees has been reopened by certain writers in Germany and elsewhere who would have been better employed in consulting the mental specialist on their own account. Mr. Bundy has set himself to examine their arguments and conjectures in the present book. At first we were inclined to doubt whether the work was worth doing, for the writers concerned are for the most part insignificant, and all of them absurd. But after reading the book we are satisfied that Mr. Bundy has done a useful service. He has brought together in a brief and readable survey all that has been written on one possible conception of the life of Jesus, and conscientious students who might otherwise have tried to sift these dust-heaps of literature for themselves will now be spared that dirty and unprofitable labor. In his résumé of opinions with which he himself has little sympathy Mr. Bundy is always clear and fair, and has wisely stated the whole case without attempting to smooth down what might be offensive to Christian feeling. It is difficult to see how any reasonable mind can refuse to accept his conclusions. He points out that at this distance of time, on the strength of a few data imperfectly recorded, no diagnosis of the mental condition of Jesus is possible. He shows that in the literature under review the records have been misunderstood and distorted by men who know nothing of critical methods. He argues convincingly that the emotions and acts of Jesus, when viewed in the proper light, are fully consistent with mental health, and occasionally seem strange only because no allow-

[1] *The Psychic Health of Jesus.* By Walter E. Bundy. New York: Macmillan, 1922. xviii+299 pages.

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ance is made for Semitic and antique modes of expression. Above all, he makes it clear that some things in the life of Jesus which have been urged as proofs of egoism or fanaticism are rather to be set down to the grandeur of his personality. The commonplace man always regards the man of genius as eccentric or mad. Who is to fix the criterion of sanity?

To any fair-minded reader of the gospels nothing is more wonderful than the sobriety of Jesus—his freedom from those abnormal moods which have so often marked great religious leaders. His life, from whatever point of view we examine it, was woven of one piece throughout. It is the merit of Mr. Bundy's book that he confirms this impression of the life by his examination of the incidents in detail.

E. F. SCOTT

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE APOLOGETIC FACTOR IN NEW TESTAMENT THOUGHT

The manuscript of Dr. Heffern's book[1] was completed only a few days before the death of the author in May, 1920. Its publication will deepen the regret that a scholar of such ability and ripe accomplishment has been removed.

The title does not quite do justice to the aim of the book. It seeks not merely to determine the apologetic and polemical motives which are at work in the New Testament writings, but to discover how the thought and activity of the early church were modified by the need of stating the message defensively. The author is thus compelled to take a wide survey, and to write what is in effect a history of the Apostolic Age, considered from a particular point of view. Attention is specially directed to the manner in which the early church was obliged to conduct its work, in view of the existing needs and antagonisms. In this connection there is a highly illuminating chapter on catechetical instruction. This important subject has been investigated by Seeberg and others in Germany, but we do not remember any discussion in English in which the main facts have been so fully collected and examined. It might have been well if a similar chapter had been devoted to the early preaching, especially as affected by the Diatribe.

Dr. Heffern sets out with a short account of Jesus' own teaching, and of the character which it assumed in face of the contemporary opposition. He then passes to the mission which was carried out by the

[1] *Apology and Polemic in the New Testament.* (The Bohlen Lectures, 1915.) By Andrew D. Heffern. New York: Macmillan, 1922. xi+411 pages. $3.50.

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Apostles, and shows how it was influenced by Jewish hostility and by the need of conciliating the state. The main part of the book is occupied with a study of the reaction on Christian teaching of the various modes of thought which may be described, in a broad sense, as gnostic. The discussion here is of great value, though it may be that the author is too much inclined to detect the gnostic trail over everything that was merely Hellenistic. In this way he finds Paul in conflict with Gnosticism at times when he was only at odds with pagan misunderstanding, and discovers a gnostic polemic in writings like the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it appears to be strikingly absent. In the main, however, there is good ground for the contention that the church had to reckon, almost from the outset, with tendencies that were afterward to take definite shape in Gnosticism. By impressing this fact upon us, even with some degree of overemphasis, Dr. Heffern has made a real contribution to the study of the Apostolic Age.

The book is everywhere marked by uncommon learning, and by a quality of sound judgment which is much more rare. Dr. Heffern seems to have missed nothing in theological literature which had any important bearing on his subject. Indeed we could sometimes wish that he had been less conscientious in his review of the literature, and had developed some of his own conclusions more fully. But it may be counted part of the merit of the book that it indulges as little as possible in novel and ingenious theories, which are much less difficult to manufacture than the innocent reader is wont to suppose. A book like this, in which the results of modern investigation are competently set forth and sifted, will do a great deal more to advance the cause of scholarship.

A word of praise is due to the editor, Professor Montgomery, who undertook the care of the manuscript after the author's death. The book as printed is remarkably free from errors, for which there was ample room in a work that contained so many quotations and references.

E. F. Scott

Union Theological Seminary

AN ANTI-FUNDAMENTALIST VIEW OF CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALS

Professor Vedder's latest book[1] is a vigorous counterblast to the "Fundamentalists." He believes that it is time for plain speaking. Evangelists and preachers who say they "believe the Bible from

[1] *The Fundamentals of Christianity: A Study of the Teaching of Jesus and Paul.* By Henry C. Vedder, Professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary. New York: Macmillan, 1922. xxiii+250 pages. $2.00.

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cover to cover" and profess to teach its absolute inerrancy and infallibility are guilty of "shallow insincerity" or "vociferous ignorance." Their "dogmatic assurance" and "pride of ignorance" give their "lying exegetics" great vogue among a multitude of "silly souls incapable of receiving truth but avid of falsehood." Such men, "who tear the Bible to bits, in order to piece together a crazy-quilt of unrelated texts, and publish this to the world as 'the fundamentals of Christianity,' must not be suffered a day longer to pose as champions of the Bible."

Professor Vedder presents Jesus and Paul as the two opposite poles of historical Christianity. His picture of Jesus as the peasant-poet of Galilee, the unlettered prophet of the people, the brilliant interpreter of the country, the commonplace, and the common people, is vigorous and convincing. He emphasizes the oriental manner, the human wit and humor, the prophetic spirit, and the unique authority of the message which came from Jesus' own religious experience, a message of life with God and love from God. Jesus the "Herald of the Kingdom" called to repentance and faith, not as emotional experiences, but as acts of will by which one accepts and lives the social message of the Gospel. Jesus is the Savior of the world in that he sets men apart for social living and practical service.

Paul the "urban Pharisee" brought into Christianity too much of Judaism. His remaking into an apostle did not transform him intellectually, but left him a Christian rabbi and a speculative theologian. He was not a toiler like Jesus; social ethics he did not know. He is the mainstay of the "Fundamentalists" and the source of all our ills. Nevertheless he is not so bad as the "Fundamentalists" paint him. "The divergence between Paul and Jesus would cease to appear serious . . . . , if we adopt . . . . the simple hypothesis that Paul is not stating 'eternal truths,' . . . . but illustrating permanent religious and ethical principles in terms of thought comprehensible by his own age." "The teaching of Jesus is . . . . Christianity—the norm of religious truth—and all other teaching must be compared with it and corrected by it."

Professor Vedder's presentation of what Jesus taught is based upon critical historical exegesis. He believes, indeed, that German criticism has gone too far. Yet not everything attributed to Jesus in the Gospels can be regarded as his indubitable words: the disciples often completely misunderstood their Master; they denatured his teachings and they added ecclesiastical and apocalyptic sayings. The chief faults of Professor Vedder's portrayal of Jesus are his uncritical use of the Fourth Gospel and his failure to give sufficient weight to the eschatological

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element in Jesus' thinking. To Paul he certainly does scant justice, strangely underestimating the social side of his teaching and entirely missing the mystical element and the influence of the mystery religions.

The book cannot be said to make any contribution to the historical reconstruction of primitive Christianity. It fails as a full statement of the results reached by the historical method because it underestimates the mystical in religion. But as a vigorous polemic against obscurantism and an able popular statement of moderate views based upon critical principles it will serve a useful purpose.

C. C. McCown

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, California

CONCERNING THE PASTORAL EPISTLES[1]

At last we have the final discussion of the authorship of the Pastorals! After this treatment of Harrison's there is simply nothing more to say. What he has said cannot be unsaid, nor can it be used to support other conclusions than those which he has drawn. With a fulness which goes far beyond anything heretofore attempted, the entire vocabulary of the three letters has been subjected to a searching critical analysis which shows conclusively that it is not the vocabulary of the writer of the ten Paulines. Page after page of tabulated statistics put this forever beyond doubting. Further analytical comparison of the same sort demonstrates just as clearly that the language here used has its real parallels and affiliations in the writings of the first half of the second century, in "apostolic fathers" and apologists. The linguistic argument looms largest in the book, but the other familiar considerations are not omitted. The alleged "second imprisonment" is shown for the mare's nest it so surely is, and the absolute futility of trying to fit the *personalia* of the Pastorals as they stand into any known or probable period of Paul's career is indicated with a freshness and persuasiveness that really do not leave the question open.

But, with a large number of modern scholars, Harrison believes that Titus and II Timothy contain genuine notes of Paul, in whole or in part, and it is in the determination of these genuine passages that many will find the most interesting part of the book. The same sort of linguistic test that showed the epistles as a whole to be non-Pauline shows certain personal passages to be Pauline; it is not very difficult to pick out the verses. In the assignment of such verses to specific

[1] *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles.* By P. N. Harrison. London: Oxford University Press, 1921. vi+200 pages. 12*s.* 6*d.*

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notes, written at specific junctures in the apostle's career, there will of course be divergence of judgment. The last word has not here been said. If Mr. Harrison had weighed the hypothesis of an Ephesian imprisonment, out of which the "prison-letters" come, he might have made certain more convincing combinations. But he has said much that is wise and suggestive at this point, and made a contribution to this vexed question that is of outstanding importance. The sumptuous appendixes, giving the statistical tables of comparative vocabulary, with the entire text of the Pastorals so printed as to show at a glance the method of its composition, make the book well-nigh perfect for the scholar's use. All in all, *the* book on its theme.

CLAYTON R. BOWEN

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

GOGUEL'S INTERPRETATION OF THE BOOK OF ACTS[1]

Maurice Goguel, of the Protestant faculty of theology in Paris, is the most useful New Testament scholar in France today. Less brilliant and voluminous than Loisy, he is vastly sounder and more constructive. The primitive Christianity which he sets out to investigate is a living historical movement within human personalities; Loisy often seems to be investigating a purely documentary phenomenon. It was good news, therefore, that Goguel was to issue a complete manual of introduction. The work is to appear in five volumes, covering in turn the Synoptics, the Fourth Gospel, the Acts, the Pauline letters, the catholic letters and Apocalypse. Volume III is before us; Volume IV is in preparation; the others are to follow as soon as may be.

M. Goguel has done well to issue the discussion of Acts first. More and more it is coming to be seen as the key to all the rest of the New Testament. If we can come to clear understanding of the apostolic story which it is an attempt to tell, we have the setting for the epistles and the background for the development of that homiletic tradition which finds deposit in the gospels. Goguel has in the first place mastered his material; he knows the Greek document with extraordinary thoroughness. Then he has mastered the critical literature, again with amazing thoroughness. Far more fully than most of the Germans, he knows the discussions in English, especially those of American scholars. Torrey, Bacon, Cadbury, Lake, Burkitt, Ramsay—such names are frequent in these pages. And the author has mastered his method, in contrast to those writers who are mastered by it. In a half-dozen

[1] *Introduction au Nouveau Testament.* Par Maurice Goguel. Tome III: *Le Livre des Actes.* Paris: Leroux, 1922. 376 pages. Fr. 6.

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preliminary chapters he disposes of the external questions—the tradition, the history of the criticism of Acts, the text, its literary contacts with other writings, the style and language of the work, and its literary character. These chapters are models of their kind. He then comes to a detailed critical analysis of the document, with a view to its ultimate literary and historical origins. This, the heart of the whole treatment, occupies almost half the book's space. The closing section is a brief summary of conclusions. It is not the purpose of this notice to register the divergence of the reviewer's opinions on special points in the book. Such divergences would not be many or significant. It is in the critical analysis that Goguel makes, or fails to make, a contribution. Here he carries on a running *Auseinandersetzung* with Loisy's huge new commentary, and here succeeding students will have to carry on a similar discussion of detail with him. Many will assuredly feel that at many points his analysis is too detailed, too artificial, that no human document could survive such a process of merciless dissection. Yet the Book of Acts survives it, and Goguel's positive conclusions will command wide assent, based as they are on the most complete and unbiased examination of all the relevant facts.

Goguel supposes the Book of Acts to have been written between 80 and 90 A.D., at an unknown place, by an unknown author. The work was constructed on the basis of a number of sources, oral and written, of varying value. Chief of these was an account of Paul's mission, written by one of his companions, probably Luke, sometimes, but not throughout, using the first plural pronoun. This source, edited by the *Auctor ad Theophilum*, has undergone drastic abridgment as well as enlargement, alteration, and revision of several kinds. All this editorial process reveals the attitudes and interests of the writer, but has not wholly eliminated the attitudes and interests of the sources, or of the apostles whose work they describe. The author in all probability meant to add a third volume to his extant two; this is the most probable explanation of the abrupt ending of Acts. That this completion of the trilogy was ever carried out there is, however, no indication.

Goguel has given to students of Acts an indispensable work; it is easily one of the half-dozen or fewer outstanding treatments of its subject. We look eagerly for the completion of the whole *Introduction*. A second edition of this earliest volume will soon be demanded; it is to be hoped that it will correct the frequent misprints now apparent, especially in the references.

CLAYTON R. BOWEN

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

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SEPTUAGINT STUDIES[1]

The former Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint in the University of Oxford here brings forth from his rich resources of learning many things new and old. The main theme of the lectures is the light thrown by a study of the Septuagint upon the use of the Old Testament in the synagogue worship. In the first lecture a study of the translation of the books of the Prophets shows that the work of translation was done by different individuals. The contributions of these translators are set apart one from another by comparison of phraseology and style, just as the Pentateuchal sources are differentiated in the Hebrew Bible. Such different "hands" are discovered within the Books of Kings, within the Book of Jeremiah, and also in Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets. The evidence for these separate "hands" is clear and convincing.

The second lecture extends through two chapters and undertakes to study the extent of the influence upon the Greek text of the use in public worship of lessons and psalms appointed for the festivals. A very fine bit of critical acumen discovers in the Psalm of Habakkuk (Hab., chap. 3) as rendered into Greek three or four terms and phrases that served as rubrics indicative of the fact that this psalm was to be read in connection with the celebration of the Feast of Weeks. The use of Pss. 29 and 68 in connection with the same feast is considered, and the light thrown upon the Maccabaean origin of the latter by the story in II Macc. 12:31 f., which it celebrates, is pointed out. In connection with the Feast of Booths the passages read were Zechariah, chapter 14, Psalms 42, 43, and 118, and I Kings, chapter 8. In these the lecturer clears up some obscurities by suggesting clever emendations of the text arising from the consideration of the liturgical usage to which these passages were subjected. Every student of the Septuagint will be interested in and instructed by this work.

J. M. POWIS SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[1] *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins.* (The Schweich Lectures before the British Academy, 1920.) By H. St. John Thackeray. London: Oxford University Press, 1921. 143 pages.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

[The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length]

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

BACOT, JACQUES. *Trois Mystères Tibétains (Tchrimekundan, Djroazanmo, Nansal).* Paris: Bossard, 1921. 298 pages. Fr. 28.

An introduction to the Buddhist theater of Tibet by a translation of three dramas. They give a vivid picture of the northern Buddhism. This is the third of "Les Classiques de l'Orient."

BOYLAN, PATRICK. *Thoth: The Hermes of Egypt.* New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1922. vii+215 pages. $3.50.

A complete survey of the place and function of Thoth in the religion and life of Egypt.

CHAVANNES, EDOUARD. *Contes et Légendes du Buddhisme Chinois.* Paris: Bossard, 1921. 218 pages. Fr. 21.

A selection of tales and legends from the larger work of Chavannes with an introduction by Professor Sylvoin Lévi. The fourth volume in the series, "Les Classiques de l'Orient."

CLAY, ALBERT T. *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922. 86 pages and 7 plates. $1.75.

A study of some tablets from the Pierpont Morgan Library for the purpose of demonstrating the Hebrew origin of the flood-story which is, to say the least, very much open to question.

FINOT, LOUIS. *La Marche à la Lumière (Bodhicaryâvatâra).* Paris: Bossard, 1920. 166 pages. Fr. 28.

The second volume in the series, "Les Classiques de l'Orient." A translation of an important text of Mahayana Buddhism attributed to Saulideva. Professor Finot has prefaced his translation with a valuable introduction.

GLOVER, T. R. *Progress in Religion to the Christian Era.* New York: Doran, 1922. 350 pages. $2.00.

A series of popular lectures which attempt to show how religion among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans in pre-Christian times exhibits three principal stages of evolution that are designated as Magic, Morality, and Personal Religion.

SABATIER, PAUL. *De l'histoire religieuse.* Paris: Union pour la vérité, 1922. 31 pages.

An address given at the reopening of the University of Strasbourg urging the public teaching of religious history.

SENART, ÉMILE. *La Bhagavadgîtâ.* Paris: Bossard, 1922. 170 pages. Fr. 24.

A new translation of an old favorite. Professor Senart prepares the reader to enter into the thought forms of the poem by an illuminating introduction. This is the sixth volume in "Les Classiques de l'Orient."

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SNEATH, E. HERSHEY (ed.). *Religion and the Future Life.* New York: Revell, 1922. 238 pages. $3.00.

A collection of essays by specialists covering conceptions of the future life in various religions—almost all of them belonging to the ancient world—with a closing essay by the editor showing the reasonableness of belief in a future life.

CONCERNING THE BIBLE

ARMSTRONG, ROBERT ALLEN. *How to Know the Bible.* New York: Crowell, 1916, 1922. 205 pages. $1.75.

A useful book for the layman who needs to know the more elementary facts about the nature, history, and contents of the Bible.

MACDOUGALL, JOHN. *The Modern Conflict.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1922; London: Clarke. 135 pages. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Eighteen studies from the Epistle of St. James, given to the author's Bible class. They fulfil their advertisement in excellent fashion.

PEAKE, A. S. *The Nature of Scripture.* London: Hodder and Stoughton; New York: Doran, 1922. 296 pages. $2.00.

A collection of papers dealing with the Bible from the point of view of literary criticism and emphasizing its value for an understanding of religion.

WILD, LAURA H. *A Literary Guide to the Bible.* New York: Doran, 1922. 283 pages. $2.00.

A good introduction to the Bible for the use of college students and educated readers.

NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION

ABBOTT-SMITH, G. *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament.* New York: Scribner, 1922. xvi+512 pages.

A not very radical revision and abbreviation of the standard type of New Testament lexicon.

APPEL, HEINRICH. *Einleitung in das Neue Testament.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1922. viii+258 pages. M. 360.

A conveniently arranged handbook for beginners in the study of the New Testament literature, including sections on the history of both the canon and the text.

CHARLES, R. H. *Lectures on the Apocalypse.* New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1922. viii+80 pages. $2.00.

Three lectures embodying the point of view and principal conclusions set forth by the same author in his commentary on the Book of Revelation, reviewed in the *Journal of Religion*, I (1922), 433–37.

SLATEN, A. WAKEFIELD. *What Jesus Taught.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922. xxii+194 pages. $1.50.

A guide book that should prove valuable for use in elementary classes and discussion-groups interested in grouping texts from the first three gospels about topics of present-day concern.

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SNOWDEN, JAMES H. *Jesus as Judged by His Enemies.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 246 pages. $1.75.

An exposition of the principal gospel passages which record utterances of the enemies of Jesus, and which of themselves are thought to furnish a striking testimony to his unique and transcendent character.

TEMPLE, P. J. *The Boyhood Consciousness of Christ.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xi+244 pages. $3.50.

A Roman Catholic exposition of Luke 2:14, which is thought to furnish the key to the problem of the origin and development of the consciousness of Jesus.

WORDSWORTH, IOHANNES, and WHITE, HENRICUS IULIANUS. *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine.* New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1922. 153–278 pages. $5.25.

This new section of this standard critical edition of the Vulgate of Jerome contains the first letter to the Corinthians.

CHURCH HISTORY

DOWDEN, JOHN. *The Scottish Communion Office, 1764.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. xii+273 pages. 14*s*.

A scholarly history of the Scottish and American Communion Office, with the complete texts of each. Textual notes abound and illumine the documents very materially. An extensive appendix covers a number of topics related to the Communion Office. The work is high grade in every particular.

KIDD, B. J. *A History of the Church to A.D. 461.* Vol. I to A.D. 313, 558 pages; Vol. II, 313–408, 471 pages; Vol. III, 408–61, 448 pages. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1922. $19.35 three volumes.

These substantial volumes, printed in attractive form, follow conventional lines in their arrangement of material and choice of topics. They offer, however, a distinctive feature of especial value in the form of constant and detailed references to the original authorities.

PELSTER, FRANZ. *Thomas von Sutton O. Pr. ein Oxforder Verteidiger der thomistischen Lehre* (Reprint from Zeitschr. für kathol. Theologie). Innsbruck: Rauch, 1922. 212–401 pages. M. 20.

An interesting critical examination of a phase of the controversy aroused by the differences between the theology of Aquinas and that of Duns Scotus.

VOSSBERG, HERBERT. *Luthers Kritik aller Religion.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1922. 134 pages. M. 180.

A painstaking and carefully organized study of Luther's conception of religion, so as to show what he considered fundamental and how he judged forms of religion other than evangelicalism.

DOCTRINAL

GRUBB, EDWARD. *The Meaning of the Cross.* New York: Doran, 1922. 157 pages. $1.50.

A rather conventional survey of historic theories of the atonement followed by suggestions "toward a true doctrine" designed to suggest a more vital apprehension of the significance of the cross.

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HEERMANCE, EDGAR L. *Chaos or Cosmos?* New York: Dutton, 1922. xxi+358 pages. $3.00.

A suggestive interpretation of the world in which we live in terms of dynamic divine immanence directing the process of evolution to its culmination in man. Man's destiny is that of spiritual co-operation with the environing God, eventuating in social righteousness. The author regards this as the spiritual philosophy underlying the teachings of Jesus, and thus finds Christianity vindicated by the facts of the universe.

HOGG, A. G. *Redemption from This World.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner, 1922. xv+278 pages. $2.75.

The Cunningham Lectures. The conception of the supernatural is here defended by the hypothesis that the "natural" order with which science deals is only a limited portion of the total reality of the Cosmos. Religious faith may open the door to forces undiscoverable by non-religious reasoning.

HORDER, W. GARRETT. *The God That Jesus Saw.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1922. viii+215 pages. $2.00.

The author, who writes out of the fulness of profound religious conviction, insists that all our doctrines and practices should be measured by the test of consistency with the idea of the perfect, loving fatherhood of God. Trenchant criticisms of Calvinistic theology and of indiscriminating use of the Bible are mingled with positive exhortation.

KEPPEL, DAVID. *That Ye May Believe.* New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1922. 86 pages. $0.60.

A presentation of the purpose of the Fourth Gospel in terms of faith in Jesus as Christ as a modern religious ideal.

LAKE, KIRSOPP. *Immortality and the Modern Mind.* The Ingersoll Lecture, 1922. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922. 51 pages. $1.00.

Professor Lake sets forth clearly the considerations which have made incredible the traditional picture of immortality. He then expounds his own faith, which is based on certain mystic experiences in which one's sense of separate individuality is lost in the sharing of a vaster spiritual reality. The larger life is found in such a mystical transcending of petty individualism.

MAHONEY, C. K. *The Philosophy of Prayer.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 124 pages. $1.00.

A well-written and wholesome discussion of the place of prayer in religious experience, with suggestive interpretations of the cosmic implications of prayer.

MOXON, REGINALD STEWART. *The Doctrine of Sin.* New York: Doran, 1922. 251 pages. $3.00.

The larger part of this book is devoted to a careful survey of historic theories concerning sin. Since the author frankly espouses a psychological view of conduct, his treatment of the older metaphysical doctrines inevitably takes the form of a rather "academic" account. He advocates at the end the conception of primitive passions largely operating in the subconscious realm, and suggests the practice of "sublimating" these primitive impulses.

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ROBINSON, NORMAN L. *Christian Justice.* New York: Doran, 1922. 256 pages. $2.00.

Another volume in the "Christian Revolution Series." The author gives a thoughtful and well-written analysis of the meaning and the implications of Justice, summing up his ideal in the conception of "the recognition of the moral personality of others." This coincides with Jesus' estimate of human relations.

WILL, ROBERT. *La Liberté Chrétienne. Étude sur le principe de la piété chez Luther.* Strasbourg: Librarie Istra, 1922. xix+329 pages. Fr. 14.

A remarkably fruitful study of Luther's interpretation of the scope and function of Christian freedom. The conflicting ideals of joyful emancipation and of profound religious dependence on God are admirably set forth, and the results of this conflict traced in Luther's ethics.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

BROWN, WILLIAM ADAMS. *The Church in America.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xv+378 pages. $3.00.

An exceptionally valuable study of our present religious situation, based on facts gathered from various surveys and utterances. It furnishes the indispensable knowledge for real leadership, and points the way to a better future.

MOXCEY, MARY E. *Parents and Their Children.* New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1922. 139 pages. $0.75.

The first of a series of textbooks for parents' classes, excellent in its psychology and thoroughly wholesome in method. It discusses such themes as the meaning of parenthood, the physical well-being of children, the problems of home government and discipline, family finances, home work and industry, play and recreation, and religious nurture.

MUTCH, WILLIAM JAMES. *Graded Bible Stories.* Book One: Grades I and II. New York: Doran, 1922. 161 pages. *Graded Bible Stories.* Book Two: Grades III and IV. New York: Doran, 1922. 177 pages. $1.25 each.

Bible narratives in their natural story form. The author from his long study of pedagogy also explains how to use the story, whether at home or in the church school, in the most effective manner. Religious day schools and daily vacation Bible schools will find here material ready at hand for the Bible portion of their work.

PATTEN, MARJORIE. *The Country Church in Colonial Counties.* New York: Doran, 1922. 106 pages. $2.50.

Church surveys of Addison County, Vermont, and Tompkins and Warren counties, New York, containing the history, equipment, membership, and programs of churches largely in rural areas, or centers of 5,000 and less. This is one of a series in "Unique Studies of Rural America" under the direction of Edmund Brunner. The investigation is based on the work done by the Interchurch Movement. The most valuable element is the statistical material embodied in the Appendix.

MISSIONS

CLARK, ALDEN H. *India on the March.* New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1922. x+179 pages. $0.75.

A series of word pictures, setting forth conditions in India, by a missionary with years of experience in that land.

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FLEMING, DANIEL JOHNSON. *Building with India.* New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1922. 228 pages. $0.75.

A most excellent presentation of the modern interpretation of the missionary enterprise in its application to one country. The spirit and viewpoint of the book is accurately reflected in the title chosen.

HAMMOND, L. H. *In the Vanguard of a Race.* New York: Council of Women for Home Missions, 1922. xiv+176 pages. $0.75.

This book is one of a series by the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada written for the purpose of bettering racial appreciation.

HAYNES, GEORGE E. *The Trend of the Races.* New York: Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1922. xvi+205 pages. Cloth $0.75, paper $0.50.

This book is published by the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada. The author is a sociologist of note and director of the Bureau of Negro Economics of the United States Department of Labor.

ROSE, PHILIP M. *The Italians in America.* New York: Doran, 1922. 155 pages. $1.00.

XENIDES, J. P. *The Greeks in America.* New York: Doran, 1922. 160 pages. $1.00.

Volumes IV and V in "The New Americans Series." undertaken by the Interchurch World Movement and since carried on by the Home Mission Council. These racial group studies are an attempt to answer such questions as: who are these new Americans? What social heritages do they bring to this continent? Are they prepared to accept the fairly established American ideals? What is to be the changed American mind which shall result from the actual mingling of races?

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

DOW, GROVE SAMUEL. *Society and Its Problems.* New York: Crowell, 1922. xiv+594 pages. $2.75.

An introduction to sociology which follows the lecture method of presentation, setting forth the pros and cons of social problems with emphasis upon those of current importance.

ELLWOOD, CHARLES A. *The Reconstruction of Religion.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xv+323 pages. $2.25.

A timely subject presented in an interesting and scholarly manner. Science and religion in a mutually helpful relation recognize their aim as to the production of men, not commodities. Christianity is conceived of as a new set of "pattern ideas" never yet tried; the function of the church as a disinterested institution is to apply the principles of Jesus to all the affairs of men, "creating an effective public conscience regarding all the relations of individuals, classes, nations and races."

HUTCHINS, GRACE, and ROCHESTER, ANNA. *Jesus Christ and the World Today.* New York: Doran, 1922. 149 pages. $1.25.

The authors' world is essentially the economic and political world of the industrial portions of the United States and possibly the British Isles. The studies are searching and disquieting. As a basis for nine group studies they compel discussion of programs for the solution of social evils—without giving any help in that direction.

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PICTON-TURBERVILL, EDITH. *Christ and International Life.* New York: Doran. xiii+150 pages. $1.50.

A plea for the spirit of internationalism, based on a pictorial portrayal of the attitude of Jesus toward nationalist passions in his day, with a consideration of the humanitarian demands of the present.

Racial Studies. ("New Americans Series.")

Vol. I. MILLER, KENNETH D. *The Czecho-Slovaks in America.* New York: Doran, 1922. 192 pages. $1.00.

Vol. II. FOX, PAUL. *The Poles in America.* New York: Doran, 1922. 143 pages. $1.00.

Vol. III. DAVIS, JEROME. *The Russians and Ruthenians in America.* New York: Doran, 1922. 155 pages. $1.00.

These are the first three volumes of the "New Americans Series," published with the aid of various denominational boards, working through the Home Missions Council of America. The studies are undertaken to show, in brief outline, the social, economic, and religious background of each group and to present the experience of each group in America, with special reference to the contact of the given people with religious institutions in America. In each case, the writer is either a kinsman, or has had direct and intimate relationships with the people presented.

PRACTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL

BELDEN, ALBERT D. *Does God Really Care?* New York: Abingdon Press. 288 pages. $1.50.

A word of comfort and hope, which will do as much for the questioning soul as any similar utterance can do. It is warm and tender, never merely sentimental.

BOREHAM, F. W. *A Handful of Stars.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 261 pages. $1.75.

Boreham is tending to become a "cult" among readers who are charmed by his freshness of statement and fervor of style. Here is a companion volume to *A Bunch of Everlastings.* It displays an amazing acquaintance with biography and general literature. From this vast field illustrations of the use and influence of great texts are drawn with prodigal wealth and astonishing power of interpretation. We know of no other books quite like these for method and material in contemporary preaching; they are alluring and dangerous models for the average minister.

BREWSTER, H. S. *The Simple Gospel.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. ix+201 pages. $1.50.

A plain and welcome interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, with the practical and social point of view constantly in mind.

BROWN, CHARLES R. *The Honor of the Church.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1922. 97 pages. $1.00.

A timely protest and forceful argument from Dean Brown, of Yale. He stands up squarely for the church, not as a partisan defender but as the justified advocate of the institution of religion. This is the book to give to men who are easily persuaded that the church is on the toboggan and who are thrown into a panic when they hear someone cry "Wolf."

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CHERINGTON, EDGAR HURST. *The Line Is Busy.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 180 pages. $1.25.

A book with which to spend a happy and worth-while hour. Full of sensible reflection and accurate interpretation on common human problems. Abounding in such sentences as this: "A rut is not the result of heavy hauling; it is the result of a *soft spot* in the road."

GOUWENS, TEUNIS E. *The Rock That Is Higher.* New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1922. 160 pages. $1.25.

Devotional addresses on familiar texts and common themes of Christian experience, marked by no especial genius of insight or elevation of style.

GOWAN, JOSEPH. *Homiletics.* London: Elliot Stock, 1922. 407 pages. 6*s*.

A valuable book embodying the result of wide reading and experience; its principles are justified by long usage; it deserves careful reading by ministers.

HUTTON, JOHN A. *The Persistent Word of God.* London: James Clarke & Co. 182 pages. 5*s*.

A study of the Book of Jonah and the parable of the Prodigal Son, disclosing the reach, depth, and power of the love of God. A fine example of the way in which the historical study of the Bible yields practical results for preaching and edification and gives the modern Christian a gospel of power.

KERSHNER, FREDERICK D. *Sermons for Special Days.* New York: Doran, 1922. 223 pages. $1.50.

Excellent examples of occasional preaching, without especial distinction of thought or elevation of style.

KNAPP, SHEPHERD. *Old Joe and Other Vesper Stories.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 297 pages. $2.00.

Sixteen stories told to the Central Congregational Church of Worcester, Massachusetts, at the vesper services. They have action enough for the young and unobtrusive religion enough for those who want a sermon. They illustrate a method which "fellow-parsons" could well afford to cultivate.

KNOX, D. B. *New Illustrations for Pulpit and Platform.* London: James Clarke & Co. 256 pages. $2.25.

A collection of two hundred and thirty-five illustrations chosen from a fairly wide range of reading and observation. Credit should have been given for the authorship. Take a single instance: Lanier's "A Ballad of Trees and the Master" is given under the title "Christ Content to Die." The author is not named; the division between the two stanzas is omitted; there is a flagrant mistake in punctuation; and the poem is printed as a "new" illustration although it was published in 1880.

MCDOWELL, WILLIAM FRASER. *This Mind.* New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1922. 183 pages. $1.00.

Six lectures on the Mendenhall Foundation to help the student body of De Pauw University in 1922 in their decisions for life-work and service. They contain the practical wisdom of one whose chief concern is to find Jesus' way into his own life.

NEWTON, JOSEPH FORT. *Preaching in London.* New York: Doran, 1922. 140 pages. $1.50.

Readers of the *Atlantic Monthly* are familiar with the diary of Dr. Newton, covering the time when he was pastor of the City Temple in London. The material

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there published, with generous additions, makes us this book. It is delightful reading. Dr. Newton is a keen observer. His diary is one of the valuable records of war time in England.

ORCHARD, W. E. *The Safest Mind Cure.* New York: Doran, 1922. 195 pages. $1.35. *The Finality of Christ.* New York: Doran, 1922. 191 pages. $1.35.

Companion volumes of sermons, not unlike each other in those qualities of independent insight, of clear thinking, and of fine passion, which enable the author to interpret and to discipline the souls of people today.

Prayers of Frank W. Gunsaulus. New York: Revell, 1922. 160 pages. $1.25.

Compiled by his daughter; covering a wide range of matter; grouped under four heads: prayers before service, during service, in war time, on special occasions; reverent, beautiful, edifying; useful to the Christian for private devotion and to the preacher as examples of *ex tempore* prayer of the best order.

QUAYLE, WILLIAM A. *With Earth and Sky.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 181 pages. $1.25.

Charming Bishop Quayle abroad in the world, poet and daysman, giving us another book for our refreshment and illumination. If the stars could shine and the larks sing for us all as they do for the Bishop this would be God's world indeed; the next best experience to his is to have him tell us how divine the world is.

ROBERTSON, A. T. *Types of Preachers in the New Testament.* New York: Doran, 1922. 238 pages. $1.60.

Sixteen studies of minor characters from the New Testament period of the church. In their close adherence to the biblical material they illustrate a type of preaching seldom seen today on the printed page.

SNEATH, E. HERSHEY (ed.). *Modern Christian Callings.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. 27+19+43 pages. $0.75.

A handy volume setting forth for college men and others the varied opportunities for technical Christian work. Dr. Wood, of Smith College, writes upon Biblical Teaching in School and College; Mr. Day, of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, upon Executives for Church Enterprises; and Dr. William Bailey upon Social Service.

TWEEDY, H. H., BEACH, HARLAN P., and MCKIM, J. J. *Christian Work as a Vocation,* New York: Macmillan, 1922. vi+56+50+44 pages. $1.00.

This book aims to acquaint the young man who is contemplating some form of Christian service as a life-work with the nature and opportunities of such service first, in the ministry, second, in the foreign mission field, and third, in Y.M.C.A. work. It is designed especially for the college man.

WARD, J. W. G. *Parables for Little People.* New York: Doran, 1922. 219 pages. $1.50.

This is a volume of fifty-two sermonettes for children in which the author uses the commonplaces in quaint ways that strike the key of childhood.

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MISCELLANEOUS

BOURDALOUE, LOUIS. *Sermons sur l'Impureté, sur la Conversion de Madeleine, et sur le Retardement de la Pénitence.* (Edited by Gonzagne Truc.) Paris: Bossard, 1921. 202 pages. Fr. 12.

CALVIN, JEAN. *Traité des Reliques Suivi de l'Excuse à Messieurs les Nicodémites.* (Edited by Albert Autin.) Paris: Bossard, 1921. 289 pages. Fr. 12.

DIDEROT, DENIS. *Entretien entre D'Alembert et Diderot. Rêve de D'Alembert.* (Edited by Gilbert Maire.) Paris: Bossard, 1921. 193 pages. Fr. 12.

LA MOTHE DE VAYER. *Deux Dialogues faits à l'Imitation des Anciens.* (Edited by Ernest Tisserand.) Paris: Bossard, 1922. 279 pages. Fr. 12.

Useful and well-edited editions of comparatively unknown documents. Each volume is furnished with introduction and notes by the editor.

EDDY, SHERWOOD. *Facing the Crisis.* New York: Doran, 1922. 241 pages. $1.50.

The Fondren Lectures delivered at the Southern Methodist University. Twenty-two topics and problems are discussed, and the book furnishes an excellent compendium of the messages which Mr. Eddy has been delivering to student audiences.

FONTANA, PAUL. *Malebranche: Entretiens sur la Metaphysique et sur la Religion, I et II.* (Les Classiques de la Philosophie, Delbos, Lalande, Leon, eds.) Paris: Colin, 1922. xi+192 and 193–383 pages. Fr. 6.50 each vol.

A very convenient and valuable edition of this important work of Malebranche, prefaced by a scholarly interpretation by the editor.

GLOVER, T. R. *The Pilgrim.* New York: Doran, 1922. 272 pages. $1.75.

A book of occasional papers and essays from the pen of the scholar whose work has justly commanded wide attention and merited praise. It displays the amazing versatility of Dr. Glover. The pieces are of unequal value. "The Statue of the Good Shepherd" is one of the most ingenious and illuminating results of the use of the constructive historical imagination that we have read in many a day. As a whole the book does not measure up to the high standard set by Dr. Glover in his previous work.

HOFFMAN, CONRAD. *In the Prison Camps of Germany.* New York: Association Press, 1920. viii+279 pages. $4.00.

Mr. and Mrs. Conrad Hoffman gave nearly four years to service in the prison camps of Germany. This experience was supplemented by wide travel and observation. The narrative is given here in readable style and the book will be interesting to those who are not "fed up" on war literature.

HOUGH, LYNN HAROLD. *Life and History.* New York: Doran, 1922. 224 pages. $1.50.

"Just at this moment I am not especially interested in questions of history, ... of criticism. . . . . I am very much interested in a question of psychology." This is the plus, over and above the academic, which the author brings not merely to one, but to the dozen addresses and papers under this title. They were prepared for various audiences in this country and Great Britain.

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JACKSON, GEORGE. *Reasonable Religion.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1922. 240 pages. $2.25.

A collection of brief articles, originally written for the *Manchester Guardian*. Their very brevity compels an incisiveness which lures the reader on through the suggestive and candid discussion of all sorts of topics, practical, theological, biographical.

JACOBS, LEO. *Three Types of Practical Ethical Movements.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. xii+184 pages. $1.50.

An informing and challenging comparative study, dealing with: (1) the programs inspired by religious motives, particularly Christian socialism; (2) movements inspired by social sympathy, especially the social settlements; (3) the "pure ethical movement," where ethics is freed from dependence on either religious doctrine or material well-being, viz., the Ethical Culture Societies.

MITCHELL, HINCKLEY G. *For the Benefit of My Creditors.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1922. xxi+321 pages. $2.25.

A happy title for an autobiography by one of the men who, less than twenty years ago, endured persecution for the truth's sake. The charming manner in which the author tells the story of his life and describes the attacks of the "defenders of orthodoxy" upon his published works, displays as fine a Christian spirit as any work we have ever read. Christian biography is enriched thereby.

WILM, E. C. (ed.). *Studies in Philosophy and Theology by Former Students of Borden Parker Bowne.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1922. 268 pages. $2.00.

Nine contributions on various subjects by E. C. Wilm, George A. Coe, Edgar Sheffield Brightman, D. A. Hayes, Albert C. Knudson, Francis J. McConnell, Herbert C. Sanborn, Benjamin W. Van Riper, and Herbert Alden Youtz.

What the Churches Stand For. (A series of seven lectures.) New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1922. 112 pages. $0.85.

An admirable illustration of practical co-operation between the churches is given in this series of lectures in which eminent representatives of seven different branches of Christendom were invited to expound in non-controversial fashion the tenets and ideals of Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism, Congregationalism, Methodism, the Society of Friends, the Baptists, and Presbyterianism.

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